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The Journal of Educational Sociology

A MAGAZINE OF THEORY AND PRACTICE

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No. 1

EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

IN venturing upon a new enterprise, and especially in the publication of a new journal for educators, it is important to make sure that such an enterprise will be worth the effort of those who are committing themselves to it and worth the time of its contemplated readers. With the numerous journals available it is highly pertinent to examine meticulously the field to ascertain whether a new journal is necessary. Nothing short of necessity warrants the publication of a new magazine devoted to the theory and practice of education. Is there such warrant for *The Journal of Educational Sociology*?

The editors and backers of this magazine answer this question in the affirmative. There are several reasons for this answer. First, while there are a number of magazines that accept articles devoted to sociology in its application to education, no one magazine is devoted exclusively to that field. The sociological aspect of education cannot be properly represented without the emphasis that will come from a journal devoted to educational sociology. Second, sociology is a new science in the process of development, and already there is a body of material, essential to educational reconstruction and practice, which is not available to the educator. The only adequate way of making this material available, is to have an organ devoted exclusively to the field. Third, sociology as a science like psychology is fundamental in its application to the whole educational process. The sociological science is essential for the determination of educational policies, in adequately determining the subject matter to be taught in the schools, in formulating methods of teaching, in providing for the school and

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classroom organization, and in measuring the results of educational endeavor; in fact, there is no phase of educational practice that can be properly conceived without the application of the principles of sociology. Fourth, the recent development of educational psychology and its application to education has turned the attention of educators from the more fundamental purposes of education to certain outcomes in themselves desirable, but they are partial and their emphasis has developed a one-sided educational practice. This one-sided practice, moreover, needs to be corrected by the application of the science of sociology to education.

The last of these reasons we regard as the most significant, and while we have no conflict with educational psychology, and we appreciate the essential service that it has rendered to education, we are firmly convinced of the necessity of correcting certain educational tendencies growing out of exclusive psychological emphasis by the application of sociology to the whole educational process. Let us examine, for illustration of this point, the application of sociology to educational measurement—the field in which psychology has made its most notable advances in its application to education. Psychology has given us the intelligence and achievement tests and these tests have been routinized to the point where they are now used in every progressive school system. Departments in the public school systems of the country have been developed for the administration and supervision of these tests in the school room. Schools now not only seek to determine the native capacity of children, but to discover the achievement of the pupils in the conventional subjects, to base the instruction upon their findings, and to measure the result of progress at stated periods during the school year.

The sociologist, however, is convinced of the inadequacy of this procedure. The sociologist is concerned with the development and measurement of totally different outcomes than those developed and measured by the tools that psychology has developed. The educational sociologist, like the educational psychologist, is concerned with behavior changes. But the behavior with which the sociologist is concerned is that which relates itself to the social life. The sociologist is concerned with education as an instrument for effecting behavior changes in the individual in his social relations; that is, in his family, in his groups, in his play and recreation, and in his civic relationships, etc.

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Furthermore, the sociologist is concerned with creating community changes and community practices and methods of discovering to what extent school instruction may effect such changes. Therefore, in so far as the measurement of attainment in conventional school subjects are likewise measures of the social changes, well and good. But are they measures of the changes effected in the individual in his community relations or are they measures of changes effected in the community through education? No one knows. These tests cannot measure the most desirable changes sought through education, that is, changes in social behavior.

One of the problems of educational sociology, therefore, is to develop means for determining social changes through education, and to place the emphasis upon the subject matter of the curriculum, the method of school instruction and the school organization for the purpose of bringing about changes in social behavior. The problem here indicated merely suggests one task of educational sociology. *The Journal of Educational Sociology* is launched for the purpose of giving this emphasis. It is therefore a journal designed to serve every one concerned with education. Its purpose is to serve both the theory and practice of education in its social implications.

E. G. P.

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SOCIOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE NORMAL SCHOOL CURRICULUM

E. GEORGE PAYNE
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IN 1923 before the College Teachers of Education I presented data indicating the requirements for graduation from normal schools and teachers colleges preparing teachers for service in the elementary schools. A summary of these facts is significant for this discussion ¹

At that time there was complete failure of teacher training institutions to attempt a rational basis for curricula construction. There has been some change, but no radical readjustment since 1923. Among transcripts of credits of the graduates of two year training courses coming to my attention at that time, one which was typical of the institutions in one part of the country indicated that the graduate had taken a program consisting of eighty recitation hours in psychology, one hundred in logic, forty in school management, eighty in the history of education, twelve hundred in special methods in elementary school subjects, and five hundred in practice teaching. A similar transcript from a normal school in a city of 300,000 inhabitants presented one thousand hours of practice teaching, eighty in psychology, one hundred and sixty in pedagogy, twenty in school management, and seven hundred and forty in special methods in the elementary school subjects. The first of these transcripts was from a state normal school and the second from a city normal school and both required these courses with no

¹ Educational Monographs, Studies in Education, No. XII, 1923, pp. 33-34

choice for any of the students entering as teachers into any one of the eight grades of elementary school service.

Note the nature of these two programs. The first required 1700 recitation hours, either in practice or the study of methods and devices, 120 hours in subjects immediately related to the problem of teaching and 180 hours that bore only indirectly, if at all, on the problem of teaching. No attention was given to subject-matter. The second program required 1740 hours of practice teaching, methods and devices, and 260 in principles underlying the practices. No subject-matter required. These courses represent one extreme of practice in the training of elementary school teachers and indicate that the makers of these curricula had pretty definitely in mind one objective; namely, skill in school room practice. They aimed at as nearly as possible perfection of the devices and methods at present in vogue in their communities and in the schools for which they were training. They took no account of the needs of behavior changes in the children that these aspiring teachers were to instruct.

The other extreme is represented by a transcript which included the academic subjects of solid geometry, college algebra, and trigonometry, Livy and Tacitus, modern languages, European history, with educational subjects as follows: the history of education, psychology, school management, general method, and a half dozen hours of practice teaching. No courses in special methods and no subject-matter courses that would bear in the least upon the problem of the elementary curriculum were included. The fact that graduates of this normal school began teaching in the small town and rural schools did not affect the character of the curriculum in the least. The course seems to be the vestigial remains of a nineteenth century educational philosophy, the academic practices of that century, and is designed to fit any condition. The training presumably was kept so general that the graduates would not be handicapped by the training received in any position to which they might aspire. Such a program could perhaps not be found in a normal school or teachers college today. It is characteristic of the training in many of the academic colleges from which 75% of the product enter the elementary and secondary school service.

In the Twenty-Fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education I pointed out another fact of significance about the conservatism of institutions engaged in the work of teacher train-

ing.² This study showed that normal schools did not regard the problem of accident prevention as one coming within the scope of teacher training.

It is interesting and instructive to note the practice of the public schools of the country as indicating what school men, facing the educational problem in their communities thought of it and to compare their practice with the institutions that are training teachers for the public schools. A questionnaire was sent out by the writer as Chairman of the Education Section of the National Safety Council in 1923. The questionnaire was sent to the cities of the United States with a population of more than ten thousand. Two hundred ninety replies were returned in time to be included in the report.³ Summarized, they are as follows:

I	Schools with safety instruction	
a	Introduced as a part of the curriculum	143
b	As a special subject	34
c	Both as a special subject and as a part of curriculum	38
d	Incidental	51
	Total	266
II	Schools without safety instruction	19
III	Reply without information on this point	5
	Total all schools	290

The statement "Introduced as a part of the curriculum" was explained to mean that accident prevention was regarded as an objective of the whole curriculum and each subject and activity should make its appropriate contribution to the realization of the objective. That is, safety should be taught through language, civics, etc.

The interest thus manifested by the superintendents in accident prevention and the extent to which they had already incorporated instruction in the curriculum, indicates that they are far in advance of the institutions that are training teachers, in recognizing the need of instruction in accident prevention as a fundamental objective of the curriculum. The comparison of the result of these two questionnaires, together with the expression on the part of a large number of superintendents that new teachers are not sufficiently conscious of the accident situation as a social problem and are unable adequately to perform

² Twenty-fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part IX, pp 310-311

³ See "We and Our Health," Book IV, by Payne and McCarthy, pp 144-145

the requirements of the curriculum, indicates that educational institutions responsible for the training of teachers have not fully faced their responsibilities with reference to the accident situation in the United States, as determined by the needs of the schools as now operated. The normal schools have not conceived the idea of taking the leadership in the formulation of a program for dealing with this problem.

From these data presented we may safely conclude that institutions for the training of teachers have been influenced very largely by the past history of education and not by the present needs of social adjustment in formulating and carrying out their programs. Our thesis is that the needs of the present social life and adjustment must be the determining factor in the construction of curricula for the training of teachers of the present generation. Furthermore that we must set ourselves to the task of developing a new technique that will insure proper emphasis upon social needs and aspirations in school curricula.

The elaboration of this thesis requires an examination of the essential factors in the present social order. It is commonplace to call attention to the fact that social changes have been taking place in a revolutionary fashion in the past half century. It is however worthy of note that in the social change critical maladjustments have developed that can be corrected, if at all, only through school education and that the leadership in the correction of these maladjustments must be placed in the hands of those fundamentally responsible for what goes on in the school room,—the institutions responsible for the training of teachers. Sociologists long since have noted that society moves forward irregularly and the lack of uniformity in progress creates maladjustments and needs of readjustments. This has been particularly true in the past half century. The marked advances or changes that have taken place have been on the one hand in the advance of scientific knowledge as applied to living, commerce and industry and on the other, to the complexity of life relationships, that is, housing, transportation, communication, leisure and the like. But these advances have taken place without appropriate changes in social behavior; that is, changes in behavior patterns. In other words we have a "social lag." The immediate problem of education is that of taking up the social slack, created by the nature of the changing social order. This

is not the only problem but the biggest problem of present day education.

The limitations of this paper do not permit an adequate development of this thesis and we must therefore content ourselves with a brief illustration or two, that will indicate the point of view. One of the best illustrations of the failure of educators to incorporate the results of scientific development into social behavior through an adequate school program may be found in the field of health education. In 1876 Louis Pasteur had demonstrated the facts concerning the spread of disease. He had clearly proved that disease does not originate spontaneously. He had proved that germ life, bacteria and protozoa, do not develop out of nothing and are not created by the will of Providence for the purpose of punishing recalcitrant individuals who transgressed His will. In a word he demonstrated that at least a large number of diseases are infectious and are caused by the spread of germs through natural means; such as food, drink, air, contact, and other similar means of infection. This demonstration laid the basis for the control of numerous diseases such as typhoid, malaria, yellow fever, tuberculosis and other scourges bringing with them unhappiness and disaster.

What now happened to this body of scientific knowledge? Scientifically minded men became active and set about to discover the means and the specific ways of disease transmission. They went further and began to incorporate into legislation means for the control of disease. Under their influence departments of public health were created. These have done their work effectively in the control of communicable disease. As a result, we have witnessed the rapid decline of the death rate, and of infant mortality, and the general improvement of health. No chapter of history is more sensational or thrilling than that dealing with the scientific control of disease through the purification of water supply, through supervision of the food supply, through inoculation, and by other means which have been used.

So much for that. But what have the educators done with this body of knowledge? When we go through the text books, the school programs, the curriculum studies we find that to all appearance educators have been largely unconscious of these scientific changes. Schools retain even to the present time physiologies which take little account of scientific changes. Other texts show little influence of modern health

development. Histories, geographies, language texts, etc., although considerably influenced by other matters in which educators have been interested, show little trace of the social demands that have been created by the remarkable advance of preventive medicine and the needs of constructive health practice.

This general statement may also be confirmed by reference to several surveys made in recent years. The Gary survey by the Federal Children's Bureau dealing with 6015 children of pre-school age indicates an almost universal violation among these children and their families of common health practices relating to food, exercise, sleep, and the other essentials of healthful living. The results of this survey have been confirmed by my surveys in St. Louis, Texas, and New York City, and yet when we examine the school program, and particularly the programs of the institutions concerned with the training of teachers, almost no account is taken of the health needs of the children and adults of the country as displayed in these surveys. Numerous examples might be cited. In a New York community in which a survey showed that 95% of the children were suffering from incipient rickets and facing the dire consequences of this unnecessary disease, a teacher of a seventh grade sub-normal group was found to be teaching the skeleton, the framework of the body, the muscles, the processes of digestion, and devoting one week to a study of neurones. This moreover was the sum total of the health instruction in that class. In spite of recent efforts to give more adequate attention to the health needs of children, this case is certainly not unusual. As a matter of fact it represents the type of the knowledge acquired concerning the human body and its needs in many of our normal schools.

We are not simple enough to assume that the schools can accomplish everything that is proposed in the way of social reform, but certainly it is not too much to assume that if the educators of the country had been concerned with the school as an instrument for changing social behavior, the body of scientific knowledge together with the habits and attitudes that should have been changed in the population to conform to the developing knowledge relating to healthful living would have become long since functional in the life of the present generation. As a matter of fact our educational theory and practice have not been concerned at all with the type of knowledge, habits, and attitudes that would affect social behavior.

The result of this failure on the part of the schools, moreover, delayed the beginning of active efforts for the purification of the water supply on a large scale until the beginning of the twentieth century, it delayed the pasteurization of milk until toward the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, and the care of foods till somewhat later. As a matter of fact these practices essential in the promotion of health have been by no means universally adopted, and the spread of knowledge leading to their adoption has been affected chiefly by other agencies than the schools. Even in spite of the work of other agencies not primarily concerned with education, the schools are not now performing the work essential either to community or to individual health practices. Health instruction is not given a serious place in the schools. Educators have tardily followed the lead of other agencies, and usually upon the insistence of the other agencies to give their attention to the body of scientific knowledge that requires at the present a transformation of social behavior, particularly health behavior.

The development of scientific knowledge represents one aspect of the social development behind which social behavior has lagged. The other equally startling advance and the one we wish to use as an illustration here, is the material aspect of our civilization, the inventions and their application to modern living. The mere mention of a few of these is sufficient for our purposes. Among the most significant are those affecting means of communication, rapid transportation, local, national and even international, and the conditions of living resulting from these developments.

Let us take a simple illustration, the automobile. The automobile is a twentieth century product. It has become an essential of present day life within the past fifteen years. The activities of society could no more be carried on without this instrument today than they could without street cars, subways or the elevated. Take away either and immediately urban life would have to be revolutionized. Fifteen years ago, however, the automobile was not a significant feature of our life. There were fewer than a million altogether in the country, and accidents from automobiles seldom occurred. Today we kill 23,000 people annually and severely injure a half million more. This slaughter of the innocent is unnecessary. It results from the development of an instrument, a necessity of modern life, but one that is

unsuited to our present mode of behavior,—our knowledge, habits and attitudes. We have definite experiments indicating that attention to the accident situation in the school curriculum would not only facilitate the mastery of the subject matter of the present curriculum but would actually in a large measure prevent accidents among the children and adults of the community. In spite of the fact that demonstrative experiments were carried out along this line nine year ago and books and magazine articles were devoted to the character and results of the demonstrations, as experiments in curriculum reconstruction, it was only a year ago that one of our leading curriculum makers stated publicly that he had just discovered that accident prevention was a problem of the curriculum and must be taken into account in an adequate curriculum readjustment.

Another case equally in point is the health situation growing out of the kind of life induced by the conditions that have developed in urban communities incident to the changed social and material relationships, the method of food supply, the individualization of the family, the crowded commercial activities in the streets, the absence of playgrounds, etc. The most exaggerated case in the country is perhaps the Harlem district in New York City. We have here an urban crowded community. In the food stores, delicatessens, groceries, and bake shops of the community there are hundreds of varieties of foods from which selection may be made and which requires intelligent selection to secure a properly balanced diet. There is no play space and the congested conditions of the streets makes play in them impossible. Here we have a totally new problem of social behavior. The type of life induced by the social conditions has developed a high infant mortality rate, approximately 20%; 95% of the children have incipient rickets. There is, however, actually no reason why adequate health and safety might not be maintained in this community. A high state of health and efficiency are maintained in other similar communities in New York City. Efficiency under the conditions of life, however, requires a new mode of behavior that can only be insured through the schools and a new school program. Neither the normal schools nor the public schools of this community have been deeply concerned with the health of its population.

One other case in illustration must suffice. Professor Thrasher has recently published his study of gang life in Chicago, the only scien-

tific study of gangs so far made. He points out that 35,000 youth, 10% of all boys between the ages of ten and twenty years, are members of predatory gangs. From this group of predatory gangs has developed in the past and is developing at the present the criminal underworld of Chicago. To be sure various types of social leaders are salvaged from these predatory groups, such as the ward leader in politics and even business and professional leaders. But the salvaging process so far as it goes on is an incidental accompaniment of the social life and may be regarded as accidental. The social settlements are responsible for the major part of the salvaging process so far as it is done. The schools certainly have no part in it. The schools, so far as can be determined, are unconscious of the nature of the problem or the means of its solution. Curriculum construction and reconstruction goes merrily on without regard to this element in the social situation and without regard for the need of modifying the social behavior, the establishing of behavior patterns, the readjustment of social groups, and the substitution of activities that will provide for the needs satisfied in these predatory groupings.

Professor Thrasher localizes the problem definitely. He says: "One of the most important elements in the situation which promotes the free life of the gang is the failure of the immigrant to control his children in Chicago. Since about two-thirds of the parents of delinquent boys in Chicago are peasants from rural areas and villages in Europe, it is not strange that they do not know how to manage their children in such a new and totally different environment."⁴ It is not only true that the schools are not conscious of the problem involved in this situation but the character of the school program actually accentuates the problem of family control and causes family breakdowns where they would not otherwise occur.

Are we however justified in assuming that the institutions of the country which provide the teaching staff are not alive to these problems of social behavior so vital to the life of American communities? This question can be definitely answered in the affirmative. A study now in process by a graduate student in the School of Education in New York University has progressed far enough to indicate that these institutions are not seriously attacking the problem of health and the needs of health education as they have developed in American life. A recent

⁴ "The Gang," F. M. Thrasher, University of Chicago Press, p. 489.

study of some five hundred institutions,⁵ all or most of whose graduates enter the profession of teaching, displays the fact that little or no effort is made through the curriculum of these institutions to attack the social problems outlined in the present discussion, or to effect those changes in social behavior, the need for which is indicated by such studies of social conditions as have been made to the present. It would obviously be unfair for me to say that the curricula of teacher training schools fail in all respects to equip their output for the real job of education, that is modifying the social behavior of the pupils whom they teach. All that we can say is that so far as scientific studies of social needs have been made, no conscious effort is evident to set up a curriculum that would meet those needs. If in spite of no conscious effort the curriculum does serve that purpose the result may be regarded as accidental.

Finally what can we say of curriculum making in general? Perhaps we are justified in assuming that the unofficial claims of those responsible for the latest word on the curriculum—the Twenty-sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, is justified and that this publication represents what the so-called leading educators are thinking. If so then we must conclude that the leading educators are not thinking at all of the most fundamental factors in curriculum reconstruction. The limits of this paper will not permit a detailed discussion of this Yearbook. However, a careful examination of it indicates that the writers are concerned with the mechanics of curriculum construction in terms of a psychological technique, and that the social needs have been almost wholly ignored. Problems, fundamental to education, such as are outlined in this paper, have not appeared in the consciousness of these writers. If they have, no evidence appears in this Yearbook to warrant a conclusion to that effect.

A word must be said in conclusion concerning the problem of curriculum reconstruction in schools responsible for the training of our teaching staff. The educators in these institutions must cut loose from the present method of curriculum reconstruction; they must diagnose their problem in terms of the social needs and aspirations of their communities, and must begin a reconstruction of their programs in terms of those needs.

⁵ Harvey Lee, "The Status of Educational Sociology in Normal Schools, Teachers Colleges and Universities"—New York University Press Book Store

THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE CURRICULUM AND SOCIOLOGY

GEORGE S. COUNTS
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IN educational circles today the school curriculum is rapidly coming into its inheritance. The fundamental importance of the program of studies is gradually receiving recognition, and within a decade we have seen the attention of students of education shift from the development of tests and scales with which to measure the products of instruction over to a critical examination of the materials of instruction themselves. More and more insistently are we asking ourselves whether these acquisitions which we are learning to measure so accurately are really worth acquiring. The various professional organizations are attacking the problem. The National Society for the Study of Education has just issued a yearbook of 688 pages on the practice and theory of curriculum making. School systems through the country, both local and state, are feverishly revising their programs. And every educational writer, who finds time hanging heavy on his hands, who yearns to give rein to his creative faculties, or who feels under obligation to bring salvation to a wicked world, writes a book on the curriculum. Even in teachers' institutes and convention the curriculum has become a major topic for debate and discussion.

What is the rôle which sociology should play in this attack upon the curriculum? This is the question with which the present paper is concerned. That sociology has a responsibility here is obvious. Since the days of Herbert Spencer and Lester F. Ward the sociologists have interested themselves in the problem and have thrown much light upon it. Indeed the thesis could be defended that the growing interest in the curriculum is traceable in large part to the increasing influence of sociology upon the formulation of educational theory. In the writings and investigations of such men as Bobbitt, Charters, Rugg, Snedden, and others, men who have borne heavy burdens in the movement for curriculum revision, this influence is unmistakable. But let us return to a consideration of the question.

The experience of those who have been studying this curriculum problem shows clearly that the task of selecting and organizing the

materials of instruction must rest upon the twin foundations of psychology and sociology. This statement of course is based upon an assumption which some persons would not be willing to grant, namely, that the fundamental purpose of education is to induct the child into life of the group, to train him in the use of its institutions, to teach him to cherish and guard its possessions, and to instil in him the desire to promote its welfare. If this, or something closely akin to it, does constitute the great purpose of education, then it naturally follows that those sciences which deal most intimately with the nature of man and society must furnish the major guidance in the construction of the educational program. Whether psychology or sociology will prove the more helpful is a question we are in no position to answer today. Experience alone will tell us. Thus far the psychologists have for the most part held the field, not because they had any inherent right to it, but rather because they were the first arrivals. At least in its applications to education sociology stands where psychology stood at the opening of the present century before Cattell, Thorndike, Judd, Terman, and others had done their work.

Assuming that the purpose of education is fundamentally social, we may now proceed to an examination of the particular contributions which the sociologist may be expected to make to the construction of the school curriculum. But since an adequate treatment of the subject of this paper is impossible in the time allotted, it seems the part of wisdom to direct attention to a few problems which lie peculiarly within the province of the sociologist and which are assuming an especially urgent form today. The discourse will therefore be organized about three topics: the task of the school, the appraisal of the curriculum, and the control of education. Here are three problems which are basic to the development of a sound school program. Their solution requires the help of the sociologist.

The Task of the School

The first great need in the construction of the school curriculum is to discover the special task of the school. This is clearly a problem for the sociologist. The school is but one among many educational agencies and forces in society. It touches the ordinary individual directly for only seven or eight years in the course of his life and during this period for less than one-fifth of his waking hours. More-

over, except where the nursery school has appeared, his most plastic years are lived under the supervision of other agencies. During the pre-school age his education is largely in the hands of his parents, during the period of school attendance, the home, the playground, the theatre, the church, and the community, perpetually engage his attention, and after his school days are over, shop, factory, club, civic organization, and political party exercise increasing dominion over him. Whenever the individual enters into communication with his fellows whenever he adjusts himself to his environment, whenever he reflects on experience, the process of education goes on.

All of this means that the school is a highly specialized educational agency. Consequently, anyone who constructs a program of education on the assumption that the school is the only important educational institution and that the highly specialized character of its educational contribution need not be considered, is building on the sands. Thus an activity analysis of contemporary life, while very illuminating to one who is engaged in the task of curriculum making, does not automatically give us the school program. To the writer, the vocational education movement has sometimes been guilty of the error of disregarding the specialized character of the school. We have thus witnessed the school duplicating the work of other agencies and neglecting to perform the task which it alone can perform. But whatever may be the verdict on vocational education the fact remains that the school is a specialized institution and that we, if we are to avoid the fallacy of the specialist, must view our task through the eye of the scientist. Because of our long years of training in and our subsequent intimate association with the school we have come under its influence to a much larger degree than have the other members of our generation. As a consequence we are inclined to exaggerate the importance of the school and are rendered almost incapable of seeing it in proper perspective. The natural corrective of this bias of the specialist is a balanced view of the entire educational task of our society and of the contributions of its various educational agencies. At present the school and the teachers who staff it constitute one of the great vested interests of society which, in competition with other interests, ever struggles for a larger place in the sun. Even as I utter these words, I feel guilty of a certain disloyalty to my professional compatriots and to the "cause" of education. Nevertheless this unbiased evaluation must be

made, and until it is done no school curriculum worthy of defense can be developed.

The Appraisal of the Curriculum

A second large task which demands attention is that of appraising the curriculum. And until a technique is developed for achieving this purpose, no curriculum can be constructed which will enable the school to perform effectively its special functions. By appraisal I do not mean the sort of thing that we have commonly done in our school surveys. Genuine appraisal must involve something more fundamental than the bringing in of "experts" to pass judgment on prevailing practice in terms of "best practice" elsewhere or in terms of the theories which the experts hold. These theories will always be necessary instruments in appraising any particular program, but they must rest upon a more objective basis than they do at present. The appeal here is for a type of fundamental research which must be organized and prosecuted by the sociologist. The current methods and instruments of appraisal must be approved.

If the purposes of the school are formulated in terms of social life and welfare, the appraisal of its program must be made in the same terms. Nothing reveals more emphatically the formal character of the school than the various tests and scales which have been developed to measure school products. The school constitutes a little world of its own and its success is measured in terms of its own procedures. We test our pupils for knowledge of algebra, history, latin and chemistry, and if they do well on our examinations, we feel that the school is discharging its social obligations. Clearly the need is for a new type of appraisal, an appraisal which measures educational procedure in terms of its effect on social behavior outside the school. We must confess that for the most part such an appraisal is lacking today. We know how well our pupils have mastered the subject matter of the curriculum; but as to the effect this will have upon them as members of society we have but little knowledge. With regard to certain of the more obvious and simple acquirements such as reading, writing, spelling and the narrower vocational knowledges and skills, we can make fairly trustworthy guesses. But if we pass by the tool subjects and the more practical courses, we enter a sphere where dense ignorance prevails. What one of us knows how a year's schooling in geography,

history, French, or biology affects the subsequent behavior of a pupil? Although I recognize fully the almost insurmountable difficulties to be encountered in any attempt to make a broad social appraisal of the curriculum, I am convinced that it will be impossible to construct a curriculum intelligently until some success in this direction is attained. And such an appraisal will have to be largely the work of the sociologist.

The Control of Education

If we assume now that we possess the technique for developing a defensible curriculum we still face the task of introducing this curriculum into the school and of making it effective. This is a third task which belongs largely to the student of society. A major reason for the ineffectiveness of much of the theorizing about education from the time of Plato down to the present is that it failed to get into the school. Today, in so far as the modification of the school program is concerned, our thinking is likewise and for the same reason likely to be futile.

This suggests the necessity of investigating thoroughly the forces that control the school. We need to study the forces which operate both within and without the institution. We need to know much more definitely than we do today how the school board functions and what forces work upon it. Likewise the role played by the pupil, the teacher, and the community must be understood. Studies of the character should reveal to us the limitations under which the school operates. That they might reduce the measure of optimism with which we approach the educational task is possible. But an optimism based upon ignorance is hardly to be defended. We may actually find that, as it sometimes appears, the school is always the tool of the dominant forces of the present or of some preceding age. If this is true, we should cease to speak of the school as an instrument of social progress. Perhaps the school can never become a genuinely creative force in society. If so, the sooner we know this the better.

The Limitations of Sociology and the Scientific Method¹

In concluding this paper a word should be said regarding the limitations of sociology and of the scientific method. It would be pleasing

¹ Adapted from article by the author in *The Twenty-sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part II, *The Foundations of Curriculum Making*, pp. 87-90.

to believe that we have in the objective study of man and society a method by which all educational disagreements may be dispelled. The present paper has possibly suggested the omnipotence in this matter of the sciences of psychology and sociology. Such a suggestion, however, was not intended. Only within certain limits may it be regarded as true. The reason is to be found in the fact that education has to do with welfare, and when one approaches the question of welfare, one seems to pass outside the confines of objective science. The critic immediately asks whether, in the formulation of the doctrine of welfare, equal regard is to be paid to the interests of all classes, sects, and races, whether health is to be promoted at the expense of aesthetic enjoyment, or whether the criteria of artistic appreciation are to be those of the Hottentot, the French or the Chinese civilization. Scientific method can give no satisfying and conclusive answers to these questions. It can remove intellectual error, but it can hardly purify morals, refine manners, or elevate the aesthetic taste. In vain have we sought an objective definition of progress. The difficulty lies in the fact that progress implies movement forward, and the direction in which one moves in advancing depends upon one's orientation. Every man sees the world through his own eyes; every society faces the universe in its own way. What is progressive, or beautiful, or even good, is a product of the reaction of the individual or the group upon experience. Within the bounds of a single culture a large measure of agreement may be expected, but as the culture varies, disagreements appear. The ends which men regard as worthy are as diverse as civilization. And the increase of knowledge, if that were not accompanied by a general inter-penetration of cultures, could hardly be expected to produce likemindedness.

The bearing of this discussion on curriculum-making is plain. The fundamental goals of education cannot be determined by scientific method. They are the product of a process of evaluation which, while dependent on the results of science, cannot be identified with those results. As man learns more about the world in which he lives, these goals will be modified and, let us hope, improved, but men will always disagree in some measure regarding the nature of the good life. Some will perhaps be inclined to judge the universe in terms of material prosperity, others in terms of beauty, and perhaps others in terms of justice. But, when once the purposes of goals of education are deter-

mined, the field is cleared for the work of educational science. There must be certain best methods for achieving these purposes. The discovery of those methods is the burden which scientific method must carry. We cannot hope that science can give us a complete educational philosophy, but it can at least give us an effective educational technique. After the larger goals are set, there is no educational problem which cannot be attacked by the methods of science. And even the selection of the goals must reflect the advancement and the refinement of knowledge, as it must reflect all experience. Whatever measure of stability lies within the bounds of education will be the product of the operation of the scientific method, but the definition and formulation of human purposes, upon which education is dependent, will always lie somewhat beyond the reach of science.

RESEARCH IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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THE variety of opinion revealed in the papers read in the section on Educational Sociology at the Christmas meeting of the American Sociological Society, and the *mélange* now taught as educational sociology,¹ tempt one to paraphrase Dr. Stuart Queen to the effect that the great question now facing educational sociology is whether it shall be a science or a garbage can. The writer believes that educational sociology is concerned with a distinct group of problems, to which may be applied the method of natural science. But before outlining the research procedure indicated by such a belief, it may be well to clear the way by a brief discussion of the problem of education, of the nature of sociology, and the application of sociological method in educational research which currently is known as educational sociology.

Educationists are divided as to the meaning of the word education. One group would include under education all those experiences through which the person's behavior is modified in the direction of more effectual social adjustment. It is obvious, however, that, while being hit by a taxi-cab, activities on the playground, "reeducation" in the psychiatric clinic, and the procedure of the school all may result in modification of behavior in the direction of social adjustment, the situations are various, and where techniques are involved they are vastly different. The attempt of educationists to make "education" include all acquisitions of experience is fraught with the same danger as the attempt of the psychoanalysts to make "sex" cover all behavior. "Education" becomes so vague a term as to have no analytical value. The writer prefers to confine the use of the word "education" to the description of the consciously directed effort to modify behavior, with the technique of the teacher, in the school situation.

The School, like every self-conscious social group, faces three problems: the problem of policy, What do we want to do? the problem of human nature, What facts about human nature must be taken into

¹ Lee, Harvey. *The Status of Educational Sociology in Normal Schools, Teachers' Colleges, Colleges and Universities*. New York. University Press Book Store, 1927.

consideration² and the administrative problem, What machinery can we set up most efficiently to carry out our policy? The philosophy of education is meeting the first problem with the affirmation that the aim of education is the "adaptation of the child to living in our contemporary civilization." School Administration is working out the solution of the third problem. The human nature problem has been divided between educational psychology and educational sociology. Educational psychology has interested itself in the technique of building new habits into the organism. The experiments of the University of Chicago School of Education with eye movements in reading represent the ultimate refinement of this technique.² While admirable as psychological research, such experiments are relatively inconsequential unless paralleled by studies into the processes of social adjustment which will enable us to put content into our now too empty formula of education as adaptation. It is in just such studies that educational sociology is interested.

Since educational sociology consists in the application of the sociological technique to human nature problems arising in education, it may be well briefly to mention the present trend in sociology. We still have our "sociologies" (as the psychologists have their "psychologies"—so interestingly shown by the volume *Psychologies of 1925*, recently sponsored by Dr. Murchison). Sociologists seem, however, to be converging upon some such conception as the following. The sociologist's task is not merely that of dallying on the banks of the Nile, trading stones with naked savages; his task is not the zealous rehabilitation of broken families and shipwrecked personalities; his task is not that of closeting himself with a tabulating machine and computing death rates, suicide rates, divorce rates, nor is his task that of dreaming in his study of why the mills of the Gods grind slowly and fine. He is not merely ethnologist, social worker, statistician, nor philosopher, though he has use for their data and techniques. The sociologist is interested, rather, in the analysis of the mechanisms of social behavior—exactly as the psychologist is interested in the analysis of the mechanisms of individual behavior.

² Such studies are curiously reminiscent of the recently fashionable efficiency engineer in industry. Even in industry, where policy is clearly defined in terms of low cost production, these studies have often been dubious in application. In education, where our goal is not so well defined, they are of questionable import.

The problems of Sociology fall roughly, into three groups. the analysis of (1) those relatively stable constellations or attitudes which we call "groups"—the community, family, gang, church, school, and the like—in their ecological, cultural, political and historical aspects; of (2) the definition of the relatively diffused, random innate impulses of the individual of the psychologist after the patterns of the social group, and the adjustment of the resulting personality to social situations, and of (3) the mechanisms involved in the less stable forms of collective behavior such as mass movements, mobs, fashion and the public. That is, sociology is the science of social behavior.³

To return to Educational Sociology, we have said that it is interested in the application of the sociological technique to the problems of social behavior that cluster about the school (as the school attempts to modify the child's behavior in the direction of social adjustment)—the analysis of the social situation to which the child must adjust, of the behavior mechanisms involved in personal adjustment, of the school group as collective behavior, and of the implications of this analysis for curriculum, classroom organization and method. Moreover, Educational Sociology is interested in working out a technique for measuring, not the acquisition of "Knowledge" as reflected in verbal behavior, but the changes in total behavior in the direction of social adjustment that result from instruction.

Rather than outline the theoretical implications of such a conception of Educational Sociology for research, the writer will discuss briefly some research projects now under way in the School of Education of New York University.

(1) *Analysis of the school as a social situation* It need hardly be insisted in this age of "socialization" of the curriculum that the procedure of the class room cannot be determined with reference to the learning process alone. Socialization of the curriculum, however, has for the most part meant merely adding to the curriculum facts about the larger social life. This procedure is undoubtedly of value—both for the future adjustment of the child and for the control of the coun-

³ The techniques involved in sociological research are discussed in a recent volume, *Methods of Sociological Research*, by Brown, Kreuger, Quinn, Reckless, Shaw, Thrasher and Zorbaugh.

Maurer's *Family Disorganization* contains an excellent discussion of case analysis. Thomas' *Social Aspects of the Business Cycle* and Shawson's *The Delinquent Boy* have excellent discussions of the use of statistical technique in social analysis.

munity. But still education largely ignores the fact that *learning takes place in a social situation*, and that the nature of the attitudes involved in this situation conditions the process of instruction. That is, the school room is a group of interacting personalities, the teacher being one of these personalities. Clinical studies of the problem child in school bear abundant testimony to this fact. But little or no research has been directed at the analysis of the school as a form of social behavior. Numerous projects at once suggest themselves. Among those underway at New York University are studies of "Social Suggestion and Learning," "The Rôle in the School Group of the So-Called Incurable" and "An experimental Study of Racial Attitudes in School Children."

Educational Sociology is also interested in experimenting with various forms of social situations as a basis for class room organization—observing their effect upon the personality traits of the child and upon his social adaptability after he leaves the school. Experimental schools such as *The City and Country School* of Manhattan and *The Ethical Culture School* of Brooklyn afford interesting laboratories for this sort of research. The School of Education of New York University is soon to have a series of experimental schools from Kindergarten through college where many research projects into the effect of various types of social situation upon the learning, attitudes and adaptability of the child will be carried on.

Extra-curricular activities afford a further fertile field for experimenting with social situations.

In spite of the fact that extra-curricular activities have amounted almost to a fad, and that there is a wealth of literature on the subject, few of these experiments have been carefully enough analyzed to have much value as research. An opportunity for a real contribution to our knowledge of social behavior lies in this field. Perhaps nowhere is there better opportunity for observation of experimentally controlled social situations.

(2) *Studies in the relationship of school and community.* The word community has long been in our language. But only recently have we become aware of the significance of the community's rôle in determining the behavior of its members. Research into community life, such as that sponsored by the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Foundation, has revealed that there is no longer an American culture

Communities vary tremendously in their customs, mores, techniques, controls, in the experiences they afford their members and in the attitudes they build into the behavior of their members. The cultural situation in the community determines the frame of reference which the child brings to the school, in the light of which he interprets his school experience. The construction of relatively standardized curricula, though deduced from the most inspired "objectives," must remain a highly artificial procedure in view of the diverse types of community life represented in country, town and city—especially in our larger cities which are mosaics of distinct cultural worlds. Each school exists in a community. The child while entering the school remains a member of that community. The effectiveness of the school's efforts to modify the child's behavior is conditioned by the degree to which it has analyzed and adapted itself to the cultural life of the community.

The School of Education of New York University is attempting to work out a new type of school survey which will afford to the school an adequate analysis of the social patterns of the community in which it is situated. At the same time the School of Education is undertaking a program of research studies in the communities of New York City, with the dual purpose of developing the survey technique and of building up a body of actual knowledge on the social situations of the New York Public schools. It is hoped that opportunity will eventually be afforded for experiments in reconstruction of curriculum, class room organization, and method in terms of the specific community situations in which schools find themselves.⁴

(3) *The behavior clinic and the experimental school.* In the modern welter of mental and educational tests, we have tended to forget that the child is a personality as well as an intelligence, that the child has attitudes as well as abilities. Our knowledge of the processes involved in the formation of personality traits and in the adjustment of personalities to social situations is still little above the common-sense level.⁵ Yet such a knowledge is the vital factor in "adjusting the child to living in our contemporary civilization."

⁴ "An Experimental Study of the Development and Measurement of Health Practices of Elementary School Children," by Mary Best Gills (Unpublished.)

⁵ The unconvinced need but read Healy's recent book, *Delinquents and Criminals: Their Making and Unmaking*, to be persuaded.

The School of Education of New York University is projecting a research behavior clinic, under the department of educational sociology, which it is hoped will contribute its bit to the knowledge of the processes of social adjustment that clinics throughout the country are slowly accumulating. The *Social Behavior Clinic* will be unique in at least two respects. It will be directed by a sociologist, and will devote more than ordinary effort to the analysis of the relationship of social situations to personality adjustment. It will have, in the School of Education's experimental schools, opportunity for manipulation of the child's school situation heretofore largely denied to behavior clinics

(4) *Social Measurement.* Education, in terms of capital investment alone, is one of America's greatest enterprises. And yet education has shown a lack of curiosity about the nature of its product that would not be tolerated for a moment in industry. One cannot conceive of a manufacturer of locomotives who was not constantly checking up on the performance of his product. But what do we know about the performance of the product of our schools?

Our educational tests are tests of verbal behavior only. They tell us little or nothing as to how the child may be expected to behave outside the school. If we are ever to evaluate the effectiveness of education in actually effecting the child's social adjustment, we must contrive devices for measuring changes, not in his verbal behavior as reflected in achievement tests, but in his total behavior in family and community. Dr. E. George Payne's experiment in the measurement of health education, in New York Public School 106, is a pioneer step in this direction. The technique consisted in selecting an experimental and a control group, in contriving a scale of health practices, and rating, with the aid of trained social workers who observed the children in their homes, the children's health habits, in teaching a model health curriculum to the experimental group, and in then re-rating both control and experimental groups against the scale. While this procedure lacks the objectivity and precision of the achievement test, it yields far more significant data—a knowledge of how far instruction has carried over into social behavior. Further experiments in social measurement, which are now under way under Dr. Payne's direction, may be expected to lead to an increasingly objective technique.⁶

⁶ "Method and Measurement of Health Education," by E. George Payne & John C. Gebhart. Published by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

Other types of research might be mentioned. None would prove more significant, perhaps, than a careful study of the *social* performance of the products of our many types of "experimental" schools. But enough has been said to indicate the variety of research opportunities open to the educational sociologist. Educational sociology may well take a leaf from the history of educational psychology. If educational sociology is to justify itself as a university discipline and as an integral part of education, it must, like educational psychology, carve for itself a niche through productive research.

WHAT IS EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY?

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EDUCATIONAL sociology is not primarily a sociological study of educational institutions and processes. It should be primarily sociology, and not education. It is sociology applied to the whole problem of education, just as educational psychology is psychology applied to the problem of education. There is, however, this difference. Educational sociology is probably even more closely related to general sociology than educational psychology is to general psychology. This at least will be the thesis of this paper, though the writer is not trying to judge the situation in psychology. He wishes merely to emphasize a fact which seems to have been overlooked by a majority of both educationists and sociologists namely, that educational sociology not only starts with, but it deals with, the most vital and central aspects of general sociology. Educational sociology is not, therefore, a superficial aspect or branch of general sociology. On the contrary, it is the very heart, so to speak, of general sociology, so far as the latter is the science of human society. From the development of educational sociology we may therefore expect not only great help in solving the practical problems of education, but also a revitalization and humanization of the science of sociology itself.

What is the ground for making these somewhat startling statements? The ground is the fundamental identity of the human social process and the educative process, a fact which has been strangely overlooked by both sociologists and educators. We are familiar *ad nauseam* with the interpretation of the social process in terms of food, reproduction, defense, geography, and race. These physical factors, to be sure, do largely account for the group life of the animals below man, and no one would deny that they are basic also in human group life. But the emphasis upon these factors quite completely overlooks the differential factor in human social life, which is the factor of "culture" in the anthropological sense of the term. All human groups possess culture, but so far as we know no animal group has culture. For culture consists of behavior patterns socially acquired and socially

transmitted. There is nothing in the rest of nature to compare with the social diffusion of behavior patterns in human groups; for we must be careful to exclude from culture those cases of natural reaction socially or sympathetically excited, as when the fright of one animal gives rise to fright in another. Culture consists in the knowledge, skills, and standards which are utilized in the making of tools, institutions, and group organization. Its vehicle is language in some form. We have culture thus only when individuals learn to modify their conduct through what is communicated to them by other individuals. All culture is therefore learned. If we say that the essence of culture lies in invention, whether of a physical tool or of a social relationship, the new adjustment or invention is learned by the experimentation of inventive individuals, and then the new adjustment or invention is diffused through the group by some means of intercommunication. Thus the whole process of culture is a learning process, both on its individual and social sides. The culture of a group, looked at externally, is a mass of acquired habits which are learned by the individuals of the group by some means of intercommunication, looked at on its inner side, the culture of a group is a mass of mental patterns, of ideas and values which have become diffused through the group by intercommunication and which control its behavior and relations.

Now, culture, as we have said, is the distinguishing mark of human society. It is what makes it human. We know of no human groups that do not possess language, tools, and institutions. These are the marks of culture, and their acquisition and use depends upon an educational process within the group. Human groups from the start have been human, in other words, only because their whole behavior and life have been dominated by a learning process. Intercommunication in human groups plays about the same part in regulating and standardizing behavior within the group which biological heredity or instinct plays in animal groups. The human social process is thus seen to be essentially educative from the start. Education is not something which has been superadded to human society or which is a relatively late invention. On the contrary, education of some sort has always been necessary to the existence of human groups as human. The educative process is that phase of the social process by means of which the continuity and development of culture has been rendered possible in human groups. Culture, as the dabblers in culture have

always supposed, is dependent upon education, but in a different way from what they imagined. Culture is not dependent upon some formal education which has been fostered by the school. It is dependent upon the natural social process, the process of intercommunication and learning, found in all human groups. Culture is not something confined to a few human groups within the historical epoch. It has been possessed by all human groups from the beginning; because all human groups maintain their existence as human through processes of learning and education on the part of their members.

Just as the learning process in its individual aspects is the central problem of educational psychology, so *the learning process in its social aspects is the central problem of educational sociology*. It must be emphasized that the learning process has social aspects and that these aspects have not yet been sufficiently studied either by sociologists or educationists. When viewed from its social side we usually speak of the learning process as the educative process; but we need to look at the learning process from the standpoint of the group as a whole. There is a collective learning process as well as an individual learning process. We see this collective learning process going on through the forms of communication, group discussion, and the like. They are the processes by which the group controls its collective behavior and brings about collective achievement. They are of the very essence of human group life, and, as we have repeatedly said, are what make it human.

It is commonly recognized that the educative process is necessarily a phase of the social process. If this is so, educational sociology must be the science which aims to reveal the connections at all points between the educative process and the social process. It is the science of the educational phase of the social life, or more exactly, of the educative aspect of the social process. Its business is to show the origin, development, and function of the educative process in human society. If it does this, it can scarcely fail to react upon and enrich general sociology itself.

But our main interest in developing a science of educational sociology must doubtless be for its reaction upon educational institutions and processes in our present society. There can scarcely be any doubt that a science of educational sociology, which makes clear the significance of the educative process for human groups in all stages of their development, will have the utmost reaction upon education in our

present society. It will speedily put an end to the individualistic view of education and all the evils that have followed in the train of that view. It will stop our dabbling with education and our treatment of it as something desirable but superficial and ornamental, for it will show that education is the very life of human groups and of their culture. It will make it plain that the whole process of social adjustment and of culture development in humanity depends upon education, and that the gains or achievements of groups are preserved and transmitted only as the young are educated to appreciate and conserve these achievements. It will also show that social progress is possible in the long run only through the development and enrichment of the educative process. For one, I hope also that the development of educational sociology will bring about the perception by the public that the chief application of sociology is not in social work, in the ordinary sense of that phrase, *but in education*.

If educationists wish to make their work scientific they ought to devote themselves with enthusiasm to the development of educational sociology. Its developments I am confident, will transform our whole theory and system of education. It is of course premature to prophesy just the results in detail of the development of the science of educational sociology. But one result will be that it will become plain to everyone that education is and should be nothing but the formalization, projection and intelligent control of the social process. It will be seen that the true functions of the school is to reproduce and control the social process in such a way as to aid the progress of culture in the highest degree. The process of education should be a systematized, rationalized, and morally controlled social process. Just as in the human social process generally, verbal language will be found to be the chief vehicle of culture. In the year to come we are certainly destined to hear less about the education of the hand preceding the education of the mind, etc., and more about the education of the imagination. For human social life is possible only through the fact that we carry in our imagination the images of our fellow human beings or of our human environment. Just as in the social life, if it is to be normal, we see that we must keep free channels of intercommunication between the individuals of the group; so in education we shall see that without the open mind, freedom of thinking, and freedom of teaching, an education which shall be effective for progress will be impossible.

Educational sociology will also teach us that, while the work of culture is necessarily carried on by specialized training, socialization is a more fundamental process than vocational training. The techniques of our various vocations are necessary for carrying on the work of civilization; but even more necessary are the fundamental social attitudes which we practice in the community life. Again, intellectual training that gives the individual disciplined intelligence is the foundation for that social achievement which brings about the progress of civilization. But the social process is something more than an affair of the intellect. Linguistic, intellectual, and vocational training should all be recognized as means, but not as ends. They are the means of appropriating and utilizing the traditions of our culture, but the end is the well-living of the whole community. Hence, educational sociology will make clear that the ideal outside of the school is the same as in the school, a systematized, rationalized, and morally controlled social process. Important as linguistic, intellectual, and vocational training may be, the end is surely the adjustment of the individual, not merely to the organization and institutions of society as they exist, but even more to the social process itself as a process of achievement, of learning, of progress. Concretely this means that the end of education is to fit the individual to function efficiently and dynamically in every social group from the family and local community to the nation and humanity in which he is called to play a part. It should release the individual from bondage to mere tradition, while fitting him at the same time to serve society, not only as an economic producer, but as a husband or wife, a father or mother, a friend and neighbor, a creator of public opinion, and a servant of the public will. Education should develop in the young these dynamic, socially intelligent qualities which the sociologists would include under the term of "good citizenship."

Educational sociology, in other words, will place social intelligence first among the aims of education, and it will demonstrate that social intelligence is impossible in our modern world without social information; that to understand culture and to make education promote a well balanced culture we must make basic in it the knowledge of human history and of human institutions afforded by such studies as history, sociology, economics, and politics. Any educational sociology which is based upon a scientific understanding of the social process will say that such social studies should be made central in the curriculum of

our schools. It will say that this especially should be so in a democracy with a democratic school system, for a democracy is a society in which the people are called upon to solve their own problems, and the opinion and will of every individual counts in determining the wisdom or unwisdom of the policy which shall be adopted by such a society. A democracy, in other words, needs more than any other form of society socialized education for its young; for democracy is the rule of the group mind or public opinion. An unthinking, uninformed, prejudiced democracy is obviously bound to come to grief. Linguistic, intellectual, and vocational training of the young in a democracy is not enough; the young in such a society must be trained to social intelligence and in right social attitudes and values. This is only possible as they are taught to be critically minded toward social movements, tendencies, and institutions.

If it be said that what I have described is a philosophy of education rather than an educational sociology, I shall make no objection provided that it is admitted that it is a *social* philosophy of education. That is indeed what I conceive educational sociology to be. An educational sociology which is limited merely to a study of the social facts in the educational process is hardly worthy of the name of science. Science aims at universal generalizations, and it necessarily contains a philosophical element if it attains to the stage of universal truth. If it be said that we are not yet ready for such an educational sociology, my reply is that the fact gatherers in history, in anthropology, and in contemporaneous social life have more than prepared the way for the stage of generalization. If there are those who still wish to occupy themselves with fact gathering, I have no objection, provided they do not become obstructionists for those of us who wish to generalize. Even faulty generalization is better than no generalization, and to point out bad generalizations is simply to emphasize the need of better ones. This is true for educational sociology as well as for other sciences. My own conclusion is, therefore, that the time has come to develop an educational sociology in the sense of a social philosophy of education based upon an adequate knowledge of anthropological and sociological facts. I think that we need to encourage rather than discourage bold scholarship along these lines. If this is true, one object of this section should be to establish chairs in educational sociology in every school of education in the country.

EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY IN NORMAL SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS' COLLEGES

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THERE are two fundamental theses which underlie the determination of curricula in teacher training institutions. First, such institutions are primarily for the training of teachers. They are not designed to furnish a non-vocational general education. They are not academic junior colleges. Such general education as may be embodied in their curricula must be incidental to vocational training. All curricula should be organized with the vocational objective clearly in mind

Second, each component part of the curricula of teacher training institutions should perform a definite and a defined functioning part of the whole job. No course merits inclusion because it has been taught, because it is taught, or because somebody else teaches it. It must have a demonstrable function.

Psychology as formerly taught in teacher training institutions, concerned itself with the physiology of the nervous system, animal experimentation, free will, metaphysics. It delved into the mind by means of introspective analysis. It concerned itself little with behavior. It was a purely descriptive and philosophical science. Psychology evolved. It is still in the process of evolution. It has added to itself the prefix, "Educational." The scientific study of individual behavior, including mechanism, expressive activities, and the measurement of those activities, has become its subject matter. It has developed into a concrete, objective science, vitally concerned with the psychological makeup of the learner, the learning process, and the measurement of its products. While the evolutionary process is far from complete, and psychology is still in a state of flux and experimentation involving even its most fundamental conclusions, yet it has established itself as a functioning integral part of every teacher training curriculum.

Sociology, as at present taught in teacher training institutions, is in a position fully comparable with that of the psychology of ten years ago. To be sure, it is ordinarily called Educational Sociology, but it is no more Educational Sociology than the psychology of ten years

ago was Educational Psychology. It is one of two things, either a consideration of the philosophy of society coupled with a sight-seeing tour of social institutions, or else it is not sociology at all, but education.

The courses given are a carry-over from the traditional courses offered in academic colleges, taught by academically trained instructors, using the traditional academic texts and achieving results comparable to those of the customary academic courses. Valuable? To the extent in which the academic courses have proved their value and to that extent alone. But academic purposes differ from the purposes of teacher training. Unless Educational Sociology enables the teacher to do her job better, unless it functions definitely in interpretation of educational situations, it hardly merits inclusion in teacher training curricula.

What is being taught now as Educational Sociology? A hodge-podge. Mr. Harvey Lee of New York University¹ has recently tabulated the replies to a questionnaire sent out by the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology. These are some of the topics treated in teacher training courses in Educational Sociology: General Psychology, Economics, Civics, The Platform, Bionomics, Philosophy of Education, Religious Teachings, and "Apologetics." These are some of the text-books used: Peckstein, "Psychology of the High School Student;" McDougall's "Social Psychology," Thomas' "Junior High School Life;" Terman's "Hygiene of the School Child;" Allen's "Civics and Health;" Hollingsworth's "Applied Psychology," and Vollman's "New Testament Sociology."

To be sure, these are the horrible examples. But throughout the country there exists a manifest lack of agreement as to how Educational Sociology should be defined, what its content is, what teaching materials should be used and what its function is. To repeat, Sociology as at present taught is in the position of Psychology a decade ago. It is just beginning to become an experimental instead of a descriptive and philosophical science. Like Psychology, it is in a state of evolution. Like Psychology it must discard many of its ancient gods. But also like Psychology it has a definite value and function in the interpretation of the educative process.

¹ Harvey Lee, *The Status of Educational Sociology in Normal Schools, Teachers' Colleges, Colleges, and Universities* New York University Press, 1926.

What, then, is this new Educational Sociology? What is its function? What are its problems and its method? How does it interpret the educative process? Why include it in the curricula of teacher training institutions?

First, three definitions. Education is that administrative process which attempts to fit the individual to behave efficiently in the social situations which confront and will confront him. Educational Psychology is that science which seeks to determine the optimum methods by which the behavior of the individual may be conditioned. Educational Sociology is that science which seeks to determine what types of behavior are desirable in the social situations presented by the modern world, and the influence of the various factors in the social environment in opposition to or in furtherance of the educational process. In other words, Education is an administrative process, Educational Psychology seeks to determine how that process shall be carried on: Educational Sociology attempts to ascertain what that process must aim to accomplish and the social conditioners of that process. These are, then, twin determiners of the functioning of education—Educational Psychology chiefly concerned with the study and control of the *neural reactions of the learner*, and Educational Sociology, chiefly concerned with social values, social attitudes, and the social environment of the learner.

The psychological approach has lead us into many difficulties. How we have measured and tested and I Q.ed! We have set up tests of accomplishment and have accomplished more and more without regard as to whether the thing accomplished was socially valuable or not. We have perfected methods of memorization, of drill, with little consideration as to the value of the facts memorized or any present or future social use to which they might be put. We have taught all children to read, but we have not considered what they actually do read. Consult the nearest news-stand and find out. We have taken children out of a social world, confined them within brick walls, surrounded them with books and precepts and facts, and at four o'clock or when they are fourteen or eighteen we turn them loose into a social world, *muttering to ourselves*, "Thank heaven, one more dumb-bell out of the way."

What is the answer? The teacher herself does not know the social world. Frequently the textbook writers do not. Nor does the school,

to the extent that it concerns itself with traditional values alone. It does not know where the child comes from or whither he goes. It has not proved the worth of its history, geography, latin, mathematics, as functioning entities. Take health for example. A Harlem school, scoring 95% in a standardized health test, performed at home 2% of the practises learned. The high school girl studies Shakespeare and reads the True Story Magazine for enjoyment. In Milwaukee, Manhattan, Jersey City and many other cities that magazine heads the list of children's preferences. 25,000 boys leave the schools of Chicago to become part of predatory gangs. The list is endless.

How remedy the situation? By the consideration of the influence of the social world upon the school, of the school upon the social world, of the values of and actual performance in the subjects taught, and by social diagnosis of the individual child. In a word, Educational Sociology.

What does Educational Sociology do? It does not determine what the curriculum shall be by assembling the opinion of teachers. It goes out into the social world and discovers, as far as possible on an objective and experimental basis, the demands of that social world. It is not concerned with job analysis. It wants to know what jobs are worth while. It is not interested in educational administration from the point of view of mechanistic efficiency, but it is interested in the social implications of the administrative process, attempting to ascertain whether that process makes for democracy, socialization and social achievement. Educational method as a technique does not command the attention of the sociologist, but method as a means toward social progress does.

Educational Sociology is concerned with certain aspects of the traditional subject matter of pure sociology, but its emphasis is entirely different. Take, for example, the family. Educational Sociology would not be interested to any large extent in the historical evolution of the family, in polygamy and polygyny or polyandry. It would not gather or recite statistics of race suicide and divorce as things of value in themselves. It would not be interested in the marital relations of the Bushmen, of the Kaffirs or the Fiji Islanders. In other words, it would do hardly any of the things which the traditional sociologists or the traditional texts do. It would, however, be vitally interested in the family from several aspects. Families send children to school,

families influence their social adjustment in a variety of ways, families influence school procedure; most school children are members of family groups and will, at some time, set up families of their own. In the consideration of these things Educational Sociology is interested. John comes to school. What behavior patterns in him have been and are being formed by his family? What family behavior patterns need modification and how can they be changed? What is the bearing of John's family on the educative process? How should John's behavior patterns in relation to his family be changed? How can John be prepared to function to a higher degree when he sets up his own family?

So with crime, poverty, health, vocation, avocation, religion, citizenship, the entire gamut of social situations which John has met, is meeting, or must meet.

These are a few of the questions which present themselves as living subject matter for Educational Sociology:

- 1 What is the actual health practise of the child?
2. What are the educational imputations of the movie, the newspaper, the sex magazine?
3. What are the social causes of truancy?
- 4 What is the influence of the gang on boy life? How use the technique of the gang to educational ends?
- 5 What protective mechanisms need to be set up against modern advertising? against installment buying? against patent medicines? against commercialization of recreation?
- 6 How promote thrift? conservation? respect for womankind? regard for the rights of others? respect for law?

These questions skim the field. They only indicate a few of the possibilities for investigation.

As has been indicated, the method of Educational Sociology must be, to a very great extent, case study. The factors entering into any given act of social behavior are largely peculiar to those acts, and must be studied individually. The behavior act cannot be found in textbooks, but in the living social world. Therefore, that world becomes the material for Educational Sociology, with case study the method.

Specifically, what does this mean? That the student in training in the teacher-training institution analyze specific family situations, make friends with an immigrant group, study the social background of a

truant, become acquainted with a gang, investigate the influence of the local church, the theatres, the factories, the playground, the magazines, discover the actual health and recreational and civic practises of her children.

This is Educational Sociology. It is still in its infancy. But it is a lusty child and a growing one. It has a real function in the world of education.

The new Educational Sociology merits inclusion in the curricula of teacher-training institutions.

BEHAVIOR-ADJUSTMENTS AND THE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM

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SUCCESS both in child life and in adult life must be conceived as growth and integration of personality. The factors which enter into the control of the personality at adolescence are of outstanding importance. From the viewpoint of the child himself these factors are primarily physical. Adolescence is the period of growing up. The boy becomes during a period of five or six years a young man. The little girl becomes a woman.

The Dawn of Adolescence Is a Period of Very Complex Biological and Social Adjustments

Puberty is accompanied by many rather obvious phenomena such as rapid increases in height and weight, changes in facial contour, physical gawkiness due to uneven growths of bones, tendons, and muscles, and the development of primary sex organs and secondary sex characteristics. There are important changes in the child's circulation; increased blood pressure puts a severe strain upon the heart to perform its added duties. There is the change in pitch and quality of the voice, more marked in boys than in girls.

These developmental characteristics must be thought of in the light of the increasing sex consciousness, sex interests, and sex suppressions which evolve from the interactions of the child's nature and the social *mores* and taboos. The child's social awareness which accompanies the maturation is partly a result and partly a cause of his identification of himself with adulthood. The behavior-adjustments to the social practices and attitudes of the adult world complicate and are complicated by the organic changes that are taking place within the unbelievably complex mechanism—the individual boy or girl.

The human body is made up of thousands of billions of individual cells, each one of which is born, lives, breathes, feeds, excretes, reproduces, dies, and is succeeded by its offspring.¹

¹ Of Burnham, W. F. The Normal Mind D. Appleton & Co., 1924, p. 29

Each of these individuals harmonizes "with its own inner life some special function for the benefit of the whole, and destined ultimately for an individual death. Day-long, night-long, in this commonwealth that constitutes each one of us, there goes forward as in the body politic the subservience of many individual purposes to one, the sacrifice of individual lives for the advantage of the many, and the birth of new units which replace the dead . . . And each of these living commonwealths began its individual existence as a single unit, whence arose the myriads that compose its adult being. There comes thus to coexist the lime hardened tissues of our bones, the contractile cells of our muscles, the conductive cells of our nerves, and so forth"²

Obviously there must be some plan by which these many congeries or communities of cells develop and function for the welfare of the human being of which they are a part. Somehow or other the communities are stirred into action in response to some stimulus, and so food digests, hearts beat, lungs breathe, sex organs mature and function, wounds heal. One set or another of cells multiplies more rapidly than usual and after a while returns to its normal rate.

The control of growth and of special functioning is largely vested in the endocrine or ductless glands. These glands secrete *hormones* or *autocoids* which enter the blood stream and stimulate into activity the communities of cells or organs which the particular hormones affect.

The primary physical and mental changes that take place at adolescence are chiefly due to the activity of an autocoid secreted by the cells of Leydig, so-called "interstitial cells" in the gonads (testes and ovaries). But other glands have important parts to play in this phenomenon as well. If the thyroid does not function normally, causing the disease *myxedema*, the characteristic development of adolescence does not take place. The same failure of normal adolescent development happens if the pituitary gland or the pineal gland (two glands found just under the brain) or the adrenal glands (situated on the kidneys) do not function as they should. The thymus gland, found in the neck below the larynx, generally atrophies at adolescence. If it does not so atrophy, the boy is effeminate and has the high voice characteristic of girls and little children. It is less directly connected to the sex organs of girls, while the thyroid gland is more closely related to sex functions of girls than of boys.

²Sherrington, C. S.: *The Integrative Action of the Nervous System*. Scribner's Sons, 1906, quoted in Burnham's, *The Normal Mind*, p. 29

*Integration of Personality Demands Intelligently Controlled
Environment*

Integration is the coordination of all of these interrelated controls of the behavior of the trillions of individual cells. Integration at a period of such rapid change as accompanies adolescence is peculiarly liable to be upset. The school can best safeguard and promote such harmony within the pupil's body by a program of friendly, mildly stimulating activities wherein each pupil will find himself frequently successful, and generally near enough to success to believe that tomorrow or next time, he can win the coveted satisfaction. In the midst of this program of cooperative endeavors the friendly teacher will come to a mutual understanding with every pupil in his charge.

The need for such a sympathetic understanding is very great. Puberty is a difficult time for even the most rugged and well balanced temperaments, for the more sensitive and nervous child, there is required the most patient and continuous stimulation of self-confidence in the performance of worth-while tasks. The positive program depends rather on an application of the laws of learning, and on a recognition of individual differences of many kinds, and on an understanding of the supreme importance of the emotional life of the child. For if these aspects are dealt with intelligently, then the integration of each child's personality is amply protected.

The behavior-adjustments of children at the dawn of adolescence becomes then the primary function of the junior high school. And this youthful institution is, despite the standardizing agencies and "curriculum experts," still sufficiently vigorous and flexible to deal effectively with this most important and complicated problem.

The junior high school is indeed to be defined in terms of this project. It is the institution that accepts all the mentally normal boys and girls of its community before they are adolescent, and fits its educational program to them. In this new school program, what constitutes seventh grade work or ninth grade standards is of little importance. Rather does the new school ask itself what is the subject matter and what the method, what is the educational experience that is most likely to stimulate each one of the 13- or 14- or 15-year old boys and girls to exert himself to the utmost to accomplish tasks that appeal to him, to his teachers, and to his parents as thoroughly worth-

while. For one it may be the preparation of an assembly, for another a report with charts in geography, for someone else it may be the school orchestra, and for still another it may be intuitional geometry. There are some children who find self-expression even in English grammar, there are many who find it in a foreign language, in type-writing, in art, in dressmaking, and in shop.

In the creatively controlled junior high school, nearly all children can find places satisfactorily in a diversified social environment of home-room and clubs and athletics and student publications and corridor officerships and clerical assistantships. In these places they can and do perform adequately and with growing confidence tasks for which they are competent. And the broadly conceived school, like social life itself, has room for and need for many and diverse traits and qualities among its members.

The junior high school is an environment to which come all the little children of late pre-adolescence—happy, active, and unspoiled as yet by the discouragements and artificialities of the formal and, to them at least, meaningless grind of grammar and verbal history and examination-passing. It is an environment in which these children, all of them, continue to live happy, adequate, purposeful lives of activity for the ensuing two or three years—years of rapid physical growth, of great intellectual activity, of emotional reconstruction, and spiritual unfoldment. And, finally, it is an environment from which there emerge two or three years later these same boys and girls, now taller and more mature, children of middle adolescence—almost young men and young women—eager to go on with their school education, having tasted of hard work and of resultant success, and found it good! And these self-confident youths of 15 to 16 years of age are interested in the public weal. They have found their personalities in their social groups. They have served as leaders and followers; they have imitated wisely and originated freely. Their personalities have waxed and bloomed in the warm friendly atmosphere of the junior high school.

Character of the Emerging Curriculum

For the junior high school is a protest against the dehumanized verbal and symbolic grind of formal mathematics, grammar, and history, and against the vicious destruction of human personality that

has so often characterized the school procedures both of the conventional grammar grades and of the uninspiring lesson-getting of the freshman year of the four-year high school. The school which was typical in 1900—and which is too much in evidence even today—resulted in the disgust and discouragement of most of the children who were not both bright in regard to abstract verbal intelligence and docile in accepting without question others' thoughts, others' wishes, others' standards as their own. There has until recently been little attention paid to the innovators among our youths and to the artistic, the mechanical, the socially effective boys and girls. There have been few, indeed who have had regard for the precious human beings who were being broken on the wheel of our stupid, unreal, and unlikelike, scholastic judgments.

Such callousness has been "respectable;" it has indeed been fortified by conventional standards and accepted practices. The hope of a new day in education has lain in the development of a new school that would base its practices in a philosophy and science of life. The junior high school is life—life that prepares for living, life that springs from within, life that is fresh and dynamic and resourceful. In this life, all children may develop eagerness to contribute, all may find satisfaction in originality, initiative, and service.

In the fields of health and recreation, in civics, in English, in music, in art, and in industrial arts, progress toward intelligent education is really being made empirically and realistically—often in spite of some of our researchers and "leaders." Out of the school's adjustments to the pressing problems of school practices, a new school curriculum is already emerging.

What does the already emerging curriculum indicate regarding the nature of this curriculum-to-be? Already in progressive junior high schools, one-sixth to one-fourth of the school day is given over to activity-periods and assemblies. If we include the lunch period, play ground supervision before and after school, athletic teams, Scouts, nature clubs, hiking clubs, and the like, the fraction of the school day given to other than subject-classes is already between a third and a half! If now we add the share of the time given to "subjects" which is used for student activities—recreation, publication, debates, assembly preparation, dramatics, singing, creating—then the amount of the school day that is left for spelling, algebra, grammar, science facts,

place geography, and history names and dates is small indeed. In the time assigned to physical education and health, to English, to art, to practical and household arts, to music, to civics, to business practices, to science, and occasionally even to mathematics and foreign languages, teachers and pupils cooperate eagerly, during more or less of the time, in a program of student activities that have subject-mastery as only an incidental objective. During such parts of the class-periods, class-activities are not distinguishable in type or spirit from those of the non-class "activity periods."

The junior high school is interested primarily in the social activities of children, its program takes account of their feelings, their desires, their personalities chiefly as they manifest themselves in relation to institutions and to their fellows. Its theses are that children can be guided and led to educate themselves best if—perhaps only if—they are first stimulated to undertake purposeful activities, and that such stimulus and control are most effective if groups of children are concerned in them.

This statement must not be misunderstood. The junior high school has no quarrel with individual expressions of abilities and interests. It does indeed encourage individualized leisure and study. But, as a school, its own instruments are social. And it would lead children to share their gifts and experiences and interests with others.

Normal human beings seek companionship much of the time. It matters little whether or not there is a natural "gang age" or whether or not there is an "instinct of gregariousness." For the junior high school, it is only important that boys and girls of late preadolescence and at the onset of adolescence, do enjoy active association with each other in face-to-face primary groups.

In the typical junior high school, they are encouraged and helped to associate themselves in various types of groups: interest-groups underlie clubs and curriculum electives, abstract ability groups underlie home-room sections and generally core-curriculum divisions, while physical size and ability underlie athletic groupings. Vocational interests may determine special curriculum opportunities. "Over-ageness" may determine special classifications for rapid advancement or special instruction.

The limits of this paper require that a single example of such groupings be dealt with here. The most characteristic aspect of the junior

high school behavior control is found in the home-room advisory section, and that is, therefore, selected.

The Advisory or Home-Room Sections

Characteristic of the junior high school's creative curriculum-emergent is the home-room advisory period. Here is a face-to-face, primary group, a gang—more accurately the raw materials of a dozen gangs. And the teacher-adviser is potentially a member and a sponsor for every one of them.

Adviser and school environment set up nicely calculated sequences of problems and challenges and obstacles and successes. In some aspect of its program every child will participate with all his heart and soul and mind and strength. About such a central purpose, his personality is integrated and his self-expression blossoms.

Objection may be raised that a home-room group is not a characteristic gang because Thrasher and others have shown that informal gangs are not homogeneous as to age. It remains true, however, that many conditions that promote the "ganging" process are present in the home-room, if adequate time is allowed for social processes to develop informally and spontaneously.

Proximity and challenges result in common purposes and common undertakings. These involve cooperation and competitions for leadership or for recognition. Out of the resultant conflicts come group disciplines and group approvals. These social behaviors and social controls are typical of and similar to the conditions of life. Leading and following are both good fun, and the accompanying emotional states of elation and subjection are both enjoyable and satisfying.

Occasionally, however, the unsuccessful aspirant for office or other recognition may not accept defeat readily. He may be very unhappy if thwarted too often, and either distrust his own abilities and so cease to aspire, or become sullen, anti-social, or an agitator for disharmony. Treatment of the pathological cases is difficult and frequently unsuccessful.

The best way to overcome this dissatisfying condition is not to let it happen. If in the early days of the group's career, sufficiently varied group-undertakings are promoted to make it probable that all of the more vigorous social leaders will find self-expression, such thwartings need never occur.

Challenges, "races," and competitions assure eager participation in such group activities. In athletics, in getting subscribers for the school paper, in preparing for the assembly, in preparing "thrift-talks," in securing promptness, and in other similar contests wherein several advisory groups are joined in good-natured competition, there is room for every ambitious boy and girl to find a place of leadership. The "gangs" come to look to one pupil for leadership in athletics, another in journalism, another in dramatics, a fourth in the drive for promptness, and a fifth, sixth, and seventh in other group undertakings.

In its narrower sense a "gang" gangs for a specific purpose. An informal and incoherent group becomes socially conscious when challenged by a common purpose. In this narrow sense of the word, the home-room group is one gang for purposes of organizing an athletic team, and a quite different gang when it undertakes to reduce tardiness to a minimum, or to carry through an assembly program.

As the advisory work progresses, the sponsor promotes the desire for other undertakings of such nature as to give even the shyest or socially least competent pupil his chance to gain recognition, and even to exercise a brief but successful leadership. This is a fundamental duty of the adviser.

In the home-room group, it is desirable that as rapidly as possible and as gradually as necessary, motives for cooperative and competitive endeavors *within the group itself* be promoted. The transition from inter-group activities to intra-group cooperations and competitions should be begun as soon as it seems probable that there is sufficient group consciousness to make the attempt reasonably successful.

It is easier to act than it is to think about such abstract virtues as loyalty, trustworthiness, and the like; hence, the publishing of a home-room newspaper (a single copy for the bulletin board is sufficient) or giving an after-school party or preparing an assembly or cleaning up the locker room serves to promote behavior-adjustments of several desirable kinds.

There is promoted the search for and recognition of abilities and willingnesses on the part of the pupils; proposals frequently conflict and their sponsors must face the need for modifying them; groups within the room urge conflicting schemes which are checked up not only by their feasibility and inherent desirability but also by the social

enthusiasm that they arouse, leaders emerge and so do their rivals; political control may develop and it may be challenged.

New resources in pupil experiences and special abilities are constantly sought after. The child who plays a violin, the one who has been to Europe, the one whose father is a city official, the one who can "do tricks," the one who has become an "Eagle Scout," the stamp-collector, and the gymnast are all in demand on one occasion or another.

Group consciousness must be expanded, however. The child serves the group, and child and group serve the school. The individuals identify themselves with the group's ideals and achievements, and the school accomplishments of each member may affect wholesomely the attitudes of every other member of the advisory group.

As an example of such a group's pride, the following quotation from the comments of the spokesman for a group of dull-normal, over-aged boys who had been transferred to the ninth grade may be cited:

"It was a few days after the beginning of the fall term, when all the pupils were wondering who was to be their new adviser, and whether we were going to get a teacher that was willing to make us happy and make things like home. We felt like people at a circus, who take a chance on a rolling machine that costs twenty-five cents a shot, and who had their lamps focussed on the prize in the rear of the tent, and who were wondering whether they would win or not. They didn't know, but they took a chance. Well, that is the way we felt before the opening of the present term, when a certain few boys were taken from one group, put into another, still another, and at last we found ourselves in Miss Jones's room, with thirty-five good fellows.

"All of us boys were happy as heck. Our adviser, Miss Jones, suggested the name, Blewett Braves. It was unanimously adopted. It sounds weird, doesn't it? Of the big group of thirty-six boys, nearly every one has some office in the school. Some of the guys have more than their share and have as high as four offices. We have the Captain of the Corridor Officers, the four Lieutenants, one Sergeant, and eleven Corporals.

"We have the president and vice president of the ninth grade congress and two representatives to the cabinet. Also we possess thirteen members of the "B" council, three lunch-room cashiers, and two servers. Another feather in our cap is the barn dance we gave, in which eighty members of the ninth grade, faculty and pupils, took part. It was a success that put the Blewett Braves on the map. Well, you've heard all about us. Our wigwag is 108."

To know what each pupil can contribute, to get him to desire to do it, to set the stage so that his effort may be successful to the extent

¹ Cox, P. W. L. *Creative School Control*. J. B. Lippincott Co., 1927, p. 58

that he makes earnest effort—in a word, to replace the conditions that repress by conditions that encourage expression with satisfaction—this requires great resource and true teaching and advisement. It is of utmost importance, however. *And it does work in practice*⁴

This is no small accomplishment. It is more significant than correcting English usage, more important than history dates or even than intellectual problem-solving. It may result in the child's discovery of, if not in the saving of, his soul. Freed of emotional conflicts and repression, calm and confident within the limits of his ability, each one goes about his daily work, in school and out, knowing from happy experience that in some capacity his contribution is unique and is needed by his fellows, and that to the extent that he puts forth earnest effort some measure of success will result.

All of this he knows, not as information, but rather as a behavior complex. He walks with head higher and shoulders more erect because his conscious self and his biological self are in accord. He is encouraged to live a life of positive action that satisfies his unconscious self.

The truth of the following paragraphs from Samuel Butler's, *The Way of All Flesh*, written over a half-century ago, must now be apparent. Speaking of the boy, Ernest, shortly after entering Roughborough School at about thirteen, he continues:

"The dumb Ernest persuaded with inarticulate feelings too swift and sure to be translated into such debatable things as words, but practically insisted as follows —

"Growing is not the easy, plain sailing business that it is commonly supposed to be. It is hard work—harder than any but a growing boy can understand; it requires attention, and you are not strong enough to attend to your bodily growth, and to your lessons, too. Never learn anything until you find you have been made uncomfortable for a good long while by not knowing it, when you find that you have occasion for this or that knowledge, or foresee that you will have occasion for it shortly, the sooner you learn it the better, but till then spend your time in growing bone and muscle; these will be much more useful to you than Latin and Greek, nor will you ever be able to make them if you do not do so now, whereas Latin and Greek can be acquired at any time by those who want them.

"You are surrounded on every side by lies which would deceive even the elect, the self of which you are conscious, your reason-

⁴ Even relatively mediocre teachers are frequently—one might almost say generally—caught up in the friendly and joyful spirit of the groups. Such "conversions" require administrative finesse, of course. It requires a "big brother" and "big sister" type of cooperative supervision. It requires decentralization of responsibility and creative leadership. It requires that the principal himself become adviser and sponsor to a faculty "advisory group,"—a faculty "gang."

ing and reflecting self, will believe these lies and bid you act in accordance with them. This conscious self of yours, Ernest, is a prig, begotten of prigs, and trained in priggishness, I will not allow it to shape your action. . . Obey me, your true self, and things will go tolerably well with you, but only listen to that outward and visible old husk of yours which is called your father, and I will rend you in pieces even unto the third and fourth generation as one who has hated God; for I, Ernest, am the God who made you"⁶

The junior high school has discovered what all socially significant institutions must discover, that stubbornness and perverseness were given by nature for a purpose. It is an assertion of self-respect, "an unwritten insurance policy against slavery." Not mandates but motives, guidance, and sponsorship are the means by which behavior-adjustments may best be obtained.

The individual child is the end of the creative social process, and the school must not utilize the child to promote a smooth running school machine. Rather should the school utilize the school institution to promote purposeful socialized activities and unique but integrated personalities of the pupils. If the pupils of Miss Smith, instead of selling tickets to the school entertainment in order to "beat Miss Robinson's group," do so in order to serve the school, then intergroup cooperations are promoted. Such cooperations are promoted by the introduction of concrete motives such as a parade, a parents' night, a Red Cross roll-call. Later, less dramatic motives, such as the care of the school grounds, decrease of tardiness, traffic problems, library equipment, and lunch-room conduct may call for representatives from the home-room to meet in informal council. Such a council will legislate regarding plans, ideas, conflicts, etc.; it will seldom interfere with behavior-adjustments by vote.

Under such conditions the only competitions between home-room groups is to discover "who best can serve the state." It is, indeed, not unpleasant to be defeated in such a competition if one is satisfied that the better plan won. All members of the home-room groups may not be convinced, of course, but if school welfare is uppermost, the lessons of representative government for the decision and execution of social policies are thus learned. Whether or not pupils agree with decisions of council or administrators, their behavior will be affected

⁶ Butler, Samuel. *The Way of All Flesh*. Boni & Liveright. Modern Library, p. 130.

rather by the interaction of the school-morale and the habits and attitudes promoted by their home-room groups.

For in the home-room, life is abundant and most unrestrained, eagerness and joy abound, and success attends all earnest efforts. Here it is easy and "natural" to behave in socially desirable and self-satisfying ways—indeed whatever is self-satisfying is also socially desirable. It is an embryonic typical community, a purified and idealized democratic society.

HOW TO TRANSLATE A LIST OF DETAILED OBJECTIVES INTO A PRACTICAL PROGRAM OF CIVIC EDUCATION

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FOR some six or eight years there has been active propaganda for the idea of building school curricula around specific objectives. Of course at first this proposal provoked considerable mirth, and in those early days I heard prominent students of education sneer at the fact that Bobbitt's Los Angeles list contained upwards of a thousand items. Most people by now have accepted the principle that the school must set for itself, not a few large aims like development of character and resourcefulness, but many hundreds of quite specific aims couched in terms of the particular abilities needed out in society. But the present difficulty is how to turn these specific objectives into practical working programs. One finds the general idea very inspiring but when one reads through the lists—long and detailed as they are—the effect is likely just to make his head swim, so that he holds up his hands in despair and goes on teaching about as he did before. The purpose of this article is to illustrate how we can go about working lists of detailed objectives into practical school programs.

The curriculum procedure here in question involves, as indicated above, breaking up citizenship, personal culture, domestic efficiency, or whatever else we are working for, into the specific elements that make it up; then pursuing each of these elements as a clearly conscious objective. There are available several exhaustive analyses of civic efficiency. In a Supplementary Monograph¹ to the School Review Professor Bobbitt reports a study by John A. Nietz based on interviews with various types of citizens in Chicago which yielded a very detailed list of the activities of good citizens. During the past nine years the present writer has worked up a similarly detailed "composite picture" of the efficient citizen by telescoping over a thousand separate analyses supplied mostly by mature schoolmen. Each schoolman was asked (1) to make a job analysis of citizenship as he him-

¹ Number 31, *Curriculum Investigations*, chapter VII

self had experienced it, (2) to get in mind some particular good citizen and write down some of the things he did which seemed to be responsible for his goodness as a citizen, and (3) to describe some particular bad citizen. When these lists had been translated into comparable terms and compiled into a single composite list they gave what the writer believes to be a practically complete picture of the kind of citizen we wish to make, though, of course, each of the two hundred and fifty-odd items could be further subdivided at considerable length.

We shall use here only one item from that list to illustrate how we can pursue the items of such analysis as definite objectives. Each of the others needs to be similarly treated.

"The civically efficient individual must be above sectionalism and all other forms of partisanship; he must be ready to take the impartial spectator's attitude in respect to the rights of his own group compared with those of other groups."

At present our citizenry as a whole is undoubtedly deficient in this trait. Local patriotism outweighs large scope loyalties. Not only have our people in the main been ready to accept the slogan, "America first," but they have in practice placed even ahead of that their respective states and communities. Citizens of a community are expected to support their local candidate when he is pitted against a candidate from outside, assessments are often so manipulated that as little as possible of the state's tax shall fall upon the local unit; congressmen are encouraged and expected to work for new postoffices or other improvements for their constituencies; and political questions are scrutinized more largely from the standpoint of how they will affect the local section than how they will benefit the world at large. Indeed so persistent is the human nature pull toward sectionalism that Professor Bobbitt has pointed to the cultivation of large-group consciousness as the central problem of civic education. Proposals:

1. Any sound education for cosmopolitanism must, of course, start with the pupil's own experience. He must, within the realm that is real to him, have got into the way of looking at conduct from the standpoint of the larger whole. He must have come to see that it is base for him and his chums to give each other illegitimate help or otherwise to pit their interests against the welfare of the class; he must have come to willingness to have his team lose in the athletic contests rather

than have them resort to unsportsmanlike methods of winning, he must have come to feel that true loyalty compels him to oppose his own class when it proposes conduct injurious to the school as a whole; he must have become ready voluntarily to withdraw his team from the ball ground when another school or club is morally but not legally entitled to it. These are little daily practices over which parents, bystanders, and teachers have supervision or influence, and they must be constantly so handled that to be decently considerate of the rights of groups other than his own will have become "second nature" for the growing lad and lass. The school's athletics, and other extra-curricular activities, afford excellent opportunities for the application of this viewpoint but many opportunities are to be found also in classroom procedures and in all phases of the pupils in-school and out-of-school life. By the experiences resulting from the utilization of these opportunities the pupil will have cumulatively developed a "sub-conscious," intuition philosophy of life impelling him to look at proposed conduct always from the standpoint of how fair and decent it is from the other fellow's point of view as well as how convenient it is or himself and for his gang.

2. The example of teachers and parents and of esteemed people in the community is a further factor in training the child into cosmopolitanism in his point of view. In the Economics class, in the History class, in Literature, in Geography, the true teacher will so constantly survey all problems from the point of view of one who stands aside from all interested parties and maintains the poise of the impartial spectator that pupils will come almost inevitably to catch that same point of view. Whenever pupils argue a question from the standpoint of the interests of a particular group, they will be confronted with the fact that the true criterion is not whether the matter was valuable to this particular set but whether from the standpoint of one looking upon the world from the outside it would seem to be the right thing. Such constantly maintained atmosphere of cosmopolitanism should weigh heavily in the pull by which pupils are to be raised above sectionalism in their outlook upon life.

3. In the third place, and central in-the-scheme, there must be developed in the pupil deep and strong ~~emulation~~ ^{emulation} a citizen should act from the point of view of the whole rather than from that of the welfare of a single section or group. To this end the matter may be

brought up for explicit discussion in class. Such discussion is likely to be interesting and convincing if it is precipitated around some concrete problem, as: "Is it right that the East should insist upon a tariff on manufactured goods when no compensating tariff on agricultural products could be successfully laid for the benefit of the West?" "Is Senator Sorgun a true Republican when he uses his great personal influence to get the appointment of Mr. Blank from his own state on the Supreme Court bench?" "Ought Americans to encourage the improvement of the St. Lawrence River transportation when such improvement would divert freight from our railroads and from our own Erie Canal?" "Also to debate the merits of such theories of government and industry as "pluralism" and "syndicalism" in comparison with our present form of organization, should constitute an excellent opportunity for clarifying ideas and establishing convictions regarding the propriety of having each group clamor for its own.

4. Again, impartiality in regard to other groups in comparison with one's own must be made an *ideal*. Narrowness and class selfishness must have become emotionally taboo. Conversely, even-handed justice as between diverse groups and sections must have come to be regarded as so enticingly beautiful and noble that when the youth contemplates conduct of his own or of others that is in harmony with it, he is thrilled with admiration and approval. A number of devices can be made to contribute toward such idealization of intersectional justice. Constant reiteration will help by its cumulative effects; the teacher's shudder at concrete cases of narrowness, and his evident pleasure at breadth of sympathy, will be further factors; doubtless poetry and song could be made to add something. But probably the most effective device for emotionalizing this attitude is to be found in the judicious use of heroes and slackers. Concrete cases of men and women who have beautifully exemplified the attitude of impartial justice to all sections on a par with their own can be related for the admiration of the class; conversely, slackers who were contemptibly narrow in their loyalties and unfair to groups or sections other than their own can be so presented as to arouse the disgust of the pupils. These stories of heroes or slackers can be brought up incidentally in history, geography, literature and other studies and more systematically in the course of civics.

5 By these convictions, taboos, and ideals pupils will have been *disposed* to be fair to outside groups, sections or nations. But one thing more they need—a *knowledge of those groups*. There must be an understanding of the needs and problems of the several sections. This is to be attained partly through problem-solving. *Why* is it that New England wants a protective tariff? *Why* does Japan want room for the emigration of her people? If our pupils can be led to think such problems through thoroughly in geography and elsewhere, so that they leave school with a vivid realization of the social needs of different sections, they will be in better position to pass intelligent judgment as to what proposals or requests from these sections they ought to support. Although to find solutions for such problems as class projects would probably be the most effective way in which to have pupils get a clear insight into the needs and characteristics of the nations, direct explanation by the teacher, or expository teaching in text books, might also prove satisfactory. Indeed any information would be pertinent to our purpose here that gave promise of ever affording any basis for passing judgment on the legitimacy of a group's wishes—what the people do, what are their natural advantages and handicaps in doing these things, what are their resources, what are the characteristics of the people, etc.

6. Not only do our future citizens need an intellectual grasp of the problems of the various sections and nations but also a warm *feeling of intimacy* with the peoples of other communities and other lands. One reason why we are ready to support the wishes of our own section rather than of New England is because we can scarcely realize that New Englanders feel their wants quite as keenly as we feel ours. They seem to us so distant and so cold that they do not strike our imagination as quite human. Even more largely is this true of peoples of foreign nations. The peoples of these lands are likely to seem mere shadowy figures, diabolical machines of some sort, scheming savages ready to pounce upon us in war and to destroy our fine civilization. We need to come to see that they are human just as we are, that they are characterized by the same tenderness and kindness and sympathy and sensibility as the people about us whom we know so well and love so much. A highly realistic geography can be made to give pupils this feeling of intimacy for distant peoples. Such realistic geography will use stereoscopic pictures, movie scenes of

life in the land under study, human interest stories, realistic reports by students as to what the people do in their daily round of duties, anecdotes to bring out the human-nature side of their lives, such realistic material for collateral reading as that of the MacDonald series, *Little People Everywhere*, dramatization of the play and work and other phases of the life in the country in question, pageants in which representatives of the nations studied meet our representatives in friendly greeting and intercourse, exchange of letters between children in the foreign country and children in our own schools, and many other devices so to *introduce* our children to the children and adults of the distant land that they will come to feel akin. Such feeling of intimacy, and such alone, can make possible a genuine sympathy and, consequently, an easy and natural justice.

Reverting now to general terms after our single concrete illustration, our steps in setting up a purposive curriculum for school education in citizenship will be the following:

1. Get before us a detailed blueprint of the individual we wish to make as the end result of the educational process. Such blueprints are now available as far as the larger headings are concerned, though there still remains the task of breaking each item into further aspects or stages.

2. Check through the blueprint, raising the question which of the items need for their sufficient realization the aid of the school in the particular type-group of pupils with whom we are dealing, and which will be sufficiently taken care of by such non-school agencies as ordinary association, the press, the church and the movies. From this point on we need work only upon those which require the aid of the school.

3. Break up into its psychological constituents each objective that remains on our agenda. The objective itself will be stated in terms of the ability to do a certain thing as a citizen. But the ability to do each thing will rest upon ideals, taboos, interests, habits, knowledges, and techniques of procedure. We must spot these psychological elements on which our social objective depends because it is these psychological objectives that will suggest to us directly methods of procedure in our teaching.

4. Allocate to optimum grade levels the efforts to attain the objectives we have set for ourselves. Some of them can be accomplished

chiefly at a single grade level while others will require follow-up efforts distributed purposively through a number of grade levels.

5. Consider what are the most effective methods of teaching for any particular desired element—exposition? problem solving? inductive lesson? story? practice? suggestion? or what? Ultimately this question must be answered on the basis of a very long series of scientifically controlled experiments in which the results from alternative methods are measured in order to determine which methods yield best results.

6. At each grade level allot to the several studies and to the other activities the objectives to be worked for at that stage.

a. Some of our objectives can be sought through extra-curricular activities—parties, clubs, conversation, music. But it is easy to deceive ourselves as to how much we are getting from this source. If parties and clubs are to make much contribution we must consciously set them up with reference to the civic outcomes we expect from them. In the lower grades the counter-part of these clubs and parties are various monitorial duties through which pupils serve and through which practice they develop civic virtues and abilities.

b. Some objectives should be realized through the administration of our school system—the type of discipline maintained, pupil participation in school government, socialized classroom procedures, the example of the teacher, and the atmosphere of the classroom. But these are likely to count for most only when the teacher sets up these policies with an eye to their bearing upon the civic ends he wishes to achieve through them.

c. Many objectives can be realized through incidental instruction in the various school studies. The teacher of English, of History, of Mathematics, of Science, has many opportunities, if he will use them, for making little thrusts here and there toward ideals and biases and perspectives and techniques known to be needed by good citizens. To his pupils he may seem at these times to have wandered off his subject for the moment, but in reality he is doing precisely what he had planned to do. The great danger in this incidental instruction is that it may be neglected; teachers of history and other subjects will claim that they have many possibilities for such teaching of citizenship but as a matter of fact do little or nothing in practice about these possibilities. To prevent this I advise teachers to sit down in the fall with

their text books and their courses of study before them, go through these and write in the margins of the text each point at which it would be possible for them to inject a drive toward one of the items in the list of elements in civic efficiency, and then as the year goes by put into the daily lesson plans at the indicated places provisions for actually making the drives for which they had contracted. Without such systematic means of reminding oneself of one's obligations, opportunities for incidental teaching are likely to be passed by unused.

d. After as much as possible of civic instruction has been provided for through these unsystematic means many objectives will be left inadequately provided for. These should be assigned to courses for systematic instruction—courses in civics, in hygiene, in ethics, in economics, in sociology, in psychology. The syllabi for these systematic courses should be made up from the topics still standing in our civic and other analyses after those have been checked off that can be fully taken care of incidentally or that pupils may be expected to fall into without the aid of the school. In other words, the function of the course in civics, and in the other social sciences, is a residual one; civics should complete whatever has been left undone by all the other agencies combined.

To this procedure I think we may appropriately apply the name, *Educational Engineering*. Our procedure is very much like that of the architectural or mechanical engineer. We do not forge ahead at random in the dark. Instead we set up for ourselves a blueprint of what we want; then we began a systematic drive to bring into reality everyone of the elements of our blueprint. We do not teach subjects for their own sake but merely use them as tools for bringing about the right sort of changes in pupils. We do not permit parties and clubs and conversation merely as a means of amusement but employ them as opportunities for building definitely conceived types of civic character. And all through the day we are continually on tiptoe to adjust means to definite ends. About each incident in discipline, about each policy affecting the social life of the school, about each step in teaching, about each act that may be imitated by pupils, we raise the question, how can it be so managed as to make it drive on maximally toward this or that specific civic ability that we as schoolmen have contracted to develop in our pupils before we turn them out into the state

BOOK REVIEWS

THE GANG. By *Frederic M. Thrasher* Chicago The University of Chicago Press, 1927 Pp. XXI+571, \$3.00.

In recent years a great deal of literature and more of platform discussion has appeared, dealing with the gang, most of which has been guess or fantastic. The book of Doctor Thrasher represents the first attempt to present a scientific treatise. He has organized and presented his facts so convincingly that his book represents one of the outstanding contributions to the sociological literature of the year.

The value of this book for educators lies in its presentation of a type of collective behavior with which every educator is immediately concerned. The educator is no longer required to rely upon the psychological or philosophical theories of gangs but upon a scientific inquiry into their character, activity, and educative influence.

Doctor Thrasher opens by implication the whole problem of the educative influence of the gang and his discussion is most valuable from this point of view. The modern educator can no longer be content with the method and type of school organization that has satisfied him in the past. We are led to inquire whether our biggest problem is not that of making natural gangs out of our classes in situations that will insure adequate and proper instead of improper social behavior.

The writer has contributed little to the discussion of the problem of education directly, but his indirect contribution has been one of the greatest of the year. The study represents the ideal of social research and the literary style is highly effective

E. GEORGE PAYNE, New York University

AN OUTLINE OF METHODS OF RESEARCH WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS By *P W L Cox, J G Masters, J K Norton, R W Pringle, A J Jones* (Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin 1924, No 24) Washington Government Printing Office, 1927 Pp VI+31, \$10.

Educational research, the writers feel, has been too largely of the laboratory type. While recognizing that a Bureau of Educational Research is a valuable adjunct of every school system, the fact remains that "much research can be carried on *only in the classroom* where

the process of education is *actually taking place*, and where all agencies concerned are functioning as they usually do." The teacher and principal, then, are very important factors in educational research. But the majority of them are untrained. The bulletin aims to give definite suggestion for procedure to such teachers and principals as wish to investigate some phase of secondary school work.

After consideration of the meaning of research, of the selection and definition of the problem (where emphasis is put on such practical problems as will lead to improvement of procedure), four types of research are recognized and discussed: the historical type, the experimental type, the philosophical type, and the survey. The case method and questionnaire receive passing notice. There is brief discussion of the interpretation of data. A list of research agencies available for principal and teacher, and a classified bibliography, are appended.

The pamphlet is suggestive, and contains many common sense observations. In so few pages, of course, little actual technique can be given. Unfortunately, the bibliographies are hardly adequate to allow the reader to make good this deficiency for himself. The case method, probably the most practical single research tool a teacher could be given, is very inadequately discussed, and none of the significant books on the case method are cited. There is a tendency to identify special methods with research as such—the "philosophical type," for instance, is merely the Aristotelian logic which led scholastics to debate how many angels could dance on the point of a needle, and the pamphlet fails to point out that the deductive logic contains within itself no means of checking its assumptions. The pamphlet treats the school and its problems—by implication and emphasis—more or less as though they existed in a vacuum and were not constantly conditioned by social situations outside the school. Within its limitations, however, which are for the most part limitations of space, the bulletin should prove highly valuable in orienting principals and teachers with respect to educational research.

HARVEY ZORBAUGH, New York University

AMONG THE DANES By *Edgar Wallace Knight*. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1927. Pp. XII+236.

We in America must sometimes grow sceptical and disheartened as we take our parts in the groping efforts of our people to deal with their

important political, economic, educational, and other social problems. The challenge of Denmark helps to sustain us. For Denmark is a laboratory somewhat removed from the vortex of European politics, freed from imperial ambitions, homogeneous in race and culture, and driven by its lack of natural resources either to apply its intelligence or to surrender its national entity.

Among the Danes political, agricultural, economic problems have been faced by resourceful and influential men courageously and with remarkable insight. "Good schools have purified their politics, dignified their ways of government, and enlightened the people. Through education and cooperation the Danes have reduced social injustice and increased the well-being of all the people. They have applied taxation . . . as investment in common prosperity."

What the conditions have been, how they have changed, what changes now seem imminent, is clearly and sometimes charmingly told by Professor Knight, who for most of the year 1925-26, lived in Denmark as Research Fellow of the Social Science Research Council. In the first seven chapters the author has given a clear and understandable description of the Danish people, their culture, their economic and social problems, and the interrelation of functions and influences of their traditions and aspirations, their government, their cooperatives and other societies, and their various educational institutions.

The discussion of the methods and accomplishments of the Folk Highschool is peculiarly discriminating and stimulating; one feels as though he must do more than admire it, he ought somehow to translate some aspects of spirit and method into equivalents for American education. In this resolution, the reader is encouraged and helped by Professor Knight's comparisons between Danish conditions and those of North Carolina. Unfortunately, he has almost too regularly taken such occasions to scold his neighbors; at times one would almost suggest the ducking-stool as fit treatment for the author.

The later chapters of the book include expository pictures of social, political, and educational problems that are of great interest to socially alert people everywhere. These pictures cover a considerable range of interests: viz., Hans Christian Anderson's personality and influence, the treatment of the German minority in Slesvig, teacher training, the formalism of the University, agriculture, taxes, marriage and

divorce, and the decay of romance. Merely listing these topics is, however, quite inadequate. One must read the charming and humorous chapters on the visit to the farm and on the University commencement—indeed one must read the entire book and that is what the present reviewer recommends to everyone who is interested in a better America.

PHILIP W. L. Cox, New York University

BEFORE BOOKS. By Caroline Pratt and Jessie Stanton. New York. Adelphi Co., \$2.00.
ADVENTURING WITH TWELVE-YEAR-OLDS By Leila Stott and Caroline Pratt. New York Greenberg, \$2.00.

Before Books is the story of the school life of children of four years of age and of children six years of age in the free activities of the school environment set up in the well-known City and Country School, 165 West 12th Street, New York City. *Adventuring With Twelve Year Olds* presents a year's work with an older group. With the records, which in each case picture the actual school living of the children, goes an account of the School and its philosophy, with the frankest statement of failures and successes in one of the outstanding experiment stations in American education. These two books form the third in a series of which *Experimental Practice in the City and Country School*, a record of seven year olds, was the pioneer.

The City and Country School was founded in the belief that one could not begin to formulate a program of education for children unless through long experience one had discovered what children really were like. So from the very beginning it accepted the children that came to it without prejudice—one of the most difficult feats in pedagogy!—and assumed only one thing, seemingly, that solely upon the natural interests and activities of youth may one build any useful theory of guidance.

Naturally there was no curriculum, and there is still none. And yet the children are busy with useful and purposeful things; and their growth educationally is as straight and as sure as any other growth. Out of natural activities and interests spring all that is needed for living. The curriculum, which, one remembers, means the chariot race-course, is all here for one to read in these books; but it is the course which has been run and which every child has completed with success, and not, as is usually the fact, the course that was plotted but which few managed to finish.

It is from material so richly suggested in these books, our prediction is, that all effective courses of study will eventually be made. Philosophers have guessed about childhood but here is childhood itself. And it is a childhood that renews our faith in human kind and puts to rout the despotic pedagogues whose practices have been actuated by a devilish leaning toward the belief in original sin and whose results have confirmed their theory of infant damnation. For the strength and beauty of young life is here in abundance, and all the moralities, including the business credo of persistence, concentration, and sticking-to-the-job; it even has the culturists item of the discipline of difficulties; and the excursions into biology, chemistry, physics, civics, hygiene, sanitation, transportation and the like make up part of the living desire of even four year olds.

The craving for information about the life we do now live goes hand in hand with the persistent impulse to create. If one adds two other urges that are amply illustrated in every half dozen pages of these books, the curiosity about the past out of which and because of which has come this very present, and the strong desire to come under the influence of the creative work of their elders, the main ways to education are exhibited here as open to all who pass this way. Information that grows out of daily necessity, self-expression in word, act, thing and deed, a view of the journey man has already traveled, a surrender to the play of art upon our spirits, when these are offered as summing up the demands of healthy growth, what more may education really supply?

These books will be a necessary part of the equipment of the professional educator, teacher or administrator; and they will be of rare interest to that great body of parents who, impatient with things as they too often are, have begun to seek the best thinking on that mystery, the growth of personality in their children.

HUGHES MEARNS, New York University

PROCRUSTES, OR THE FUTURE OF ENGLISH EDUCATION By M. Alderton Pink. New York. E. P. Dutton & Co., 1927. Pp. 108 \$1.00.

In the words of the publishers, this book "is sure to unsettle those who are so cock sure that our present educational system is mightily effective." The book is certainly an unsettling one. The author takes occasion to criticize vigorously the present educational system in

England and digresses occasionally to criticize American education. He talks largely of the over-emphasis on unessentials but fails to indicate what the real essentials are. He displays the usual symptoms of those who, receiving their education in the past, criticize present educational procedures, and then find themselves in difficulty because they cannot divorce themselves from the influences of their own past educational experiences.

One is forced to wonder how carefully the author has studied the thing called "education." Regardless of the amount of such study, it would appear that Mr. Pink has not yet arrived at any definite philosophy. He indicates the futility of setting up an educational machine which is based upon the assumption that all children who enter elementary school are destined to graduate from the university. He would have diversified curricula which, presumably, should be molded to meet the needs of those who are not to be expected to go through college. In common with many others, he assumes that when he has used the expression "meet the needs," he has solved the problem, although he has not indicated what these needs are nor what the curricula should be to accomplish the objectives. Such slight indications as he has given are more than tinctured by a traditional conception of education. Particularly is this true in his references to vocational education. One would have more respect for his strictures were he to advocate for vocational education a definite program of specialized education to fit for occupational efficiency, based upon as broad a foundation of general education as is consonant with the abilities of the individual and the conditions in the community.

His diatribe of present trends in university education is justified in terms of those universities which conduct themselves in the manner to which he objects. While it is true that many institutions of higher learning conceive of research in a narrow and impractical sense, nevertheless, there are some universities which have adopted a saner attitude in this respect and which do not allow research to overshadow all other activities. Until a definite decision has been reached concerning the legitimate purposes of a university education and until definite provision is made in the universities for the realization of all these purposes, it is to be expected that universities will continue to muddle along. What these legitimate purposes are, however, Mr. Pink does not tell us. To quote his concluding paragraph: "When the

cult of research has thus reduced itself to absurdity, the time will come when we shall perhaps turn to the conception of a university as a place where, by the study and discussion of problems of fundamental importance, the most intelligent young men and women are brought into contact with the best and most stimulating minds, where the balance is held true between intellect and emotion, between thought and action."

The above paragraph represents a choice collection of words which will have, most likely, a different meaning for everyone who reads them. It is possible that conditions in English education are such that the people need Mr. Pink's pabulum. It is also possible, however, that the author's readers would prefer to have something more tangible and concrete.

RALPH PICKET, New York University

THE CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

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Clement, Stephen Caldwell, Professor of Sociology, Buffalo State Teachers' College. Professor Clement received his A. B. from the State Teachers' College, Buffalo, in 1915. At present he is on Sabbatical leave doing graduate work in the School of Education of New York University

Counts, George Sylvester, Associate Director of International Institute of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia University. Professor Counts is a native of Kansas. He received his A. B. from Baker University in 1911, and his Ph.D. from The University of Chicago in 1916. He has been connected with Delaware College, Harris Teachers College, University of Washington, Yale University, and Chicago University. His fields of special interest have been Educational Sociology and Secondary Education. He has been a special investigator for the Commonwealth Fund, and a member of Philippine Educational Survey Commission (1924). His most notable contribution to Education is "Principles of Education" (with J. C. Chapman). He has spent the past summer in Europe most of which time was devoted to Russia.

Cox, Philip Wescott Lawrence, Professor of Secondary Education, School of Education, New York University. Professor Cox received his A. B. and M. A. degrees from Harvard, and Ph.D. from Columbia. He has been tutor, submaster, principal, and superintendent in Massachusetts, and superintendent at Solway, N. Y. He was an instructor at Harris Teachers' College, organized Ben Blqwett Junior High School, St. Louis, and was principal of High School of the Lincoln School of Teachers' College before coming to New York University. He is the author of Curriculum Adjustment in Secondary School, and Creative School Control.

Ellwood, Charles A., Professor of Sociology, University of Missouri. Professor Ellwood is a New Yorker by birth and early training.

His bachelor's degree was received at Cornell, and his Ph.D. at Chicago after having spent a year at University of Berlin. He has been in his present position since 1900. Professor Ellwood is an active member of many educational societies both national and international, serving as President of the American Sociological Society in 1924. He is contributor to numerous periodicals, and the author of several books. The most notable of his books are *Sociology in its Psychological Aspects*, *The Reconstruction of Religion*, and *The Psychology of Human Society*.

Payne, Enoch George, Professor of Educational Sociology and Assistant Dean, School of Education, New York University. Professor Payne, the Editor-in-Chief and the originator of this new publication, is a native of Kentucky. He received an A. B. degree from Chicago University and later studied in University of Paris, and the Universities of Berlin and of Bonn receiving his Ph.D. from the latter in 1909. He was teacher, high school principal, professor and dean of the Eastern State Normal School in his native State. For twelve years he was Professor of Sociology and President of Harris Teachers' College, St. Louis. He has held his present position since 1922. Dr. Payne is one of the pioneers in the movement for health and accident education, being the author of numerous articles, pamphlets, and books in these two fields—the chief publications being *Education in Accident Prevention*, *We and Our Health* (books I-IV), and *Health and Safety in the New Curriculum*. His latest book is *Principles of Educational Sociology*.

Peters, Charles Clinton, Professor of Education, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio. Professor Peters is a Pennsylvanian by birth. His education was received at Lebanon Valley College, A. B., Harvard, A. M., and University of Pennsylvania, Ph.D. He had held positions at Clarksbury, (Mo.) College, Westfield (Ill.) College, and at his Alma Mater, Lebanon Valley College and Lehigh University before going to Ohio Wesleyan in 1917. His two books are—*Human Conduct*, and *The Foundations of Educational Sociology*. He has been one of the active members of the National Society of Educational Sociologists, being the secretary for several years

Zorbaugh, Harvey Warren, Assistant Professor of Educational Sociology, New York University. Professor Zorbaugh is a native of Ohio. He received his education at Vanderbilt University and at the University of Chicago. While at Chicago he held a Research Fellowship, and was one of the directors of the Lower North Child Guidance Clinic of Chicago. He is a Clinical Sociologist interested in the sociological approach to the study of individual and social behavior.

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EDITORIAL NOTES

The first and second numbers of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY display the active interest among educators and sociologists in the nature and field of the science. It seems uncertain in the minds of some whether educational sociology is now or ever can become a science. Those who hold this view seem to regard the subject as a philosophy of education and not as a science at all. Still others are of the opinion that educational sociology is not a science and never can become one because its purpose is to take certain principles from sociology and apply them to education. There are various other views represented, but these seem to be two extreme views that have perhaps most emphasis so far.

The editors of this journal take a totally different view. They established the journal to represent a different view; namely, that educational sociology is a science, although an infant in swaddling clothes and that it has a distinct place and field of its own. It is as definitely involved in the interpretation of education as psychology, although the interpretation bears a different emphasis. Educational sociology is concerned moreover not merely with the aim or objective of education, but with the subject matter of the curriculum, the method, the organization and activities of the school, and the measurement of the results of the educational process. Our main problem, as already pointed out by Professor Zorbaugh, is to carry on research in each of these fields for purposes of basing educational practice upon sound scientific principles drawn from verified data. The only way we can give respecta-

bility to our science is to produce scientific results that will merit the respect of those who wish to base educational procedure upon scientific principles and not upon customs or institutional practices, however sacred these may have become through long historical practice and emphasis.

If this journal has a place it is to give emphasis to scientific investigation in education of a totally different sort from that which has held the center of activity during the past score of years. It is to turn the attention from the purely individual problems of learning and the technique of teaching the individual conventional subject matter, to the more important result of the adjustment of the individual to the social life, to the group in which he functions, and to create the greatest effectiveness possible in him in the situations of life. In other words, we have a problem of research into the social aims of education and the means by which those purposes may be realized. This is the task to which *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY* will devote its extreme vigor, energy, and enthusiasm.

SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS AND EDUCATION

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THE modern American school as an institution may be regarded as a product of a complex civilization within which it has an assumed function—education—evolved in the past experience of that civilization. The schools of various peoples and epochs can hardly be understood apart from the larger cultural situations, both spatial and temporal, which have produced them and their underlying theories. Such institutions, for example, as the portico schools of Athens, the church and guild schools of the Middle Ages, the “court schools” of the seventeenth century, or the labor schools and *Rabfacs* of Soviet Russia get their meaning for us from the contexts in which they occur. This is well illustrated also in the interesting Danish folk high schools with their background of a vigorous rural and village civilization in which intelligent, independent farmers, pursuing scientific agriculture and wielding great political influence, carry on vast and efficient cooperative enterprises. Such a system could never exist in an “authoritative, magisterial state.”¹ To understand any educational institution, then, it becomes a matter of paramount importance to study its social backgrounds, historical and cultural.

The modern school, however, is by no means a unitary phenomenon, for it presents multi-form structures, activities, and policies—as divergent as the diverse cultures and communities within which it has developed and of which it is an expression. Many significant differences exist between a Brahmin and a Chinese school, a European and an American university, a Prussian *Realgymnasium* in 1914 and a similar institution in 1927, a French Canadian parochial school in New England and a midwestern rural American community high school, the Wirt system of Gary, Indiana, and the public schools of Indianapolis. These variations are due probably not to hereditary differences in the people concerned, but to variations in social experience. Someone has said that everything and nothing is true of the

¹ See Joseph K. Hart's recent *Light from the North* and Holger Begtrup, Hans Lund, and Peter Manniche, *The Folk High-Schools of Denmark and the Development of a Farming Community*.

American public school This is merely another way of saying that cultural, sectional, and local differences find expression and are reflected in typical institutions. To understand any individual school or system in a local area, therefore, it becomes necessary to investigate carefully the social backgrounds within which it functions. This is one important task of research in educational sociology. Comparative studies of this sort should yield rich returns in suggestions for the interpretation of educational structures and functions.

Comparison of communities, for example, reveals great differences among them in institutions and in general spirit and morale. Although these divergencies have never been adequately measured and seem subtle and elusive, careful observers recognize them as partial explanations of variations in community problems. Differences among communities may be sensed, for example, in contacts with clubs organized on the same plan for the same general purposes and bearing the same name in various localities. The differences in alertness, efficiency, solidarity, public spirit, and so on, in such groups are often marked and they often bear a direct relationship to more general differences among the communities in which they are located. Towns and cities are sometimes characterized as progressive or conservative, fast or slow, thriving or dead, "boom" or dying, Eastern or Western, "hid on" or "wide open," young or old, public spirited or selfish, corrupt or clean, settled or in transition, and so on. That cities have their own distinct personalities has long been recognized by the observers of urban communities. William Healy has suggested the importance of these and similar variations in accounting for the vast differences in delinquency and its treatment in Boston and Chicago.² Such divergencies are equally important in relation to the understanding of the school; the schools as institutions reflect the spirit of the community and their functions and activities are carried on in one way or another as these community backgrounds, often elusive, vary from place to place.

Differences in schools are marked, moreover, even in local communities within a larger urban ecology. Forces are at work in the American city to distribute the population into natural local areas characterized by widely divergent races, nationalities, religions,

² See William Healy and Augusta F. Brooner, *Delinquents and Criminals*, p. 11 and pp. 183-198. It is quite likely that the community factors in the causation of juvenile delinquency would have been largely overlooked if the comparative study, in this case between Boston and Chicago, had not been made.

economic levels, and so on. Furthermore, differences in mobility and density of population, social distance, local self-consciousness, political organization and efficiency, educational levels, and other factors are bound to be reflected in and to determine to a certain extent the nature and needs of educational institutions within these areas.

In Chicago, for example, a school in a congested river ward of "Little Italy" presents very different aspects from one in an exclusive Hyde Park residential district. The schools in each local area must be understood and their tasks considered with reference to the populations which they serve and the special characteristics of their particular districts. In Chicago such areas as the Ghetto, the Black Belt, the "dormitory suburb," the Near North Side, "Little Greece," "Little Hell," and "Back-of-the-Yards," to mention only a few, have, within certain limits, of course, their own types of educational institutions. Many questions with regard to differences in local situations can be answered only by careful investigation of the relation of social backgrounds to the schools. Should a Greek national school in an American city, for example, be regarded as a menace to American traditions? A study of social backgrounds reveals that such an institution will probably facilitate social control through conserving family discipline and morale in the old-world group and preventing premature and superficial Americanization. What relation should such national institutions as the Bohemian sokols have to the public schools? And so on.

The general principle involved in this method of approach is that, in order adequately to comprehend the meaning and functions of a social institution, it is essential to make a scientific study of the social setting or context within which such an institution has developed and with which it must have intimate social linkages. Sociologists have emphasized the importance of this approach for many years, but its general application in the study of social problems has been tardy. That the same principle applies equally to the study of *individuals* and *groups* within their larger social settings is quite obvious upon reflection, but it has been very slow to be recognized in our practical treatment of persons and groups where social direction and control have been attempted. The conscious and critical *study* of the delinquent as a person (an individual in his social context), for example, is rela-

tively a new technique in clinical procedure;³ whereas the *treatment* of the delinquent as a person has hardly begun to filter into our vast and expensive systems of penology.⁴

This principle has been suggested also by some aspects of the Gestalt psychology developed by Koffka and Kohler.⁵ While the Gestalt concepts as applied by sociology are not new, this notion coming from a related field and based largely upon experimentation with apes and men, lends them a certain freshness. The Gestalt psychology is in part a theory of contextual relativity: Any unit of experience gets its significance and its explanation from the fact that it is an element in a larger organization of units with which it has definite relations which give it meaning. Such an organization of units is called a form, a "configuration," a Gestalt. Sociologically speaking, every community is a Gestalt for its local areas; every society is a Gestalt for its subordinate groups; and every group is a Gestalt for its individual members.

The application of this notion to the personality of the school child is fruitful in suggestions for research and ultimately for a more effective educational procedure in the light of his social backgrounds. The school child, like any other human being who is a member of groups and a part of a larger community life, is socially and psychically a function of a larger consensus (Gestalt) which approaches an organic whole in its nature, but which is composed of interdependent elements embodied in interacting persons and groups. A careful study of the elements in this consensus which constitutes the social context of the school youth is essential to an intelligent comprehension of his character and personality. The meanings of the child's attitudes and acts are clear only in view of the larger frameworks (Gestalts) within which they occur; but the meaning of the whole child appears only with reference to his total situation (Gestalt).

This may be illustrated for the school child by reference to certain vital groups of which he is a member, such as nationality, religious sect, family, and gang. Many elements in the play of children can be understood only by reference to their immigrant groupings; they tend to follow the social patterns in play which have prestige in their own cultural backgrounds. Negative attitudes with reference to school

³ See E. W. Burgess, "The Study of the Delinquent as a Person," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXVIII (1923), pp. 657-81.

⁴ See Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang*, pp. 498-530.

⁵ See Kurt Koffka, *The Growth of the Mind* and Wolfgang Kohler, *The Mentality of Apes*. For a briefer statement see *The Psychologies of 1925*, Powell Lectures in Psychological Theory, Clark University, articles by Koffka and Köhler.

health programs are explainable in some cases as the result of religious attitudes on the part of the child. Juvenile feuds often carried into the school may be the result of family feuds and these may again be colored by nationality backgrounds, as in the juvenile vendettas among Italian schoolboys.

The gang provides one of the best illustrations of the difficulty of understanding the school boy without reference to his social backgrounds. If he is a gang boy, his status in the gang is usually of much greater importance to him than is his status in school. For this reason his behavior in critical situations is much more likely to follow the patterns set by the gang than it is to meet the requirements of the school. Ridiculous delinquency,⁶ otherwise totally incomprehensible, becomes readily explainable in the light of the prestige which a delinquent record gets the boy in the gang. The boy's conception of his rôle as a gang leader, a gang "funny man" or daredevil, a gang member, or even an aspirant to gang membership often results in school behavior which is difficult to understand in the light of expected motivation.

The visiting teacher movement undoubtedly owes much of its vitality to insights made possible for the visitor through the intimate study of social backgrounds.⁷ He is one of the few members of the school personnel who is in a position to see the whole child in his total situation (Gestalt). Thus, the meaning of the child in its larger social context may become clear to him as a scientific observer (assuming that he is in possession of an adequate technique for such a study) and the problems of the child may be dealt with intelligently with reference to the total situation. The visiting teacher, in other words, may not only study the child as a person (an individual in all his social relationships), but may also enable the school to deal with him as such.

Among the social backgrounds of the school and of the school child which may be studied with profit for a better understanding both of the institution and of the person are those of race, nationality, social class, geographical section, metropolitan area, city, local community, neighborhood, city block, occupational group, church and sect, political

⁶ Adolescent secret societies also often impose upon their members tests, tasks, obligations, and codes of conduct which make their behavior difficult to understand without an insight into these hidden mechanisms.

⁷ See J. J. Oppenheimer, *The Visiting Teacher Movement*, M. B. Ellis, *The Visiting Teacher in Rochester*, and Mary B. Sayles and Howard W. Nudd, *The Problem Child in School*.

group, club, secret society, and such nonconventional groups as the play group, the gang, the clique, and the set.

A scientific study of the social backgrounds of the school child may begin with an investigation of the backgrounds of individual children. Techniques for such studies have been partially worked out in the behavior clinics and may be examined in their reports.⁸ To gain a complete picture of the child as a person, it would be necessary first to get a life history exhibiting the development of social relationships. Social contacts and influences have molded him all along the way; they must be thoroughly investigated and fully weighed in estimating his present traits and trends.

Another important part of the task would be to make a complete study of all the child's present social relationships, particularly with reference to his membership in various groups which condition and determine his behavior. Such questions as the following may well be considered:

Of what groups is the child now a member?

May these groups be classified as: nominal or vital, formal or informal, primary or secondary, intimate or conventional, etc.?

Of the vital groups, which ones are more important in determining his behavior patterns and setting his standards of conduct?

Does the child tend to be a "solitary type" or a social "misfit?" Does his chief interest lie in the direction of chums or pals? Is he a member of many groups, a "joiner?" Does he tend to stick to one or two groups which provide the most effective channels for the development and expression of his interests?

What are the interests and activities of the school child's most vital and intimate groups? What behavior patterns and standards of conduct do they set? What

⁸ See William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *Judge Baker Foundation Case Studies*, Series 1, Nos. 1-20; *Three Problem Children* (Narratives from a Child Guidance Clinic); etc. *The Gang: A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago* by Frederic M. Thrasher is an example of an investigation of one type of social background in a great city, but without special reference to the school for the most part. It seems obvious enough that the mere study of social backgrounds alone would be inadequate, it is always necessary, of course, to look for their interrelations with the school and its problems.

mechanisms of special social control function within them?

And so on.⁹

An investigation of the social backgrounds of the educational institution within which the child is incorporated is also essential to supplement the individual studies and to fill out the larger framework (Gestalt) within which the child functions and gets his meaning. Such a study may attempt to answer among others the following questions with reference to the total school situation:

What is the social background of the school in question?

What are the general traits of the population served by the school? To what extent is it homogeneous with regard to race, nationality, social class, educational level, etc.? What diversities does it present? How are they related to school problems?

What are the institutions and groups in the school district? How do they interact with the school? What are the social patterns peculiar to them? How do they influence the attitudes and behaviour of the school child?

What is the status of community organization in the school area? What is its structure? What functions does it perform? At what points has it broken down or become demoralized? What is the spirit of the community and how is this reflected in school problems? What groups in the community interact with the school and what effects do they have upon it?

How may the groups and institutions of the community be classified from the standpoint of reinforcing the work of the school? of thwarting it? of playing a neutral part?

What are the larger social contexts of the school community: such as nationality, rural section, city, metropolitan area, state, nation as a whole, etc.? How do they affect the local community as it touches the school?

How can the school best serve the interests discovered in the community? What use can be made of social heritages represented in these interests?

⁹ It should be emphasized at this point that mere questionnaires are always dangerous to the spontaneity and vitality of any study. The following of any set of questions is quite likely to force the materials into preconceived molds and permit the most significant points to fall through the formal framework. Mere formal information is usually of slight value in itself.

What readaptations can be made in the school program in view of specific social backgrounds?

And so on.

Very valuable in this connection would be a research project which would undertake series of local community studies in given areas, rural and urban, with especial reference to education. Social life histories of the various communities would be prepared, together with intensive studies of local traditions, institutions, and their functioning. This type of study has been carried farthest perhaps in Chicago,¹⁰ where the boundaries of the local communities and their subordinate areas have been ascertained and much of their social history recorded. In this way the mosaic picture of the city is gradually being made out so that eventually its citizens may see it as a whole. The values of this method of investigation for education are great because of the possibility of eventually ascertaining vital social linkages between school and community and school and other social institutions and groups.

The meaning of education, furthermore, will tend to become clearer and more significant both to specialists and to the general public as its place in the larger ecological and cultural Gestalt is made plain and vivid. The hoped-for ultimate ability of the citizen to visualize the city or other area as a whole and see the real functions of its subordinate activities in their relation to the whole will represent a real advance in social intelligence.

¹⁰ Largely under the auspices of the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago

WHAT IS EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY?

A Comment

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PROFESSOR ELLWOOD seems to the present writer to have rendered a distinct service both to sociology and to education by making clear the great magnitude of the sum total of the educative processes in societies, since all the processes of the *transmission* of culture are essentially *educative*. It is true, as he indicates, that each new generation must *learn* from the lips or works of the preceding generation whatever it needs of humanity's accumulation of culture to date

Not all of this *learning* requires conscious *teaching*, of course. Nor does all of the teaching involve *education* if the last term were so defined as to imply purposiveness. But just because *purposed* education, through schools or through other agencies, is expensive of energy and time, it is highly important that its purposes or principal objectives shall be derived, first through a wide ranging survey of all the specific items of the social inheritance which at any time should be passed on to successive generations, and second, through making allowance for the extent and character of such transmissions as are adequately transmissible either through natural learning not requiring conscious teaching (much of which Tarde had in mind in his "Imitation") or through natural teaching not requiring systematized education.

It is to be hoped that educators no less than sociologists will presently address themselves to agreeing upon a working definition of education. When Professor Ellwood says that "education of some sort has always been necessary to the existence of human groups" he is doubtless right, but he leaves us uncertain as to whether he thinks that "the educative process" is as broad as "the learning process" which he is clearly right in evaluating "in its social aspects as the central problem of educational sociology."

To the present writer it appears that both educators and social scientists completely under-value in both primitive and modern societies the rôles, first of naive learning which requires no conscious teaching, and of naive teaching which involves no conscious education. At bot-

tom, of course, there is doubtless *buried, submerged, traditional*, and perhaps *instinctive* purposiveness of many kinds and degrees in the curiosities, imitativenesses, suggestibilities, dominations, and the like which provide fertile soils for both naive learning and for naive teaching. But are we not spoiling our good historic term "education" in stretching it over so vast a field?

In view of the importance and acceptability of Professor Ellwood's major finding one may seem to cavil in taking exception to two of his minor findings. But what is discussion without some disagreement?

First, I wonder what has in reality been the "individualistic view of education" from which it is hoped we shall escape? I cannot find evidence of its existence at any time in the past. Has not all *conscious* education—in family, under churches, by guilds, through states—always been *essentially* social? Have commercialized, endowed or state-supported primary schools or colleges ever been anything else but *social-institutions* in avowed and actual purpose? True, the social groups, classes, or associations for which they prepared their plastic charges may have been too limited—one sect, one guild, one nation; but certainly that mistake was not one of *individualism*.

Secondly, does not Professor Ellwood do an injustice to the possibilities of applied social science when he expresses the hope that development of educational sociology will make clear that the chief application of sociology is *not* in social work—but in education?

Now it is true that social work, "in the ordinary sense of that phrase" connotes, perhaps, too much of purely pathological studies. But surely that is only of the early stages. Is it not certain that the findings of sociology and its sister (or daughter) social sciences will be no less extensively employed in the cooperative economic productions, the political controls, the jurisprudence, and the progenitiveness of the future than in the educations?

SOME NEGLECTED FACTORS IN CURRICULUM BUILDING AT THE JUNIOR COLLEGE LEVEL

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IT is the purpose of this paper to show the influence of certain factors—geographical, social and economic in nature—upon the construction of a program of studies for the training of teachers in any given state. To make the problem definite and concrete, the Junior-College division of the College of Education of the University of Arizona has been chosen because conditions in the state are familiar to the writer. The curricula to be proposed in this program are designed for the preparation of all teachers of the state whom it is the University's function to educate. These curricula are to be established in terms of activities and experiences, provided by the state through the University for the training of those students who offer themselves and can qualify. While the primary purpose is professional, a secondary purpose, quite in harmony with the first, is the further general education of these young men and women for participation in the civic life of the state and the nation. This implies the problem of so adjusting the demands of professional and general education upon the junior college level that each student will receive the greatest possible opportunity for self-realization, consistent with preparation for effective service in his chosen profession and in civil life.¹

Arizona is a state of widely varied needs, conditions and interests. Before we can determine all the conditions involved in the solution of the problem just stated it will be necessary to make a survey of these conditions and needs, in order to determine what additional requirements they place upon the problem further than those obtaining in the training of students in similar colleges in other states.

How Geographical Features Modify the Problem

Geographically, the state of Arizona is probably the roughest, in its surface area, among the states in the Union, varying from 250 feet

¹ See Principle I, *Curriculum Adjustment in the Secondary School*, Co.

above sea-level to 13,000 feet. No large part of the state is free from mountains, though the general topography of the state may be divided into two large contrasting areas—the northern plateau where altitudes range from 4000 to 7000, and the southern portion ranging from 500 feet to 2500 feet. The lands of Arizona, from the view-point of their uses may be roughly classified into (1) *Mountains*, where lumbering and mining prevail, (2) *Plateaus*, which are given up to stockraising, with some farming, (3) *Deserts*, where, under sub-irrigation, some farming and considerable stock-raising goes on, and (4) *Irrigated Areas*, which produce a wide variety of crops.

These four types modify the teacher-training problem, in the following ways: The mountainous portions contain and always will contain a considerable percentage of one-teacher rural schools. The 1917 survey of Arizona shows over 300 schools, though some of these latter are not located in the mountains and may later yield to the consolidation movement.² This type of school interests the University in two respects. First, such schools are under the supervision of county superintendents, now elected at political elections. The University's function is to train a new order of county-superintendent, who can give such schools expert leadership, and a supply of special supervisors to assist such superintendents. Secondly, the rough and frontier-like conditions that prevail in most of these schools require men, rather than women as teachers. May not the University develop a program, whereby young men, looking for a type of experience to serve as apprentice training for small-town principalships may find in such schools experience more pertinent to their needs than high school training? A third type of work in which the University may be of service is represented by certain research studies which the college of education has recently undertaken in the field of rural education and for which work students must be trained. An example of what is meant here may be found in the masters' theses of recent students, at the University notably the study entitled, "The Status of the Rural Teacher of Pima County" by Meredith L. Laughlin and another entitled "The Status of the Teacherage of the Rural Schools in Pima, Santa Cruz and Maricopa Counties" by Nelle Leona Meyer. Both of these were reviewed by the U. S. Bureau of Education in an article appearing in *School Life*, December, 1924.

² See U. S. Bulletin No. 44, 1917.

Topography types 2 and 3, (viz plateau and desert areas) furnish demand for considerable numbers of one and two teacher rural schools as well as for teachers and principals of small town or village schools. The training of such principals, whose job is partly administrative, partly supervisory, belongs in part to the University which has recently been granted by the legislature the right to offer courses in "theory and practice of elementary education."

The irrigation projects in the state now comprise 467,565 acres, broken up into 6605 farms, representing an invested capital of \$33,500,000. Long staple cotton and citrus fruits are the principal products, though the canteloupe industry is prominent. This region, together with the mining industry furnishes Arizona its two largest cities, neither of which exceeds 35,000 population, and its five largest towns which vary from 5000 to 12,000 in population. The type of work required of superintendents and principals of schools in these cities and towns constitutes a factor in devising our program of studies. Courses of study in school administration have far too often had the big cities in mind and have thus tried to make all the little fishes talk like whales.

How Industrial Features Are Concerned in the Problem

Mining is the most important industry, nearly 25% of the adult male population being engaged in mining. The value of the output of copper alone is far in excess of the output of any other industry. *Manufacturing* ranks second, the smelting and refining of copper constituting 82% of the total manufactured products in 1910. *Railroad construction and repair shops* come next. *Agriculture* ranks third as an industry but less than 2% of the entire area of the state is in farms. Of these over 50% of the land is irrigated. Most of the farm population is made up of owners. Cattle-raising will doubtless always remain an important pursuit because much of the state will not yield to irrigation and farming. The irrigation projects develop rapidly and land values have gone as high as \$1000 per acre. Much of these areas grows so rapidly in population as to present most difficult educational problems. These industrial conditions concern the teacher-training policy and program, (1) in the *personal traits and attitudes* desirable to have developed in teachers for these different communities, (2) in the demand for certain kinds of vocational training offered in mining and agricultural communities for which teachers are needed.

(1) *Personal traits and attitudes:* While it is realized that all teachers should possess desirable social traits and community attitudes it is an obligation resting upon colleges of education to do something toward adjusting the personal character of their product to the communities served. This gives rise to a new type of service, called "Personnel Service" which is rapidly coming into vogue in industry and to which education is beginning to give attention. The object of such service is to make such adjustments in working conditions as will bring the greatest happiness to the worker on the job. The teaching profession has long needed to attack this problem in a more scientific way. Research is needed on the part of universities to learn, first, what living conditions obtain in actual teaching positions in the state; and secondly, what instruction is desirable in helping teachers to meet these conditions. The organization of local community forces is also a part of the problem.

(2) *Types of vocational teachers needed:* The present vocational program in public schools in mining communities contemplates the organization of Smith-Hughes courses in electrical wiring, and other courses for the training of boys for skilled positions in the mines. Curricula for girls in home-making and for boys in agriculture are being offered in a number of high schools. The university at present offers curricula for the training of vocational teachers in these two fields. There is, however, much remaining to be done in the development of a better program of cooperation between principals and superintendents of schools and the university in the attempt both to encourage vocational education in the state and to engage in a cooperative study of a teacher-training program in which both *should* be equally interested.

Character of the School Population

This part of our discussion deals with the following considerations:

(1) Who are the potential College of Education students of Junior College years? a. From the standpoint of their percentage of the total population of the state i.e. to what extent are they a numerically selected group? b. What is their social or economic status? c. What is their intelligence? and d. What are their vocational aspirations? e. what fields of the educational service have they chosen as their objectives? (2) To what extent, if any, should the College of Education set up administrative standards that will tend to select for the teaching

service still more carefully than students are already selected by general University entrance requirements.

1-a. *What percentage of the total population do these students constitute?* According to the 1920 census there were 761,766 teachers in the United States, or one teacher to every 139 persons. Comparing this figure with those for other professions we find that there is one engineer for every 777 persons and one lawyer for every 855 persons, one physician for every 481 and one clergyman for every 831 persons.³ If other factors were equal (which they never are) we might reach the conclusion that teaching gets a less highly selected group than any of the other professions named. The total population of Arizona for 1925 was 407,702 or 3.5 persons per square mile. Dividing this by 139 we get approximately 2900 teachers for Arizona which is probably somewhat in excess of the actual number. At any rate the teachers constitute by far the largest professional group and the number to be recruited each year is likewise the largest. Careful studies in tenure and turn-over need to be made and may well constitute problems for graduate students.

1-b *What is the social and economic status of teachers?* The typical teacher-in-training reported in the Missouri Survey (based upon facts about women students only) is a little more than twenty years of age, and has completed eleven years of elementary and high school work.⁴ She is native born and the chances are 50 out of 100 that her parents are native born Americans. Both parents were living when she entered upon training and the family income was approximately \$1250, which went to the support of her in school and her five brothers and sisters at home. Her home was in the rural district or in a small town and her education was obtained in a 3-6 teacher school. We have no similar data as to teachers-in training in Arizona which indicates the need of research in the field.

1-c. *Intelligence.* Much has been written upon the quality of intelligence which enters the teaching profession. Until we know more about types of intelligence and their relation to teaching, until we have formulated reliable tests for other than abstract intelligence, most generalizations seem unsatisfactory, if not unwise.⁵ Most figures that have appeared have ignored the larger percentage of the total population going into teaching as compared with those entering other professions.

³ See Bagley and Keith's *Introduction to Education*, pp 293-7

⁴ Bulletin 14 Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching

⁵ See Cox, *Curriculum Adjustment in the Secondary School*, pp 54-55

However, these precautions being taken, certain comparative data may be mentioned. Book's Indiana study shows that of 2306 boys tested those expressing a preference for teaching tested slightly above the level of the State median. The same was true of the girls. Renshaw in a study of 1199 students (Freshmen and Sophomores) in the Western State Normal College at Kalamazoo found the Alpha median for this group to be 135.5. Thurstone's study of 1575 students entering their first year of training in Pennsylvania and Virginia shows them not to be a selected group, but one essentially on the same level of ability as high school seniors. Our own tests of Freshmen in the University of Arizona show that College of Education Freshmen average slightly below the arts and engineering freshmen and a little higher than freshmen who choose agriculture.

What should be done about the matter? Some city training schools are accepting only the highest half or two-thirds of the classes graduating from the high schools, the ranking being based upon the record in achievement of the student during his entire four years. This emphasizes not merely abstract intelligence, but certain habits and ideals such as fidelity, continued effort, thoroughness, etc. To base selection upon intelligence tests alone does not seem to meet with the general approval of those administering teacher-training institutions. If high achievement is required such a requirement will carry with it a good level of intelligence and other desirable qualities not caught in the intelligence-testers crucible. Although Knight's findings showed no significant correlation between mental ability and teaching success, Bliss of Ohio offers considerable data in rebuttal and argues that we shall surely go wrong if we minimize mental ability.⁶

Certainly something should be done to create a greater public as well as a greater professional respect for teaching as a calling. If some sort of administrative device for a better selection of raw material can be worked out it would probably serve to add esteem to a profession, quite deserving it, but getting too little. It is of course a prudential question as to whether State Universities could set a higher entrance standard for Colleges of Education than for other colleges. The internal storm that such a regulation would arouse would greatly exceed any public criticism from the outside.

⁶ See "Who Shall Teach," Special Study Series No. 4, 1923, Ohio State Department of Education.

The foregoing are some of the social and economic factors involved in the determination of administrative and curricular policy in the training of teachers in a given state. The writer believes that such considerations precede and are basic to any intelligent formulation of objectives, and that in our recent studies of objectives in the field of education we have too often neglected such factors. A subsequent article proposes to deal specifically with the program of studies as modified by the consideration of these factors.

THE URGENT NEED FOR SOCIOLOGY IN EDUCATIONAL MEASUREMENTS

STEPHEN G. RICH

THE word "urgent" has been used in the title of this article because the problem involved here is one that, in the writer's opinion, should be solved or at least worked to a *modus vivendi* at an early date, if either sociology or measurements are to render the highest possible service to education.

The fifteen years 1912-1927 have seen the rise, the fad, the reaction, and the solid establishment of educational measurements as a part of the equipment used by professionally trained educators. The day of finding out whether a given portion of achievement can be tested objectively is past; likewise the day of testing for the sake of giving tests. Despite the persistence of examinations without norms, whether "old style" or "new style," despite the unwillingness of official examining agencies of all sorts to use actual educational measurements for promotion of pupils, etc., the use of standardized tests of achievement and of tests for general ability ("intelligence tests") as tools for solving actual working problems in conducting schools, has become an accepted practice among the greater part of the more wideawake educators.

The same fifteen years have seen the rise of educational sociology as a definite field of knowledge and method of thinking within education. It is ten years since the famous "Seven Cardinal Aims" formulated in the first conveniently usable form the sociological point of view on educational purposes. Since that time, increasingly adequate statements of the sociological basis, working, and effects of education have become developed. Sociological criticism of existing courses, curricula, etc., has become so much an accepted fact that even the most reactionary committees that nominally revise curricula but actually reword the old ones give at least perfunctory lip service to some statement of educational purposes in terms of educational sociology. But it must be admitted that, by and large, educational sociology has not yet progressed to the point of being an effective determinant of educational procedure. It is doubtless in order to aid in producing such

an effective use of educational sociology that this journal has been established.

Up to the present time, the educational measurement workers and the educational sociologists would appear to have kept rather strictly aloof. This is not to be wondered at. Testing is, essentially, a determination of what exists, rather than of what ought to exist. Hence, since the dominant trend in school work hitherto has been and even now is the imparting of information and the training of skills, testing has been predominantly in terms of information and to a lesser degree in terms of skills. Furthermore, the personnel of the test-making and test-using educators has been most largely recruited from those whose primary interest and viewpoint is *psychological rather than sociological*. The interest of the test makers has been rather in what the pupil has acquired than in the values of these acquisitions; rather in determining the actual progress of typical, subnormal, or supernormal groups than in discovering whether this progress in achievement was worth having at all.

In contrast to this point of view, educational sociology has been at bottom a critical rather than a merely investigative activity. This must not be taken as even implying that investigation of fact forms a minor part of educational sociology. But the sociologists have naturally been concerned to know what social functions have been served by the various educative activities operating under different social conditions. They have, therefore, of necessity become critical as to the validity and usefulness of various educational procedures.

The development of educational measurements in arithmetic will serve as a type case, sufficiently familiar to most workers in education to be readily appreciated, and showing the typical results of the divorcement of measurements from sociology. Courtis's Series B tests, the first tests on the mechanics of arithmetic sufficiently satisfactory to find very wide use, have justly been criticized as being more or less artificial from a social standpoint. They may, however, be further and equally justly criticized as being, even at this late date, sociologically without norms. It will be obvious to educational sociologists that at least two additions to the tables of norms are needed—two additions which there has been time to develop. One of these is a set of norms for typical adults who are successfully carrying on various types of vocational activity, such as *mechanical trades, storekeeping, law, etc.* The other is a set of norms for the degree of skill necessary

to be reached in school in order that subsequent forgetting shall not reduce the skills below the levels needed in these vocations. Thus we might find that a successful pharmacist typically attains a skill in addition represented by a speed of 10.7 and an accuracy of 77 and that for securing this attainment as an adult, a speed of 14.2 and an accuracy of 82 need be secured in school.

Woody's tests, again, in the effort to include problems so difficult that no grade-school pupils would solve them correctly, include certain bizarre problems that are found in actual life only in the technical calculations of specialized vocations. Series A Subtraction, No. 32, which is needed only in a bank, is a case in point. Woody's norms are open to the same criticism as are those of Courtis.

In the attempt to analyze out arithmetical ability into its components, problem solving has been separated from the mechanics. Such an analysis and such a differentiation of tests is, of course, legitimate. But the educational sociologist, taking account of social needs, must insist that we use our mechanics of arithmetic in the solution of problems occurring in actual life. It is therefore desirable that the measurement of the mechanical abilities be made, not isolated and as abstract exercises, but in such situations as to allow these abilities the type of functioning that they actually fall into under ordinary social influences.

The writer would, therefore, indicate that if arithmetic tests are to be sociologically satisfactory, they should be made to include the following features:

- (1) The mechanical processes (miscalled "fundamentals" by test makers untainted in sociology) should be tested within the framework of life-situation problems.
- (2) Problem solving and mechanics should be scored separately from such a test.
- (3) The norms should include the two forms of goal: the adult ability necessary for social effectiveness, and the ability needed to be produced in school for the retention afterwards of this necessary adult ability.

If we undertake to make a set of tests that will conform to these criteria, the task is considerably greater than that involved in making any arithmetic tests now in general use. The test material requires several more sittings and rearrangements than have been customary; and a far larger proportion than most test makers are willing to dis-

card will have to be eliminated. The norm-making process becomes considerably more lengthy and troublesome than that hitherto in use. There are at least two siftings necessary in addition to those generally in use. First is a sifting for sociological value. problems which may be perfectly valid, considered psychologically and statistically, will have to be discarded because they do not represent social situations or are artificial. Second, a sifting for problems which show a definite relation to the postschool development of the abilities. As between two problems of equal statistical scale value, involving addition, only, the one that is conquered in Grade 5 and always solved thereafter, will be of less usefulness in our test than one which is conquered in Grade 5, solved at the school-leaving level, but no longer solved by half the adult skilled mechanics.

Testing in arithmetic also shows lack of sociological influence in the way that fractions, both decimal and common, are dealt with. Monroe's research tests, for example, give a whole section to division of decimals by decimals. The extent to which any testing at all on this particular set of abilities is warranted, is a matter for sociological determination. This same set of tests uses, on common fractions, certain pairs to be added, subtracted, multiplied, or divided, which are rarely met with in the social use of arithmetic.

Within the space available for an article such as this it is, of course, not practicable to go into all the details of the sociological shortcomings of arithmetic tests, but it is hoped that both the shortcomings and an approach to a remedy have been made clear.

If we turn to fields other than arithmetic, we shall find substantially the same types of defects in practically all our existing tests, and we shall be able to apply substantially the same methods of remedy. One fact, however, differentiates a number of subjects from arithmetic. Tests in geography, history, high-school sciences and the like, suffer from the defect of being for the most part tests of information and only of information. Fortunately, most of them are avowedly informational only, unfortunately, this avowal is not given due attention by the greater part of the users of these tests. It is not relevant to do more than mention the occasional lapses from correctness in the information which is supposed to form the correct answer, found now and then in even excellent tests, nor, again, to more than note the occasional case in which an uninformed teacher

questions the scoring because she does not have the correct information.¹ These are the inevitable modicum of error in all human work.

But the limitation to information means that we are testing only the smallest and least valuable social results of the instruction in question. In history, for example, the results in terms of civic attitudes and understanding of current problems, far more valuable, are not measured at all. It may be in point, for the purpose of illustrating an attempt to measure such outcomes, to cite one question from a draft test in ancient history, which the writer has seen, but which appears not yet to have been developed for use. This is a multiple-response test, with choice among four answers:

The League of Delos, in its later years, was like what
modern political grouping of states?

(Answers:) The United States
The League of Nations
The German Empire before 1914
The Austrian Empire

The correct answer is "the German Empire before 1914," for the League of Delos was then really an Athenian empire. The response here, though it might be the result of a memorized indoctrination, is likely in most cases to be a genuine use of historical judgment.

From this point it will be desirable to indicate what may be done in the way of applying educational sociology to testing, rather than to continue the sociological criticism of existing tests. The test makers are likely, and with some justice, to insist right here that they are bound to test within the limits of the present curriculum. Therefore, say they, we cannot choose the sociologically valid items and aspects; we must test on what is taught and on the emphases that are given.

To this the educational sociologists may properly reply that there is no need to go outside the existing curriculum and its content. Even that most formalized of all high-school subjects, physics, has, within the existing curriculum as laid down by college entrance requirements, sufficient socially justifiable material to enable quite workable tests to be made. The testers may stick to their existent curricula, but they

¹ Hahn and Lackey, in their geography test, allow an answer that Canada "belongs to England" though it is a coordinate kingdom under George V. The writer has had one answer on his chemistry tests—as to ammonia from lime and a protein showing presence of nitrogen—questioned by several teachers.

can act in the light of sociology by choosing as test items such questions as deal with material sociologically justifiable. The writer may, without egotism, here call attention to his own chemistry tests as an attempt to do this very thing.² Developed in 1922 and 1923, all test material was sifted, in addition to the usual statistical placing and eliminations, once more. Only those items, which, according to what criteria were then available to the writer, served directly or indirectly towards accomplishing some one or more of the "Seven Cardinal Aims," were admitted to the definitive and published tests. Dvorak has done a similar piece of work in his general science tests.³

Such tests, choosing material sociologically justifiable, do not of course give a representative sampling of the whole content as now taught. They do more than this: They give a representative sampling of the whole content of sociological usefulness now taught. Knowing as we do that administrators are relying in increasing numbers upon test results for diagnosis, we are justified in saying that the use of such tests enables the long delayed and badly needed application of educational sociology to actual school needs to begin. In the same way, the sociological guiding of the emphasis is begun by the use of results from such tests.

Another development, and one that should be carried much further, is to test in terms of purposes instead of in terms of subjects. In fact, this is the only type of testing of achievement that can be adequately tested where a full-fledged project curriculum is in use; for the traditional subject divisions simply do not fit. The Payne health scale is perhaps the first attempt to measure the extent to which an educational objective is achieved. Chassell and Upson's citizenship scales are another beginning in this same direction. The just criticism that these scales are too subjective and too greatly subject to error because pupils do not tell the truth as to their activities, is merely an admission that these are pioneer pieces of work rather than definite and permanent measuring instruments. The writer believes that it is possible to make what he calls "bean-spilling" tests for the attainment of those objectives: tests in which the children, without meaning to, will, as they answer, "spill the beans" by giving away what they actually do. If we know that children exaggerate their regularity in

² Rich, S. G. *Chemistry Tests* Bloomington, Ill., Public School Pub. Co.

³ Dvorak, A. *General Science Scales* Bloomington, Ill., Public School Pub. Co.

using the toothbrush, we need to devise questions which those who use this implement regularly will answer in a manner different from that of those who are careless in this health duty. Such a test may not look like or read like a health test; but it will bring out, willy-nilly, the health practices—exactly as in Army alpha the question, “the legs of a Zulu are: 2 4 6 8” brought out, willy-nilly, the range of information about human races to which the subject had been exposed

In conclusion, the writer would state as strongly and forcibly as possible that it is his firm conviction that the actual application of educational sociology to school work will probably not be made until educational measurements are made in terms of sociology. Unless the results of school work are evaluated in sociologically valid measurements, there is little hope of securing any desirable changes. Furthermore, the type of testing that sociological influence is likely to produce will be far more likely to win support from the unconvinced educators who still resist educational measurement than are the tests on the basis of “what is done is valid” that we now for the most part have. Thus the need for sociology in educational measurements is urgent for both testers and sociologists

THE SCHOOL AS A NEW TOOL

AGNES M CONKLIN

Erasmus Hall High School, New York

AS long ago as February, 1921, Erasmus Hall High School in Brooklyn began the practice of testing every entering class. The practice was then greeted with skepticism by the faculty at large but that original step, undertaken in sheer curiosity, has fostered a growing knowledge of how to discover behavior problems and how to treat them. There is now resident in the school an embryo socializing clinic, the present culmination of this interesting growth. Having secured the test results, what was one to do with them? Immediately, it was evident that a child's score was not the whole story. In a certain proportion of cases, a differential existed between what a child, by measurement, ought to be able to do and what he actually did. We have learned that this differential represents the obstacles to school success and, in a larger sense, to life success. Little by little, we have learned to bring a child's equipment and his success nearer together by the elimination of all the obstacles we can perceive and destroy.

What is successful adjustment? The sole purpose of measuring an intelligence is to make it use its maximum possibilities. It can do so only through the medium of a personality that must, in the high-school period, successfully turn the corner from childhood to maturity. So many tadpoles to be completely metamorphosed in the most turbulent period of living! We used to think that adolescence meant only a physical stretching out and that nature pretty well took care of it; now we know that a complete man is a composite of his ages—mental, moral, social, and emotional, as well as chronological. The task of adjustment is to make these ages march together as well as they can and as soon as they can. We have been so in the habit of thinking of a person's educational period as a preparation for life when, as a matter of fact, it is life—not a dress rehearsal, but the performance itself. In school, the basis of judging a worthy performance is just what it is in life: Considering what he starts with, how well does an individual succeed as a student *and* as a person?

Let us assume that, in the usual churning of events, some 800 students from various elementary schools are left on the doorstep of the

high school to be taken in and "raised." About 68 per cent of them will fall into the groove called "normal" and will proceed to graduation in a more or less colorless, middle-track way. The problems are found, in general, in the upper and lower ends of the distribution surface, and this brings us to a consideration of what constitutes a problem. Some will be overage and not suited to an academic course. They must not be permitted to experience unnecessary failure, but as soon as it is practicable, they must be shunted into pathways where success is for them a possible thing. Truancy is so often a concomitant of this type of failure. Some will be of suitable age for elementary-school graduation, but retarded mentally and unrecognized as such by the elementary school. We shall have to give them slow courses and wait for them to grow up, protecting them, meanwhile, from too great consciousness of defeat and too scant a realization of their own handicaps. Some will have physical disabilities—deafness, glandular imbalances, epilepsy, cardiac difficulties and the like. Some will enter high school with the germs of insanity already insidiously starting—excessive day dreaming, hysteria, dementia præcox, strong suicidal tendencies, paranoid trends, phobias, and so on. Some will have, or will develop, sexual maladjustments—failure to pass through puberty successfully, hangovers of homosexuality, persistence of infantile dependencies, and a host of warped viewpoints due to improper knowledge vicariously acquired. Some will early exhibit tendencies to delinquency—lying, forging, stealing, assault. Some will show almost at once unfortunate character trends—abnormal ill temper, abnormal sullenness, abnormal indifference, all growing out of previous life experience, and coloring new experiences as life generates them. Pierre Janet once said: "We shall never know until we find out." That is the keynote of all this activity, a business of finding out and doing something about it.

The approach to a behavior problem is in marked contrast to the old approach to a discipline "case." Let us take as an example a maladjustment literally created by a school that is so intent on getting over its curriculum as to forget that it is dealing with human beings. A boy over sixteen years of age is brought into the clinic from the juvenile court where a charge of pickpocketing in the subways has been justly preferred against him. A great many people would wag their heads at this and resign themselves to believing that we have here the makings of a bad boy. We can hear their moral judgments:

"At his age he ought to know better," "That shows what kind of parents he has," "That's the way a boy gets started toward Sing Sing," "That's the trouble with these gangs," and so on. If the boy is placed on parole or remanded to a reformatory, eventually these morbid predictions of his future do come true, not because the predictions are essentially sound in the first place, but because the reasons for his first act, despite punishment endured, are operative for the succession of acts to come. In this case, however, he is sent to the psychological clinic which undertakes an objective study of him as a person. We find that the boy is the third child in a fraternity of six. The family is in poor circumstances since the father is very erratic in his support of them and the only source of steady income is the mother's janitorial work. From infancy, our boy has had a stammering defect which was regarded as "cute" by his mother and in the early days nothing was ever done about it. He entered school at a normal age, a poorly clad, shy child. He was ridiculed at once for the stammering so that recitation was an agony that increased in intensity during his school life. He ultimately preferred to seem stupid in a silence that cloaked him from the taunts of his fellows and even of the teachers themselves. To add to his difficulties, he was left-handed. He was nevertheless expected to succumb to the goose-step regimen of the public school and to use his right hand in penmanship with the consequence that he was never able to produce anything but an abominable scrawl. His poor handwriting permeated the whole school adjustment, often, he failed in spelling and history because his writing was misunderstood. He has an intelligence quotient of 94 and he should have graduated from elementary school almost on time. Instead, his handicaps retarded and discouraged him so that he was only too glad to secure working papers when he was a little over fifteen and still in the sixth grade. He drifted into the only job that the advertisement suggested to him, office boy, but he was discharged at the end of the first week because he could not answer the telephone. It took him a month to find another place because his speech defect made him a very unprepossessing figure in the presence of a possible employer, and again he lost his job because he did not fit into the niche of ushering the callers to whomever they wished to see in the office. When he was fired a second time, he ran away from home and found a job on a farm in Pennsylvania. For four summer months he was happy, since neither of his handicaps

could seriously interfere with his success. In October, having finished the season, he returned to New York and made several unsuccessful attempts to find a job. Perhaps it was natural that some of the leisure time of job hunting should be spent with a group that had economic misfortunes like his own, and from them, he learned to become a pick-pocket as he might have learned to become a good plumber, through pleasure at his success, in a situation where speech was unnecessary and left-handed dexterity a boon. He found for himself a perfect industrial adaptation in which ideas of morality played no part whatever. After the clinical examination, through his own choice, he was sent to the State College of Agriculture at Farmingdale so that, in a simplified environment, he might learn a means of livelihood compatible with social order. That's all he wanted—a chance to earn his living and maintain his self-respect. When we know his whole story, we stop moralizing and seek a practical remedy for a situation that is as much the fault of society as it is the individual's. We could not *know*, however, except by a genetic study of the past in anyone's life, all that leads up to the moment when he becomes a president, a bridegroom, a suicide, a thief, or an insane person.

The school machinery for handling problem students may be of interest to the reader. The work is done by the Student Welfare Committee, a purposely encouraging title, behind which there lurks a great deal more science and technique than the student is aware of. In addition to the chairman, who is a trained clinical psychologist, there are twenty teacher members who give volunteer service in visiting homes, taking students to clinics, taking certain maladjusted students under the wing, and so on. A group of trained upper-grade students correct and record the group intelligence tests, and carry on the general clerical work of the committee. The chairman was previously an instructor in English, but now has no classes and devotes all her time to the work of investigating the maladjusted. Students may be reported to the committee from any source in school—the disciplinary officers who find students habitually infringing school rules, the grade advisers who want to know why the score does not correlate with the student's achievement, the infirmary, any observing teacher, students who have already been helped and who are passing the benefit on to a friend, and even parents themselves.

Investigation of a case involves careful study, and it may be a very elaborate undertaking. The child is sent for by the chairman, interviewed about his problems, his aims, his aptitudes, and the like, and his general psychological rating is verified by individual tests administered on this occasion. It is worth noting that the child's own viewpoint is the first sought, and frequently there are additional interviews as the accumulated facts reveal the need for them. His record is further enhanced by a complete copy of his scholastic standing and an estimate of his work and character is secured from his present teachers. The health record, always a result of examination in the physical training department in the current term, is sent for and is sometimes supplemented by a report from the family physician. In cases where it is necessary, the student is sent to a clinic for a complete physical examination, always with his own consent and that of his parents. The mother or other nearest relative is called to the school to discuss the child's problem and to give the complete family history and background. This may be followed by a visit to the home made by a member of the committee who is instructed as to what to observe and report upon. Usually, long before this complete data is gathered, the nature of the problem is pretty clear. The relief program is decided upon and undertaken. Often it involves long reëducation of the child and his parents, and the findings of the committee must be disseminated among the teachers so that all available sources of cooperation are used. The procedure is a constant process of drawing together a body of data, interpreting it and redistributing the facts so that much more definite objectives will be attained in the life of the child.

The committee cooperates with most of the social service agencies in the city. These include charitable organizations, clinics, hospitals; Big Brother and Big Sister organizations; special vocational guidance institutions like the Bureau of Rehabilitation; lip-reading schools, agencies providing social outlets like the Boy Scouts, Young Men's Christian Associations, et cetera, the juvenile court; and any group interest that might touch upon the life of the student or perhaps of his family.

When this sort of thing can go on in the public schools, it can scarcely be said that we are dealing with wholesale and mechanical education. We have been thinking too long in the channels of mass schooling, mass punishment, mass industry, and mass production. Here

is the school rediscovering an old fundamental truth—that human masses are everywhere composed of individuals about as disparate as wild flowers in a neglected field. The school function is expanding into something more than the indiscriminate pouring of a formalized education down the throats of the submissive young; it is beginning to see that the young rebound in various ways to this process, and that these reboundings have more significance for their adult lives than the parsing of syntax in Caesar. Like all school adventures, this one began selfishly. In the familiar symbols of percentage, the school hoped to show progress in the reduction of failures and that has been one of the outcomes, but in this, as in other enterprises, the by-products of investigation have almost swamped the investigation itself. The school has digressed out of its natural pathways into the lives of these students, their racial heritages, their backgrounds, their physical well-being, their habits and attitudes, their dreams of the future. It has come to see that, whether or not all individuals become adapted to its particular course is relatively unimportant; that they adapt to life in a rapidly changing world is much more to the point. The school is entering into partnership with life as it is lived.

What does this mean for society? Such a program meets with resistance from conservative members of the social group who feel that the school must not be a coddling place for lame ducks, must not be a substitute for the home, the church, and the playground, cannot be all things to all men. We may call this viewpoint conservative because it fails to take account of the fact that city and community life has been revolutionized in one generation. The old institutions, notably the home and the church, are ineffectual in the face of the changes, and society cannot get along without them. No one knows what the future of such institutions is going to be, but, in the period of readjustment through which we are passing, where shall we turn for an agency to tie together the strands of life and give it meaning? The school is the agency in the community occupying a pivotal position, and while it may seem that it is taking on its bent shoulders the burdens of the world, the task must be assigned where it can be centralized and intelligently dealt with. The new program is, in effect, a preventive program like the use of the toothbrush and the early treatment of phthisis. It is calculated to prevent insanity by catching it in incipency and to reduce crime by remodeling the habits out of which asocial behavior emerges.

We have some justification for expecting the school to be interested in mental things—attitudes, ideals, conditioned reflexes, mental hygiene. Actually, these things are no less foreign to school procedure than fire drills, or health inspection, and it is a high water mark in school development that a high school recognizes its community function as social in the best sense of that word.

DIVERGENT VIEWS OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

The President of the National Society

ROSS L. FINNEY

University of Minnesota

IN behalf of the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology, I congratulate Dr. Payne and those associated with him in the enterprise of launching *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY*. It meets a long felt want. I am sure I voice the sentiment of all teachers and students in our field when I bespeak for it the most complete success, and pledge it the utmost cooperation of all.

Pursuant to the editor's invitation to contribute an article for this initial number, relative to the policy of the Society for the current year, I think I can do no better than to submit a circular letter which I sent out some months ago, together with the replies I received to it. The letter was as follows.

The principal problem before the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology has been to achieve a consensus as to the scope and content of the field. The main result to date has been to reveal a most disconcerting divergence of practice and opinion. As president for the ensuing year I am anxious to see this divergence resolved if possible.

It seems to me that our difficulties arise chiefly from a confusion, not to say conflict, between two fundamentally different conceptions as to what educational sociology is; and that the way out is in recognizing both of these conceptions very clearly, and in finding some way of articulating them.

The one view is that educational sociology should be a *deductive* application of sociology proper to the major problems of education, viz.: aim, content, method, and organization. The other view is that educational sociology should become an independent science by building up *inductively* a body of findings in its own special field; viz., the social aspects of education. The advocates of the first view are impressed with the importance of introducing the sociological standpoint into educational theory; the advocates of the second feel that educational sociology must become a science on its own account if it is to make a contribution. The two camps are not very tolerant of each

other; in some cases they seem to be quite blind to each other's points of view. Hence the confusion. Until they work out a basis of mutual appreciation and division of labor the present "scatteration" is likely to continue.

It seems to me that the way out is through recognition of the fact that in any social science, certainly in education, the general concepts upon which all research must proceed as premises are deductively derived; whereas the research itself is an inductive study of details. Thus, the great major aims of education will be differently conceived by Napoleon than by Jefferson because the one *deduces* them from an autocratic, and the other from a democratic, society. Each will likewise deduce his general notions of content, method, and organization from his concept of aim. This general concept of aim *cannot* be inductively derived, because, as Professor Counts pointed out at the St. Louis meeting last winter, such a concept is normative. But the general concepts once determined, the details must be worked out by inductive research.

Now obviously then, is there room for both views of what educational sociology ought to be. Why should either the head or the hand say to the other: "What need have I of thee?" Each camp is right in what it claims for itself, but wrong in what it ignores or belittles in the other.

Now it is a commonplace that in any attempt at social betterment there are two questions that should always be held in clear distinction. The first is: What is the most important item of progress that is *immediately practicable*; the second: What is the ultimate goal to be achieved. As to the task of educational sociology it seems to me that its most immediate service is to introduce the sociological point of view into education; and that its ultimate goal is to scientize the details of educational practice in its social aspects. The first is to render functional in educational practice what knowledge the social scientists already possess; the second is to accumulate a body of new findings in a special field. The first is the objective of those who would deduce the general concepts of aim, etc., from the sociological knowledge already available; the second is the task of those who would make of educational sociology an independent science. The first is prerequisite to the second if the second is to avoid false starts and futile leads; the

second is an essential follow-up of the first if the first is to prove fruitful in the end. Hence the basis of articulation and cooperation.

May we not all unite, therefore, on a two-sided policy for educational sociology: first, to promote familiarity with sociology upon the part of educators as a basis for the deductive derivation of the general concepts of aim, etc.; and, second, to apply the technique of objective research to detailed social problems in education? And is this not a basis for a division of labor among educational sociologists, with mutual appreciation and encouragement all around, and hence of unity and integration of the field?

To this letter I had the following replies which I submit in alphabetical order:

GEORGE S. COUNTS, *School of Education, University of Chicago*: I have looked over your statement regarding the scope of educational sociology with much interest. I find myself in practically complete agreement with you. While, as you know, I happen myself to be largely interested in the second conception of educational sociology, I am quite willing to admit the wisdom of having the subject include the two divisions which you outline.

PROFESSOR CHARLES A. ELLWOOD, *University of Missouri*: I most heartily and cordially agree with the circular which you are sending to members of the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology. This has been my position all along, and you are free to quote me as saying so. The general concepts of research in educational sociology must proceed upon premises deductively derived from general sociology, while the research itself may be an inductive study of details. Otherwise, no educational sociology will be achieved. As I see it, the great need for educational sociology, to develop properly at the present time, is to get adequate recognition for its deductive aspect. This means, administratively, that only sociologists should be appointed to chairs in educational sociology. This letter is for any publicity which you may desire to give it.

HENRY W. HOLMES, *Dean, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University*: Let me say that I think your analysis of the problem before the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology is admirable. If the Society insists on a development of the subject in its own right as a "science," I believe it will be making a great mistake. It seems to me, also, that the scientific efforts of the Society should be very carefully confined to the study of problems that are really social and not merely technical. The problem of the compulsory attendance age seems to me a social problem in most of its aspects; that is a real

problem for educational sociology. Many of the problems I find listed under educational sociology seem to me problems in educational administration or in one of the other technical fields.

DANIEL H. KULP, II, *Teachers College, Columbia University*: I read with much interest your circular which attempts to synthesize apparently diverse views and interests in the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology. I think it is a much needed document. I congratulate you.

CLYDE B. MOORE, *Rural Education Department, Cornell University*: I have just gone over your circular in which you urge that those interested in educational sociology unite their efforts toward "a two-sided policy." As I see it you have presented the case clearly and I believe your proposition is practical. We are in need of greater unity in our efforts and perhaps more professional altruism. I presume I could differ with you on some of your minor proposals or statements, but fundamentally I agree and appreciate your work in attempting to unify and strengthen the group.

E. GEORGE PAYNE, *School of Education, New York University*: I thank you for your outline of the principal problems before the National Society and before educational sociology. I am in full agreement in your general position.

I believe that education must go back to sociology for its foundation. I do believe, however, that sociology must become scientific in its methods in order to offer very much to either education or educational sociology.

ARTHUR J. TODD, *Northwestern University*: There is much about your analysis of the problem of educational sociology which ought to commend itself to anybody. I agree particularly with your idea of uniting on a two-sided policy for educational sociology.

Of course it seems to me that we must be absolutely sure in our deductive study that we are actually deducing applications to education from established social science. That is, we must be careful not to draw conclusions merely from our judgment of what sociology ought to be. That this has sometimes been done you and I know only too well. Is it not true also that the deductive processes of applying sociological principles to educational problems must constantly be checked up by research methods in the field of education?

My chief uncertainty is on the claim that there is a separate science or may be a separate science known as educational sociology. It seems to me that that is the chief rock of offence and may perhaps account for the great differences of opinion as to inductive or deductive or other methods. Long ago I rejected the offer to teach *business sociology*. I

do not think there is any such thing, nor do I think there is medical sociology. I stand for phrasing these things the other way around and for speaking of the sociology of business, or sociological aspects of public health, sociological jurisprudence, etc. What, for example, is industrial chemistry? Isn't it just the application of the principles of chemistry to certain specific problems of industry? Is educational sociology any more of a separate science than is industrial chemistry or the economics of distribution, or economic botany, or economic geology, or engineering geology, or the philosophy of nature or the psychology of advertising, or personal sociology, or urban sociology? I hope in your hands this problem may be brought somewhat nearer to a solution.

INQUIRY

IRA M. GAST

New York University

Principal, P. S. No. 8, Jersey City

PROFESSOR ZORBAUGH made the statement in his address at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association that educational sociology provided principles that would aid in school supervision. This statement has been made elsewhere. In what respect is the educational sociologist concerned with supervision?

Dr F. B. Knight contributes some valuable suggestions in his article entitled "Possibilities of Objective Techniques in Supervision."¹ The objective techniques described deal exclusively with arithmetic, although attention is called to the fact that similar techniques may be applied as well to the various other conventional subjects. The list of tools suggested for use in objective supervision in arithmetic is as follows:

- Tool 1. Weekly inventory drills.
- Tool 2. Teacher's diagnostic record, from Tool 1.
- Tool 3. Teacher's weekly report to supervisor from Tool 2.
- Tool 4. Supervisor's control chart from Tool 3.
- Tool 5. Supervisor's weekly report to teachers from Tool 4.
- Tool 6. Diagnostic tests, used as Tool 4, show need.
- Tool 7. Remedial units, used as Tool 4 and Tool 6, show need.
- Tool 8. The text (course of study), revised through Tool 1 and Tool 6.

Various weekly inventory drills in mixed fundamental operations are to be given to the various grade groups once each week, their chief purpose for the pupil being the maintenance of skills previously learned and for the supervisor the measurement of progress in the production of skill. The statement is made that the use of identical material for both drill and testing is good management because it saves time and allows the frequent gathering of important data.

From the standpoint of educational psychology the suggested possibilities of objective techniques for the supervisor are excellent, but

¹Jour of Edu Research, XVI, No 1, June, 1927.

dangerous pitfalls have been overlooked. The school is an institution of society; and being organized and supported by society, the kind of training provided should be measured also in terms of social standards and needs.

The first pitfall for the supervisor lies in the assumption that the chief function of the school is measured by Tool 1. The primary purpose of the school is to bring about changes in social behavior; and its secondary purpose is achievement socially valuable.² This means that first of all the supervisor should survey the various grades with reference to the attitudes and habits of the pupils, and then at definite intervals determine the extent to which training provided by the school improves those attitudes and habits. According to the secondary purpose of the school, the supervisor should devise drills and standards each element of which will measure useful, acquired knowledge, and determine skills worthy of development.

While the content of the drill and test material submitted for Tool 1 seems for the most part fundamental and useful, a question may be raised as to problem number twenty: "What is the reciprocal of $9/13$?" It is very probable that skill in the use of either ninths or thirteenths is not socially valuable enough to consume any school time at all. Should the supervisor, then, overlook social values in the use of drill and test material, Tool 1 would become invalidated and the entire week's work in arithmetic for both teachers and supervisor would be to no purpose.

In every educational problem there are, then, two fundamental sciences to be called upon to determine educational procedure. Both educational psychology and educational sociology are equally indispensable. The application of educational sociology is fundamental in supervision because of the fact that its concern is primarily with the extent to which the subject matter, the method, the school organization, and measurement can contribute to the improvement of individuals in their community relations.

² See Payne, E. G. and Gebhart, John C. *Method and Measurement of Health Education*, pp. 10-11, issued by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, New York, 1926

BOOK REVIEWS

ABILITY GROUPING IN THE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL. By Heber Hinds Ryan and Philippine Crecehvas. New York. Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1927

Ability Grouping in the Junior High School is based on the trials and errors and successes of a decade of consistent experimentation in the Ben Blewett Junior High School of St. Louis, Missouri.

Theorists have argued such academic topics as democracy and ability grouping, acceleration *versus* enrichment of experience, "coddling" the less able and less ambitious pupils, and the like. But the teachers of Blewett Junior High School have not been troubled by the question of whether such grouping would succeed; they have day by day and week by week and year by year been a part of its indubitable success; in this school, ability grouping has promoted self-realization and active participation, and greater achievements for dull and bright, for talented and mediocre, and for rich and poor pupils. And in this volume the authors tell of some of its methods and of its achievements.

The book recapitulates the history of grouping, the characteristics of maturing children, the functional nature of intelligencies; it tells what data seem to the authors to be necessary for forming groups; and it explains their recommended procedures, and attempts to justify them. It seems to the reviewer unfortunate that the authors gave so little attention to the group nature of the grouping. Social education through cooperations, competitions, and conflicts has been Blewett's greatest contribution. The emergence in homogenous groups of all levels of socially effective boys and girls with integrated personalities, aggressive, tolerant, happy, eager, adequate boys and girls, ready and able to lead, to "take a licking," and to follow is, after all, the purpose of grouping, as it is the purpose of education, of which grouping is a mere detail.

Many readers may doubt the feasibility or the desirability of the use of so many standards for selecting the members of the various groups of pupils. But none will fail to recognize the value to pupils and teachers of a knowledge of the specific characteristics of the children. And all will appreciate the lucidity of the explanations, the definiteness of the plan proposed, the temperance of the claim for the plan, the con-

structive suggestions regarding methods and contents for the different levels of ability, and the convincing evidences by which the authors support their proposals.

Students of the junior high school owe a great debt of gratitude to the teachers who have carried through this pioneering job and to the authors for telling about it.

PHILIP W L Cox, New York University

EDUCATION FOR A CHANGING CIVILIZATION By *W. H. Kilpatrick* New York The Macmillan Co., 1926

This little book is an extremely valuable contribution to the literature of education. It consists essentially of three lectures which were delivered at Rutgers University in 1926 and is consequently a small volume of 136 pages. In addition to a brief introduction the book includes but three chapters. The first of these is an analysis of the nature and causes of our changing civilization and their bearing upon the problem of popular education. The author holds that the essential factor which makes and explains the modern world and gives to it its differentiating characteristic is the presence of tested thought and its application to the affairs of men; that this changes, not only our ways of living but also our mental outlook; that the body of tested thought is growing ever more rapidly and consequently such changes as we have thus far seen are likely to be small in comparison with those that lie ahead, and finally that the material advance in civilization threatens to outrun our social and moral ability to grapple with the problems so introduced. We must therefore develop a point of view and devise a correlative educational system which shall take adequate account of this fact, otherwise civilization itself seems threatened.

The last two chapters of the book are devoted to the discussion of this problem. The second chapter is entitled "The Demands on Education" and considers the problem of fitting our educational efforts more effectively to the changing needs. Among the demands discussed are. the old education must be considered inadequate; a new emphasis must be placed on science teaching; critical mindedness must be developed along with educational specialization; and the requirements of aggregation, social integration, and democracy must be more successfully met.

The author points out that under the changing conditions "nothing less than world-mindedness will suffice and this calls for a new history

and a new geography and probably a new inclusive social science in place of the old history and the old geography. To quote: "The old way divided humanity and was meant so to do. It fostered nationalistic division and hatreds and was meant so to do, but these attitudes will not fit our children to solve their problems. The rising generation faces a different world, an integrating world. It is the truth that will make them free, and upon the truth we must rely." Attention is also called to the fact that "if we would learn democracy we must then practice it . . . Clearly if the world is to be democratic our people must learn it and education of some sort must teach it somewhere, somehow. One way is for the school to teach it and this means that the school must practise it."

The author's discussion of the decline of authoritarianism and the consequent demands upon education is an important feature of the book. In Chapter III, "The Changing Education," the author discusses the nature and significance of the changes which have already taken place and sets forth his view of the important changes that are still required. He points out that agreement upon the character of our changing civilization and the consequent demands made upon education is much more easily obtained than upon the kind of schools necessary to meet the demands. This is for the reason that interpretation of the former deals with relatively objective matters in which appeal can be made to common observation while in the case of the latter the factor of personal opinion is much more prominent. This chapter sums up in an interesting and profitable way Professor Kilpatrick's well-known point of view in the philosophy of education.

The writer finds himself in essential agreement with practically all of the positions which Professor Kilpatrick has taken and feels that he cannot commend the book too highly. It should be part of the private library of every serious student of education.

JOHN W. WITHERS, New York University

STATE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION—A TEXTBOOK OF PRINCIPLES By E P Cubberley
Boston Houghton Mifflin and Co, 1927

Professor Cubberley's latest book is a masterpiece in the art of writing textbooks. Approximately 25 years ago at Sanford University, Cubberley began offering courses in state school administration. In 1915 in collaboration with Dr. E C. Elhott, he published a *Source-book in State and County School Administration*. At that time the

authors promised a companion volume dealing with principles. Many of Dr. Cubberley's former students have been waiting eagerly for the fulfillment of this promise. The book is now at hand.

The author conceives of his subject as a means of educational reform, not merely as another subject added to the professor's kit of tools. I presume that he would hold that the subject is justified among university and college offerings on the general ground of education for intelligent citizenship. For a quarter of a century he has been sending out young men and women from Stanford who see here another frontier to be reclaimed from crude and political methods and placed under the control of the professional educator.

The book deals with American state and federal policy in education; the state administrative organization; the scope of the school system as a whole; the financing of education; material environment and equipment of schools; the state and the teacher; and the oversight of the state with reference to the child.

The style is that of Dr. Cubberley in his previous volumes—a clear, concise exposition which leaves little room for improvement in the art of textbook writing. The selected bibliographies at the end of the several chapters give the latest and best references and have been prepared with admirable care and thoroughness. The questions for discussion and topics for investigation make the book an ideal text for the purposes of the college teacher.

While the author has treated certain of these same topics in previous books, the plan of treatment here is that of conceiving each problem from the state point of view, which, together with the amount of new material set forth, makes the volume up-to-date and new. The discussion throughout indicates that the author, by means of an industry that is nothing short of stupendous has kept himself constantly on the firing line of educational progress. The book is the mature achievement of a lifetime of teaching and scholarly pursuit in this field.

The reviewer cannot refrain from expressing the hope, that in the interests of state and nationwide progress in education every institution of higher learning in America could well afford to offer a course in state school administration. It is a subject admirably fitted to tie together and synthesize the students' knowledge of education.

J. O. CREAGER, New York University

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY. By *T R Williamson* New York D C Heath Company, 1926

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY By *Wilson D Wallis*. New York. Alfred Knopf, 1927

The changing conception of the field of the social studies in the last decade or two has set many students to the problem of trying to supply the needed material for classroom use. Dr. Williamson's volume is one such attempt. The book is arranged in five parts with five chapters each. The five parts are: The Background to Our Social Life, Social Aspects of the State, Industry in Its Social Relations, Selected Social Problems, and The Road to Progress. The book contains much valuable material, but the treatment of the topics is meager, and not wholly sound, for the author clings to the now passing hypothesis of instincts as the basis of his sociological theory and interpretation.

Wallis too is trying to orient the beginning student or the general reader with a synthetic view of the foundations of contemporary social life and social theory. This book is written upon the college level. The author in trying to give a unified view of social living, organizes the material into six parts: first, The Cultural Perspective; second, A Birdseye View of Social Theory in an attempt to use it in the integration of the following parts of the book; third, The External Factors Influencing Social Life; fourth, The Cultural and Psychological Factors of Group Life; fifth, The Phases and Problems of Modern Society; and sixth, The Trend of Social Development. There are many commendable features of the book; e.g., the organization of a bird's-eye view of the social theorists, the point of view with the emphasis upon the psychological and cultural processes, and with an attempt to get away from the now questionable hypothesis of instincts as the only basis of the social processes. Any author suffers a serious handicap in attempting to give an "overview" of human society within the compass of a single volume even though a small type and compactness of statement be employed. However, the volume may well serve as an introduction to the further study of the social sciences

BENJAMIN FLOYD STALCUP, New York University

RESEARCHES IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

THE PROBLEMS OF ADJUSTMENT PECULIAR TO THE HIGH I. Q

In general, clinical studies have tended to single out a typical individuals and study them without reference to normal persons. It is now proposed to take a group of fifty "problem" students from a public high school and compare them, by exploratory method, with a group of fifty normal students in the same school. The one hundred subjects have all been selected from a population of five thousand in a school where it is customary to handle behavior problems through clinical procedure. A common type of problem referred for investigation is the case of a high I. Q. failing in school subjects. Previous experience with such problems tends to indicate that the differential existing between a student's ability and his achievement may be variously explained. Teachers commonly diagnose the difficulty as "laziness," but the clinician finds that the difficulty may arise from glandular imbalances, adverse family circumstances producing emotional stress, twists of personality arising from aberrant ideals and attitudes, incipient psychoses, and so on. A "problem" for our purpose in this study is a student possessing 130 I. Q. or above who has failed two or more subjects in any one term or in a series of terms in his high-school course. The "problem" group is composed of thirty-two boys and eighteen girls, with I. Q.'s ranging from 130 to 162, the normal group is composed of thirty-two boys and eighteen girls, with I. Q.'s ranging from 130 to 157. The birthday ages range from twelve years and seven months to sixteen years and ten months. Complete case studies of each of these individuals will be made so that we shall have as our bases of comparison scholarship records and other relevant school data, such as club memberships, attendance, disciplinary records; health records and physical examinations; psychometric examinations, psychiatric social histories; psychiatric interviews; personality tests and whatever other means of comparison the field provides as the study advances.

AGNES M. CONKLIN

Erasmus Hall

Brooklyn, N. Y.

A PROJECT CURRICULUM

A practical attempt to revise the curriculum of the elementary public schools on the basis of social objectives is the subject of a recent experiment in Public School 80, Brooklyn, N. Y. Assuming the validity of the major objectives of health, accident and fire prevention, worthy home membership, vocational insight and guidance, citizenship, thrift, desirable use of leisure time, ethical character, and command of the fundamental processes as representing fields of experience in which every normal individual is constantly called upon to participate, the experiment attempted to find out whether such a curriculum is feasible in a typical large overcrowded elementary school in New York City

The steps in the experiment were.

A A survey of the needs, interests, and educational assets of the children and the community

B The adoption of a number of specific objectives under each of the major objectives to meet the conditions revealed in the survey

C A survey and evaluation of all the classroom activities set up to attain these specific objectives

D A similar survey of the larger school activities under each of the specific objectives.

E A tabulation and ranking of all the devices reported in the plan books of 63 teachers to attain these objectives

F Evidence to show the democratic cooperation of the teachers, the children, and the community in building the project curriculum together, with suggestions for extending the curriculum to cover a larger field. Among the interesting features is a community definition of citizenship involving the school objectives and worked out by the local chamber of commerce. Another is a character report constructed by teachers and pupils in which pupils set their own goals, indicate their progress, and are rated by the parents as well as by teachers. The correlation between teachers' and pupils' judgments of conduct is .78

The numerous changes in behavior in the pupils and the community seem to justify the conclusion that a project curriculum is feasible in the public elementary schools

JOHN J. LOFTUS

Public School 80

Brooklyn, N. Y.

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

Associate Professor Ross E. Finney of the University of Minnesota, the chairman of the department of educational sociology of the American Sociological Society, gave courses in the Summer Session of the University of California.

Dr. David Snedden of the department of educational sociology of Teachers College, Columbia University, enjoyed his half year of leave of absence on a journey to the Union of South Africa.

Benjamin Floyd Stalcup, who for the past three years has been an instructor in the department of educational sociology in the School of Education of New York University, received his doctorate in educational sociology in New York University the past summer. He was promoted to an assistant professorship and remains with the department. Dr. Stalcup lectured in teachers' institutes in his former home state of Indiana during a part of the month of August.

Dr. Ira Gast, principal of Public School No. 8 of Jersey City, gave courses in educational sociology in the Summer School of New York University, and is now offering courses in the Institute of Education of the same institution.

Dr. Joseph Noonan, superintendent of schools of Mahony Township, Mahony City, Pennsylvania, gave courses in educational sociology at the Physical Education Summer School of New York University, which was held at Bear Mountain Lake, New York.

Mr. George D. Smith, principal of the Roosevelt Junior High School of Westfield, New Jersey, gave courses in educational sociology in the (New York University) Department of Education at Chautauqua, New York, during the past summer.

Professor Charles C. Peters, of the department of educational sociology of Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, spent his sabbatical leave teaching in the department of education of Miami University at Coral Gables, Florida.

Superintendent James C. Bay of Easton Public Schools, Easton, Pa., who received his Ph.D. at New York University at the June com-

mencement, gave courses in the summer session of the same institution in the department of educational sociology.

Principal J. C. Rose of the Montclair schools, who is completing his doctorate in educational sociology in the School of Education of New York University, has offered courses for the past two summer sessions of the Oswego State Normal School, Oswego, New York

The recent convention of the Eastern Commercial Teachers' Association adopted a three-year program of activity of major proportions in the form of getting out and the publishing of the following yearbooks as Basic Studies in Commercial Education; these are:

1928—Foundations of Commercial Education

1929—Curriculum Making in Commercial Education

1930—Administration and Supervision of Commercial Education.

Professor Paul Lomax, head of the department of commercial education of the School of Education of New York University, is president of the executive board getting out and publishing these yearbooks.

The department of educational sociology of the School of Education of New York University has enjoyed a phenomenal growth during the past five years. This department was opened during the year 1922-1923 on the coming of Dr. E. George Payne to the School of Education from the presidency of Harris Teachers College of St. Louis, Mo. Mr. B. F. Stalcup, head of the department of history of the Winona State Teachers College, Winona, Minnesota, joined the department in September, 1924. In September, 1926, Assistant Professor Zorbaugh came to the department from Ohio Wesleyan, Delaware, Ohio. At the beginning of the present school year, Assistant Professor Frederic M. Thrasher, the author of *The Gang*, a seven years' study of the multiplicity of groups in the city of Chicago, came to the department. Professor Thrasher came to New York University from Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington, Illinois.

The enrollment in this department has grown as follows:

1922-1923	54 students
1923-1924	156 "
1924-1925	543 "
1925-1926	952 "
1926-1927	1200 "

THE CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

Agnes Conklin is a psychologist of the Erasmus Hall High School of Brooklyn. She holds a bachelor's and a master's degree from Columbia University. She is now a graduate student in New York University.

John Oscar Creager is professor of college education in the School of Education of New York University. Dr. Creager is an Indianan by birth. Professor Creager received his A.B. at Yale; his M.A. at Harvard; and his doctorate at New York University. Dr. Creager has had many years experience in teacher-training institutions, having been president of such institutions in Wyoming and Arizona, and more recently dean of the School of Education in the University of Arizona.¹

Ross Finney is assistant professor of educational sociology, School of Education, University of Minnesota. Professor Finney is a westerner by birth, training, and experience. His training was received at Upper Iowa University and Northwestern University, from which institution he received his doctorate. For a number of years he was a minister in the Methodist Church in Minnesota. He has held teaching positions at Illinois Wesleyan and North Dakota State Normal, before going to his present location in 1919. He is the author of several books, the most notable of which is *The Causes and Cures of Social Unrest*.

Stephen G. Rich is a native of New York State. His A.B. degree was secured at New York University; his M.A. at Cornell; and his Ph.D. at New York University. Mr. Rich has had considerable experience as teacher and administrator in the schools of West Virginia and the Union of South Africa. He was sometimes supervising principal of the schools at Essex Fells, New Jersey. He gave up teaching for business and is now a representative of one of the larger publishing houses.

¹Since this was written, Dr. Creager has accepted the deanship of the School of Education of the University of Arkansas.

David Snedden is professor of education in Teachers College, Columbia University. Professor Snedden is a native of California. He received his bachelor's degree from Leland Stanford Junior and his A.M. and Ph.D. from Columbia. Professor Snedden has had wide experience as teacher, principal, administrator of schools in California and Massachusetts. He has been in his present position since 1916. He is widely known as lecturer and author on education. He has made notable contributions to the literature of vocational and secondary education, and he has been one of the early pioneers in educational sociology, in which field he has written a number of books. His most recent book is *What is the Matter with American Education?*

Frederic M. Thrasher is assistant professor of educational sociology, School of Education, New York University. Dr. Thrasher received his A.B. from De Pauw University, and his A.M. and Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. He has had several years of experience as teacher of sociology at Ohio State University, University of Chicago, Illinois Wesleyan University, and the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy.

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EDITORIAL NOTES

WHEN the November number of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY is published, its readers will have had a sample of two numbers and will have had opportunity to read and digest the contributions of the first two numbers. The editors, in laying out THE JOURNAL, reserved space for the critical discussion of articles that appear from time to time. At the present time the first number has not been in the hands of readers long enough to ensure such critical discussion. We hope that the articles are sufficiently original and stimulating to call forth responses of two or three hundred words from our readers. Such discussion will be gladly received.

ALREADY we are receiving a great deal of favorable comment on the first issue of THE JOURNAL. Judging from the mail received and the comment so far made, it is needed at the present stage of our educational development. The success of THE JOURNAL will not depend upon the editors, but upon the seriousness with which educators and sociologists regard it as a medium through which they may give emphasis to the science of educational sociology as a means for interpreting and directing educational procedure. The defects of THE JOURNAL we hope may disappear with succeeding numbers.

THE popular response in subscriptions to THE JOURNAL is most gratifying to its editors. To satisfy the demand for the first issue an edition of three thousand was published. The demand already indicates that this number will have to be increased for succeeding issues. This is a record of which we are proud, as the subscription list now compares favorably with that of our best educational journals.

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY is created to promote the development of the new science of sociology as applied to education. Also, the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology which also is a section of the American Sociological Society is established for the same purpose. The interests of the two are in that sense identical. THE JOURNAL will use its utmost efforts to promote the interests of this group formed for the study of educational sociology. We should like to call attention to the meeting of the section with the American Sociological Society during the Christmas holidays in Washington, D. C. We hope in the December number to be able to furnish a complete program of that meeting.

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY is designed to serve as a medium for the expression of points of view in the field it represents. Therefore, the editors are in no sense responsible for the opinions expressed in its columns and are not necessarily in agreement with them. As a matter of fact the editors welcome expressions of opinion contrary to those which they hold. We can only reach the truth through exchange of points of view and through scientific researches in the field. We therefore welcome differences in points of view and discussions of all sorts which are pertinent to the sociological interpretation of education.

SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS AND SCHOOL PROBLEMS

FREDERIC M THRASHER

New York University

THE study of social backgrounds, whose importance to education was pointed out in a preceding article, is not only valuable for the understanding and explanation of educational institutions and the school child;¹ it is also of significance in enabling the school personnel to deal effectively with important school problems.

Many social forces in the community operate to promote or hamper, or in other ways to condition the work of the schools. To ignore them in the conception and execution of a school program may greatly lessen its efficiency. Such forces are official and semiofficial organizations in which teachers and citizens participate, the adult clientele of an individual school, religious sects, labor unions, pool rooms, political cliques, prominent families, community leaders, and so on. School administrators as well as teachers must take account of all these backgrounds which constitute the situation complex within which the school must function. In one striking case the failure of a school superintendent to make a preliminary analysis of the political backgrounds of his system and to observe certain diplomatic amenities with reference to the forces involved led in part to the eventual disintegration of an otherwise excellent school administration.

Another way in which the larger *Gestalt* conditions the work of the schools is in the reflection in the school system of the general morale of the community. Where business considerations, for example, take precedence over moral values, the schools may be handicapped by a failure to keep abreast of the times with reference to improvements and the introduction of new ideas requiring funds. Moral dangers to school children may be also traced indirectly to the same causes.

¹This is equally important, of course, in order to understand the school teacher and the school administrator.

A Community Background

X is a town of 80,000 inhabitants. It is known as one of the "most wicked" communities in America and is notoriously wide open. In a meeting of the city council, an alderman casually referred to the 800 houses of prostitution which receive police protection. In general meetings, however, discussions of the town's vice, gambling and bootlegging industries is tabooed and to attempt any sort of exposé would be considered bad form. The chief reason for this labored restraint and apparent blindness on the part of the so-called "better elements" of the city is the fear that any sort of reformation will demoralize business conditions. These matters are discussed, but always in a whisper.

It is very difficult to get money here for any sort of school activity or improvement, and this seems to follow the line of general cupidity. Progress along well-demonstrated lines of school betterment is well-nigh impossible because of the rigid control exercised by the business group and certain outstanding individuals within it.

The moral attitudes of school children are seriously affected by the failure to close the "red-light district," whose existence is well known even in the grade schools. There is considerable laxity in sex matters among the children. Groups of high-school boys visit the brothels and acquire demoralizing habits which they carry into nearby colleges, whose students are also drawn into the situation. In one case a young girl of good family, when in company with her mother, dropped her purse. Among other things a contraceptive device dropped out. Whereupon the mother's amazement and indignation was met with the cool remark, "Well, mother, you would not want me to become diseased, would you?"²

Another application of this principle is illustrated in certain of the social backgrounds of the adolescent³ school youth, which are particularly interesting and important not only because of the far-reaching influence which they have upon the development of character and personality, but also because of the many ways

² Observation and interviews

³ Adolescence, from a sociological point of view, does not necessarily depend upon biological changes or stages of physical development, although they are undoubtedly important in most cases. It may be defined more accurately as a period in the life of youth beginning with his first struggle to emancipate himself from adult control and to organize his activities for himself and ending when he has completed a life organization and is capable of formulating and following his own program and philosophy of life. The limits of the period will manifestly vary greatly with different individuals and social backgrounds.

in which they condition, sometimes reinforcing, often thwarting the work of the school. Among the more important of these are such intimate groups as the play-group, the gang, the orgiastic or expressive group, the clique or set, the club, athletic squads, teams, or groups of followers, and the secret society. The family is usually important in many ways in the life of the ordinary child, but in adolescence particularly, it is frequently supplanted in his interests and is relegated to the more vegetative functions. The intimate groups of the type mentioned above, on the contrary, become the vital groups, acquiring great prestige with the adolescent—occupying his interests and engaging his imagination.⁴

INTERACTIONS OF GROUPS

The interactions of these intimate groups with the school in creating problems may be illustrated by the presentation of concrete instances. The following case, for example, shows how gang organization in an Italian background was utilized in the solution of a problem of discipline and cultural conflict. In this case the gangs proved to be the vital groups and they were easily controlled through an appeal to a boy, in himself unassuming enough, but whose conception of himself was that of superleader, which rôle he actually played among all the gangs of the school.

A Gang Background

The new Lincoln Junior High School was located near the Italian immigrant section in an eastern industrial city of a hundred thousand people. When the school census revealed that at least five hundred of the seven hundred students in the new school would be children of Italian parentage, grey heads among the teachers and school administrators began to wag in prophecy of what dire results would follow upon this concentration of Latin temperament. And it is certain that there were few teachers who did not enter upon their new duties with considerable misgiving.

From the start things did not seem propitious. The swarthy black-eyed youngsters soon proved a noisy, clamorous crowd who

⁴ There are, of course, many so-called "solitary types," who seem to lack this kind of group experience, and furthermore the two-child relationship, which took such a spectacular form in the Loeb-Leopold case, constitutes another special problem.

hung together about the building in groups of eight and twelve, and—seemingly—could not be subdued. They obstructed the passage through the halls and exits, and chattered incessantly among themselves. Even during class periods it was a constant battle for the teacher to keep down this spontaneous chatter. And in the interval between classes, at intermissions, and at recess, the halls and classrooms became a bedlam of noise and disturbance. Even the most hardy champion of childhood's rights to spontaneity would admit that something had to be done about it.

Yet just what could be done was quite a problem. Ordinary methods of informal reproof proved valueless. Even stern invectives directed at little groups of malefactors only reduced them to sullen silence for a very few moments, and then they were at it again. Formal punishment was even more ineffective. It seemed to have little effect in deterrence, and only served to make the miscreant and his chums even more resentful toward the teacher. If the teacher's punitive efforts against any one malefactor were persevered in for any length of time the teacher was certain to meet not only the opposition of the boy himself but also that of his chums. In this way the teacher's efforts at control could be vitiated in a very short time, and he would find his discipline in the classroom much worse than ever before.

Fortunately the boys in the school were not a malicious crowd. Had they been it is not certain what might have happened. As it was, their delinquencies largely took the form of increasing insubordination with reference to certain school officials and teachers, supplemented by an occasional bit of vandalism to demonstrate their antagonism. It was clear that the Italian boys became thoroughly possessed with the belief that certain ones of their number were being punished, not because of their personal misconduct, but because they were of Italian descent. As the boys themselves expressed it, certain teachers were "picking on the Italians."

The principal of the school was a mild-mannered man who had earned an enviable reputation in another school for being able to "get under the boys' skins," and had been rewarded for this ability by being given the most difficult school in the city. After the disciplinary problem had begun to take on a somewhat serious character he entered into conference with several of the teachers. In discussing the problem one evening he said, "Have you noticed that it's only the boys belonging to some of our gangs that are causing us trouble? Last night I was thinking over each boy that has caused us trouble this week, and it occurred to me that they all belong to gangs. I have a hunch that if we knew enough about each of these gangs here in our school we could have

them working *for us* rather than *against us*" We then discussed some of the outstanding gangs represented among the boys, and eventually came to the conclusion that in each case there appeared to be a leader who dominated the group

Out of this discussion there developed a plan by which we each agreed to note the gang affiliations of the boys in the school and to discover the natural leaders. Several weeks went by, and by that time a large proportion of them had been linked with some gang. The natural leaders then became more easily discernible. One day the principal said, "I've figured it out that there's one boy in our school who dominates all the others. He's the super-leader. That's Angelo." It might be well for us to get better acquainted with Angelo." Angelo was a large boy of sixteen. He was a good, hard-working student, and it was not hard to find Angelo interesting. He exercised his influence with little or no ostentation, and it was probably only because of the principal's special interest that he was discovered.

Gradually Angelo came to be consulted more and more concerning matters affecting the school and the students. He was granted certain privileges and was frequently called into consultation regarding matters of discipline. He proved himself an able adviser, and was frequently given supervisory authority over the other students at mass gatherings; and at times voluntarily administered corporal punishment in the interests of the school—far more effectively than could possibly have been done by any school official. On one occasion after several complaints had come to the school concerning certain boys who persisted in running over corner lawns on the way to and from school, Angelo decided to take the matter into his own hands. He asked for permission to be excused from school a few minutes early, and then stationed himself in a concealed place near a certain corner lawn. His method of handling the disciplinary problem was not an ideal one, yet it proved most effective. The principal had contrived a means by which to "happen by" this corner at just the appropriate time. "The first thing I saw when I got to the corner was Angelo sitting astride two boys on the sidewalk, while he was beating up a third whom he held under his left arm."

The other boys did not seem at all resentful of the special attention given to Angelo by the administration and teachers. In fact there seemed to be considerable satisfaction because Angelo was given this special authority. Its effect upon discipline and the conduct in the school was almost inconceivable. Instead of the sullen insubordination, suspicion and "rowdiness," which had characterized the conduct of the boys prior to Angelo's rise to the position of extraofficial school administrator, a spirit of coopera-

tion, harmony and responsiveness soon pervaded the whole school population, and for the remainder of the year there were relatively few problems of discipline. These few problems were frequently handled vigorously and with finality by Angelo, who never spared a black eye or a bloody nose until the offender was satisfactorily chastised. Yet Angelo's importance to the administration of the school was not nearly as much punitive as it was moral. His active support of the school teachers and principal during the first year, when the patterns for conduct in this new school were being set for succeeding generations of students, was no small factor in making Lincoln Junior High School the well-ordered school which it is today.⁵

THE GANG AS AN AID TO EDUCATIONAL EFFORT

The principle of using the gang and its leaders in the furthering of educational activities has come to be well established among some of the older and more experienced boys' work agencies.⁶ Occasionally it has been used by the school, as in one case where all members of a gang were made monitors, but it still has a wide field for application in educational institutions.

A study has been made recently (under the Dever administration) of the relation of the boys' gangs of Chicago to the school playgrounds. Some of its findings are as follows:

Gang and School Playgrounds

Delinquency and gang activity are major problems in playground administration.

The records of the playground instructors show that there are 226 gangs in the playground areas, 205 of which are boy gangs, and 21 girl gangs. Of the total number of gangs, the average ages are given as follows:

4 gangs 9 years of age	20 gangs 16 years of age
2 gangs 10 years of age	44 gangs 17 years of age
2 gangs 11 years of age	22 gangs 18 years of age
7 gangs 12 years of age	10 gangs 19 years of age
12 gangs 13 years of age	5 gangs 20 years of age
62 gangs 14 years of age	12 gangs 21 years of age
32 gangs 15 years of age	

⁵ Document by Paul G. Cressey, Evansville College, Evansville, Indiana.

⁶ See Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang*, pp. 508-530.

It is noted that the ages 14 and 17 are in the majority. . . The younger groups are more mischievous, while the latter are more frequently vicious

Names of gangs often indicate the type of activity and locations. Some typical names are herein given: Rangaboos, Carmen A.C., Pearls, Cocky's gang, Irish Aces, Panthers, Swamp Angels, Hell Towners, Alley Cats, Roamers, Erie Sparrows, Black Jackets, Speed Boys, Bucktown, Revali Blues, Kerfoots, and Sticky Fingers.

Of the total number of gangs (226) 109 are classified as mischievous, while 46 are vicious. It is found that 120 are good material to work on. One hundred twelve out of the total number of gangs or 50 per cent have been incorporated in the playground programs. Only 25 have thus far refused to be friendly and take some part in playground activity.

It is encouraging to observe that 50 per cent of the gangs are actually a part of the playground groups. The fact that only 25 gangs are still unapproachable speaks well for the ability of the instructors to interest and incorporate these units into their program. In all other groups at least a part of the gang is taking active part in the activities.⁷

The school playground instructors stated how the gangs affected their work as follows:

Gangs and Playground Instructors

"More time must be devoted to them and a more rigid supervision must be kept. Doing this keeps me from carrying out my program as thoroughly as if they were not here. It is worth the trouble, however"

"Some gangs are willing to cooperate and some are always looking for trouble"

"I have formed an athletic and social club. This has united all the gangs into one big gang and I lead them myself"

"Members of vicious gangs are petted at home and in school, to avoid conflict, and when they come into the playground, they expect us to cater to them and let them run the playground. Are we working to develop husky ruffians or useful athletes and citizens? I think my responsibility is to train these boys to be good citizens. I use discipline first, and encourage activities second."

"I could not get along without the gangs"

⁷C. H. English, Annual Report for the Year Ending December 31, 1926, Bureau of Recreation (Board of Education, Chicago), p. 16

"If one or more gang members can be enlisted in a game, usually the whole gang comes in. They will like best the rougher games."

"The gang will interfere with discipline; they must always be kept under control."

"The gangs are a great benefit to the playground if they are handled right."

"In our Ice Carnival, I used the biggest gang for police duty, and I never had a bit of trouble. I prefer a gang like that as against the city police."

"They do not affect our work to any great extent. If they do, we drop our work to take care of the discipline"

"If the instructor is a good athlete, it is easier for him to get the confidence of the boys. They are interested in college and professional sports. I study all the famous stais so as to be able to hold conversation about them. If the boys are impressed that the instructor knows what he is talking about, they naturally make him their leader."

After being arrested and then put on probation several 'Hell Towners' came to me for references. I did not lie for them, but called the authorities and told them of their conduct on the playground. In this way, I made friends of the boys."

"The spirit of rowdiness in gangs offsets any constructive work you may care to attempt with them. They must be divided and groups formed through your own selection. A gang participating in an organized activity may run along smoothly for a time, but they are undependable and liable to go 'democratic' when you need them most. They are subject to moods and soon succeed in driving out your more reliable playground patrons. As individuals, they may be perfectly honorable and loyal, but once they band together their actions become changed, and the individual cannot be dealt with as such."⁸

Asked how they succeed in getting gangs into their activities, the playground instructors reported various methods, but with one underlying principle:

Methods of Dealing With Gangs

The method of approach varies with the individual instructor and the problem of the neighborhood, but there is a striking similarity in the methods reported as successful

⁸ English, *op cit*, p. 18

One instructor makes the statement which is the underlying principle upon which most approaches can be made "As a rule boys belonging to gangs are good athletes and make very good material if properly approached. They have to be physically fit in order to keep their places in the gang."

Expressions as to methods from instructors are: "My slogan is 'Keep Them Busy.'" "Inquire as to their favorite sport and then offer assistance in coaching." "Use the competitive idea—scheduling the gang against the playground team, thereby getting better acquainted." "Indicate to the gang the value of better training with resulting greater athletic ability." "Organize athletic and social clubs, getting hold of individuals first." "Allow the gang to use shelter house for meetings." "Be friendly with the gang." "Gang had a baseball team and I coached them and booked games; finally, they joined our playground teams."

One instructor gave as his idea of meeting the problem: "A gang must be divided so that the influences of individuals who are not members of gangs can be mingled with them, tending, therefore, to divide your gangs which eventually leads to their disruption."

Another instructor makes a plea for greater sympathy and understanding: "The trouble with some of our recreation leaders is that they do not sympathize with the trouble and problems of the people of this class. They keep a certain distance and are not as friendly as they should be."

To summarize the methods used and advocated by the playground instructors:

1. The best approach to secure initial interest is through athletics and sports.
2. Use the competitive idea—organization of a team
3. Keep them busy
4. If the gang cannot be incorporated as a whole into your own program, begin by interesting the individuals
5. Breaking up old associational activities by the formation of new and better chains of associations on the playground
6. Never allow the gang to monopolize the playground in any way. If necessary, use severe discipline, but do not call on the police, except in extreme cases^o

^oEnglish, *op cit*, pp 17, 18 See also Thrasher, *op cit*, pp 487-530

PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE SCHOOL

The foregoing documents suggest only a few of the problems which confront the schools as a result of the activities of gangs and other types of spontaneous play-groups. Some of the others are those of vandalism, truancy, negligence of school work, and so on, but these are subjects for special investigation.

The secret society is another type of vital group which has very important relations to many school problems, particularly in high schools and colleges. High-school fraternities and sororities are recognized as undesirable in many quarters and tend to be somewhat discouraged by college secret societies. The current solution of the problem has been to prohibit them by state law, but in many cases this measure has resulted simply in making them more genuinely secret¹⁰ or in leading school authorities to wink at their activities and proceed as if they did not exist. Yet the *Gestalt* provided many high-school students by these secret societies is of vital importance in determining their social and academic status in school and should be the subject of study by the entire high-school personnel. The development of personality and leadership among high-school students as well as failures to pass, low-grade work, and demoralizing activities and habits are closely linked with the fraternities and sororities. This problem, which should also be a subject for special investigation, is merely mentioned here to indicate how some of these informal backgrounds condition the success of the schools.

¹⁰See Thrasher, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-72, for an account of the development of a high-school fraternity out of a club group suppressed by a principal.

WHAT EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY SHOULD MEAN TO COMMERCIAL TEACHERS

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IN the discussion of what educational sociology should mean to commercial teachers, three main topics will be considered: (1) business endeavor is a component part of the social unity of life, (2) commercial education is a component part of the unity of education, and (3) commercial education should result in desirable social behavior in business practice.

Educational sociology in this discussion will be thought of as "the science that aims to reveal the connections at all points between the educative process and the social process."¹ Commercial education will be regarded as fundamentally a program of economic education in terms of a system of business organization "to which in great measure we have intrusted the all-important social task of utilizing our social resources, to secure for society whatever society secures."² In this economically constituted world of ours, it is indeed only by means of effective business organization and management that the home, church, state, organized recreation, and school, as well as commerce and industry themselves, can best achieve their social missions toward the building of a finer type of world civilization

BUSINESS ENDEAVOR A COMPONENT PART OF THE SOCIAL UNITY OF LIFE

Life is a social unity of which business endeavor is a component part. That endeavor permeates the whole social structure. It is

¹ Charles A. Ellwood, "What is Educational Sociology?" *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, 1, 27

² Leverett S. Lyon, *Education for Business*, (The University of Chicago Press, 1922), p. 38

an important element of every occupation. There is a business side to the vocations of doctor, engineer, lawyer, farmer, school-master, preacher, housekeeper, baseball manager, and mayor. This phase of commercial education, which is sometimes called general business education, needs to be definitely distinguished from that phase which deals with specialized technical preparation for such so-called commercial pursuits as those of bookkeeper, credit manager, stenographer, sales manager. The first phase is coextensive with the whole field of economic endeavor, the second phase represents a particular division of occupational enterprise.

Thus business activities become a part of the daily experiences of every individual. About these activities, in the lives of most people, gravitates the whole organized life of society. These activities are today conditioning in a fundamental way the rehabilitation of Europe.³ They will continue to condition social advancement everywhere as long as our present type of economic organization prevails.

Business endeavor, as a system of economic organization whereby we make use of our social resources—labor power, natural resources, capital, and acquired “social behavior”—has a fivefold task to accomplish: (1) Efficient production of socially useful goods and services, (2) equitable distribution of socially useful goods and services, (3) “thrifty” consumption of socially useful goods and services, (4) intelligent conservation of all natural resources that condition economic enterprise, and (5) judicious conservation of human lives to promote greatest individual happiness consistent with social well-being.⁴

All these five tasks of business endeavor enter into the organization and management of every social institution, which of necessity must function in our social structure as a business unit. How well the school, for example, succeeds in wisely utilizing the social resources of labor power, natural materials, capital, and acquired “social behavior” is fundamentally determined by how well the school proves to be a thorough-going business organization mindful of its fivefold economic task in the fulfillment of its great

³ Evans Clark, “In the New Europe Industry is King,” *The New York Times*, Section 8, September 18, 1927, p. 1.

⁴ J. Crosby, Chapman and George S. Counts, *Principles of Education* (Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), p. 243.

social mission. The school, as a business organization, is engaged in the production of desirable types of social behavior, in the distribution of the benefits of education among the rank and file of mankind, in the selective consumption of past and present life experiences, in the conservation of such material resources as those of school property and tax money, and, finally, in the conservation of human resources of student and teacher groups. What is true of the school as a functioning business organization unit is true of the home, church, government, recreation, commerce, and industry.

COMMERCIAL EDUCATION A COMPONENT PART OF THE UNITY OF
EDUCATION

If business endeavor is part and parcel of all organized human effort outside of the school, such likewise should be true of all educational effort within the school, since the school purports truly to represent the best of life in the educational experiences of its trainees

So far as the philosophy of American secondary education is concerned, no outstanding educational leader appears to question that every American high-school student should be educated to be occupationally efficient in order that through his work he may establish himself as a good citizen, a worthy home builder, a wise user of leisure time, and so on in terms of the cardinal objectives.⁵ It is interesting, indeed, that among twenty-five noteworthy statements of secondary-school objectives there is unanimous agreement on just two objectives: (1) That of preparation for civic-social responsibility and (2) that of preparation for occupational efficiency.⁶ In theory all agree that every one of the 4,000,000 students in American high schools should have his education armed with economic competence. But in practice our administrators and teachers are far from universal agreement. A vast majority of high-school pupils are still pursuing a so-called academic curriculum which does not usually guarantee an occupational efficiency in keeping with the other major objec-

⁵ U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, No. 35, 1918

⁶ Leonard V. Koos, *The American Secondary School* (Ginn & Co., 1927), p. 153

tives.⁷ High-school education still tends to remain a school affair, which is taught, learned, and evaluated within the school walls. "As a matter of fact our educational theory and practice have not been concerned at all with the type of knowledge, habits, and attitudes that would affect social behavior."⁸

Educational sociology holds American educators responsible for the realization of occupational efficiency, along with the other major objectives, in the social behavior of every American high-school boy and girl. One who is not occupationally efficient cannot usually make his social contribution, in one way or another, in this economically organized world. Economic competence is the straight and narrow path to social betterment. So-called academic education and occupational education are complementary to one another. Each reinforces and vitalizes the other. Both represent a complete education that is socially effective. To deny any normal American high-school boy or girl occupational efficiency is educationally and socially to cripple the child for life.

COMMERCIAL EDUCATION SHOULD RESULT IN DESIRABLE BUSINESS BEHAVIOR

What to teach in commercial education should be sociologically established by determining what is needed in order best to carry on as a social agent in business enterprise. As the bookkeeper, for instance, performs his duties, there is certain knowledge that he should be able to use, certain habits that he should be able to exercise, certain attitudes and other qualities of personality that he should be able to manifest—all merging into what we may describe as his bookkeeping practice or "behavior." His knowledge, habits, and attitudes should be broadly conceived and fixed, so that he may be made as intelligent as possible about the multitudinous social relationships which may be tied up with his work. One of America's great merchants has declared that any job is a good enough point of departure for a liberal education.⁹

⁷ U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, No. 40, 1925

⁸ E. George Payno, "Sociological Basis of the Normal School Curriculum," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, I, 6

⁹ Edward A. Filene, *The Way Out*. (Doubleday, Page & Co., 1924.)

In our work in commercial education we should keep in mind that "society is not directly interested in school subjects. Society is interested in the modification of skills, knowledge, and attitudes that function in the relation of the child to the various groups in the community and to the civic life of the community."¹⁰ Society is concerned only about that commercial education which is of greatest social worth to most secondary-school boys and girls in their business practice. Of all the great variety of experiences that characterize business endeavor in all our social institutions, have we yet included the ones that are of most consequence to American youth? Can we socially justify our present commercial education as commonly found in our secondary and higher schools? Is a commercial education socially justified, for example, when "a study of 110 arithmetic textbooks shows that 96 of them contain 4560 business examples erroneously stated in respect to profit, percentages, and otherwise."¹¹ Is a commercial education socially justified when it is found that only a small proportion of the thousands who pursue shorthand courses in schools really pursue shorthand work in business?¹² Is a commercial education socially justified if it is found that "pupils who have studied the conventional commercial subjects do not perform clerical duties appreciably better than do those who have had no such training?"¹³ Is a commercial education socially justified if it fails to help most effectively to correct the present economic situation in which 94 men out of every 100 who arrive at the age of 65 are penniless?¹⁴ A basic problem of American education is that of *economic life and the curriculum*.¹⁵

Educational sociology challenges the 26,000 officials and teachers in the field of American commercial education¹⁶ to square the

¹⁰ E. George Payne, and Louis C. Schroeder, *Health and Safety in the New Curriculum* (American Viewpoint Society, Inc., 1925), p. 212.

¹¹ Herbert P. Sheets, "Relation of Commercial Education to the Public's Attitude Toward Business," *Digest of the National Education Association*, 1926, p. 20.

¹² Frederick G. Nichols, and others, "A New Conception of Office Practice" *Harvard Bulletin in Education*, No. XII, p. 25.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁴ Augustus O. Thomas, "The Challenge to the Commercial Teacher," *The Spotlights in Commercial Education*, IV, 2.

¹⁵ Henry Harap, *Economic Life and the Curriculum* (The Macmillan Co., 1927).

¹⁶ "Our New Purpose," *Journal of Commercial Education*, LVI 37.

content of commercial education with the content of socially desirable business practice. It is worth the price of increased professional preparation and long years of painstaking sociological research. For it is within the possibilities of commercial education, representative of a program of economic education, to make its work a great integrating power in the unity of education, even as the "vocation" is a great integrating power in the unity of life experiences. What are the 26,000 workers in American commercial education going to do about it? What is to be the character of the commercial education of 1950?

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

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EDUCATION has often been defined but the term has been defined and used in so many ways that we need to determine at the beginning the sense in which it will be used in this discussion. Education will be regarded as the process going on in the individual whereby changes in behavior are produced. These behavior changes may be consciously brought about through organized propaganda, through social pressure or direction in the family, school, community, religious organization, gangs, clubs, or other organized agencies. Education therefore may take place deliberately or in informal social contacts in the various industrial, commercial, or organized groups in which the individual lives. Education in this sense goes on throughout life and in every situation in which the individual is gaining and organizing the experiences which influence behavior changes. Education, then, conceived as a process begins with birth and goes on throughout the life of the individual. While education is here regarded as the result of the learning process, it is not equivalent to learning.

Changes in behavior therefore are constantly taking place in the individual which are not the result of the educational process as here conceived. Behavior changes resulting incidentally or accidentally in connection with the individual's life processes may not be regarded as changes due to education. Education, in this article, is the consciously controlled learning process in which the situations are definitely manipulated for purposes of producing behavior changes.

We have distinguished in this discussion between learning and education. A person may learn in a variety of ways and his behavior may be changed through the things learned, but the con-

ception of education as used in this article excludes accidental learning of various kinds from the educational process.

The original use of the term education, meaning "to lead out," carrying the sense of direction, serves fairly well for our purposes. Direction, however, is not limited to the more formal use of the term. Direction may take place in the family, the gang, the club, the factory, or the individual may give self-direction consciously or even unconsciously in the acquisition of experience, and thus involve a self-education process. The purpose in this definition is to distinguish between accidental experience that modifies behavior and education. Moreover the conception of education as here outlined excludes even formal learning where behavior changes are not effected. The memorization of textbook facts, the mastery of subject matter, and the acquisition of knowledge which has no relation to the life process of the individual, if such is possible, cannot be regarded as education. Education therefore involves such acquisitions of the individual or such inculcation in the individual on the part of the group as result in definite behavior changes.

EDUCATION AND GROWTH OR DEVELOPMENT

Education has been frequently conceived as growth or development, and rightly so, for all education is growth or development. Education involves changes in behavior and all such changes imply growth whether the changes take place in a desirable or undesirable direction. The boy in the predatory gang that learns to outwit the policeman, steal wares from the corner groceryman, sell bootleg whisky and escape the clutches of the law, or commits successful burglary is growing in one direction and is thus being educated. The process of education taking place in these instances is as definite as those that occur when the school or the family creates or provides situations that result in desirable behavior changes. The distinction, then, between mere learning and education or the learning process and the educational process hinges upon the character of the situation in which the growth or learning takes place.

Education, therefore, as we have conceived it takes place in a variety of ways and serves various functions. The more impor-

tant functions of education as outlined may be enumerated as follows: (1) assimilation of traditions, (2) the development of new social patterns, and (3) the creative rôle of education.

ASSIMILATION OF TRADITIONS

The factor in social development corresponding to inheritance as a biological process is tradition, and the method by which the transmission takes place is through sensory experience. Racial experience assumes definite forms, more or less rigidly fixed in the *mores*, institutions, social arrangements, and behavior patterns of the group and are transmitted from one group to another, from parents to children, from the dominant cultural groups to the subordinate ones, by assimilation. The dominant natural process by which traditions are assimilated or incorporated into the practices of the individuals of a particular generation or group is imitation. The folkways or *mores* when they have been established as recognized practices come to include the judgment that they conduce to societal ends and individual welfare. They therefore come to have a significant dominance because of their identification with the success and prosperity of the group and are transmitted to the young in the family and the community through social pressure where the natural process of imitation does not turn the trick. The process by which conventions, customs, behavior patterns, and the like are incorporated into the practices of the individual represents an adaptation of society to life conditions. In this process of adaptation, in addition to the process of conscious or unconscious imitation, is another process, namely, inculcation.

Transmission of the social heritage in all its manifestations therefore takes place through the agencies of imitation or inculcation. The distinction between imitation and inculcation rests upon the emphasis in the process of transmission; whether the initiative is taken by the giving or receiving party. When the receiving party adapts himself to a social situation consciously or unconsciously, the process of adaptation is imitation, when the receiving party through social pressure, propaganda, or instruction is led to change his behavior or make adaptation in conformity with the social group, the process is inculcation. Inculcation

may be regarded as education conceived in its broadest sense, in so far as it relates to the transmission of the social heritage.

An illustration may make clear the distinction between the processes of adaptation as outlined above, imitation and inculcation. Let us note the processes involved in the Americanization of immigrants. We have a long history of foreign or immigrant populations entering this country and a remarkable process of adaptation has taken place. This adaptation has partly resulted from the desire of the immigrant, for economic or other reasons, to take a place in American life. This desire has led to the conscious imitation of dress, language, manners, commercial customs, and various other conventions and behavior patterns common to our American life. In addition to the process of adaptation or Americanization taking place in this natural way through imitation, there has gone on a deliberate effort inspired by various motives to incorporate the immigrant into the American ways of life. Church organizations have for purposes of religious propaganda attempted to identify these incoming immigrants with their organizations and thus have taught them the American ways of living. Commercial and industrial organizations have sought for economic reasons to teach the foreigner our language and ways of living. Finally the schools as agencies of the state with the notion of good citizenship have sought to teach the immigrant our language and social practice. Evidently then the two processes of imitation and inculcation are potent forces in the Americanization of the immigrant.

A second illustration is the initiation of the child into the family and community heritages. This adaptation or inculcation develops intimately as a part of the life processes in the primary groups, mainly in the family and in other groups as they impinge upon the family. The acquisition of the mother tongue is a fair example of this type of adaptation. The child possesses the ability by inheritance to make certain more or less undifferentiated sounds from which differentiations take place which ultimately produce speech. Since speech is a racial heritage, the problem is that of incorporating speech behavior into the practices of the child. The child moreover imitates the sounds made by parents as a means of satisfying his wants. On the other hand the parents

deliberately teach the child speech for purposes of facilitation of communication. The two processes of imitation and inculcation finally result in language. The whole process, therefore, whether it be the adaptation of the individual in the family or the individual to the larger social group takes place in a similar manner and the processes are those of imitation and inculcation by which the racial heritages are absorbed.

EDUCATION AND ESSENTIAL SOCIAL PATTERNS

Education, however, has other functions than that of incorporating into the individual the recognized social practices characteristic of the social heritages, in the sense in which we have used that term in the preceding discussion. In a dynamic society scientific and mechanical progress is creating situations which require new social patterns, new conventions and customs, and new institutions. In other words social progress depends as much upon the modifications of social heritages as it does upon the incorporation of the past culture and traditions from group to group and from the old to the young. The development of scientific knowledge requires a transformation of the practices of agriculture and industry, a reconstruction of our modes of living in the fields of health, leisure, vocation, and home life. The scientific development requires new behavior patterns in which inculcation or education plays an almost exclusive rôle.

This need of education may be made clear by the examination of any one of the several educational needs at the present time. The changed methods of agriculture, industry, commerce, and communication have brought about a complete change in modes of life. They have concentrated populations, decreased hours of labor, utilized open spaces, and changed the nature of housing. Incidentally these same conditions have encouraged the development of a variety of commercial amusements and means of recreation. The sets of social patterns developed in the nineteenth century and handed down to the present generation through the processes of imitation and inculcation equip the individual with practical knowledge and attitudes unsuited to the present complex order. The use of the newly provided leisure in present society cannot properly be left to the individual equipped with nineteenth-

century traditions. Already a variety of serious consequences have followed this readjustment of the human relationships, considered undesirable and the effects of this can only be prevented by the development of new behavior patterns in conformity with the readjustments that have taken place. Practices involving the use of leisure, the insurance of health, the equipment for vocations, the responsibilities of citizenship, and the like have become wholly inadequate for the needs of present-day civilization.

THE CREATIVE RÔLE IN EDUCATION

Finally education may play a creative rôle in social progress. No argument is needed in this dynamic age of new inventions and scientific progress to convince the reader that adaptations to the social heritages of the past and the incorporations of the social practices appropriate to the present scientific development may leave the individual out of step with the next advance in the social order. We face the problem of progressive adaptation. This requires more than adaptation. It requires an attitude of mind toward progress which insures ease of readjustment to the progressive order which the present generation will face in the future. Progressive adaptation requires not merely capacity for adjustment, but ability to contribute to social progress by making changes in behavior, by creating the tools of social progress.

The difficulty involved in the transmission of traditions and the creation of social patterns in conformity with present social needs is obvious. A glance at the history of civilization and especially recent development leads us to question just how far we may go in establishing in children social patterns essential to the adaptation of the adult to the complex life of today. The children of today may face different conditions than those which the adult population of the present faces. However, in so far as scientific progress has gone we are safe in proceeding. The practices of children with reference to food, sunlight, fresh air, and the like require definiteness of procedure; that is, the establishment of habits, knowledge, and attitudes that will insure specific practices. Beyond such definitely established needs, the problem is that of equipping the individual for continued readaptation to the changing social order.

SOCIAL CONTROL

Education from a sociological point of view and defined as the process by which behavior changes are produced may serve two general functions, namely, changes in the behavior of the individual in his relation to the groups in which he lives and with which he comes into contact or changes in the behavior of the group itself. Obviously there are no changes in group behavior aside from the changes in the individuals that compose the group, but the educational process may look directly toward the modification of the life of the whole community. A case in point is the educational plan set up in Public School No. 106, Manhattan, New York City, in which educational efforts were directed toward the modification of home practices relating to health, and changes made in the practices of the whole group. These changes consisted in the modification of the practices in diet, sleep, fresh air, exercise, and general home cleanliness. While the education resulted in changes in individual behavior, it also resulted in the modification of the practices of the whole community.¹

Education, therefore, in this use of the term emphasizes not merely the fact of behavior changes, but changes in social behavior whether in the individual or the group and may be identified with social control. It may, however, be contended that there are individual values of education that have nothing to do with society or social control, such as art appreciation, personality traits, or habits, knowledge, and attitudes affecting personality exclusively. While we are not ready to grant the correctness of such a claim, in case there are such educational values the educational sociologist is not concerned with them. Individual learning having no social bearing may be considered by the psychologists but it has no place in a treatise dealing with sociology in its bearing upon education.

PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Education then in the sociological sense may be identified with social control and the process of developing social control is the same as that of education. Social control, however, roots deep

¹ E. George Payne and John C. Gebhart, "Method and Measurement of Health Education," New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor

in the psychological process. It is therefore necessary to examine the psychological basis of social control. The control of all behavior is peculiarly bound up in the individual and his personality and experiences. Control of behavior depends upon the special set of habits, knowledges, and attitudes that have been developed in the individual in his process of adjustment or adaptation to the social life. It is not necessary here to enter into an extensive discussion of the manner in which habits, knowledges, and attitudes are developed or what they are. It is sufficient to recognize that all behavior is conditioned by the habits, knowledges, and attitudes of the individual and the situations out of which they have developed

FACTORS DETERMINING SOCIAL CONTROL

The problem of this chapter is not that of explaining the psychological processes involved in the development of social controls, but rather the explanation of the general social situations out of which social behavior arises and results in social controls. The educational situations may be classified for purposes of this discussion as follows: (1) the formal educational agencies whose purposes are primarily educational; the school and the church, organized playgrounds and community centers, etc ; (2) groups whose nature makes them a significant educational influence but whose primary purposes are not educational—the family, the play group, the neighborhood, the community, and the like; (3) institutions and agencies whose function is commercial and industrial but which necessarily serve an important educational function, commercial and industrial establishments; (4) agencies established for commercial purposes, but which by their nature have decided educational influence, such as the press, the theater, the motion picture, and commercialized recreations of all sorts

Each of these groups of educative institutions and agencies is constantly operative in society and exerts a definite influence in social readjustment and adaptation. Each contributes to the development of social controls. The determination of a con-

sciously intelligent educational program designed to serve the individual in his social adaptation and society in its direction toward democratic ends requires research into the educational contribution of each of these influences and the setting up of a definite program for the purpose of coordinating and giving direction to the various educative influences in society.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ACTIVITIES OF AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL FOR THE PURPOSES OF CHARACTER EDUCATION

ELIZABETH R PENDRY

DR. DEWEY says in *Human Nature and Conduct*, "Character is the interpretation of habits" and "All habits are demands for certain kinds of activity. They are active means . . . energetic and dominating ways of acting. . .

. . . the formation of ideas as well as their execution depends upon habit. Only when a man can already perform an act of standing straight does he know what it is like to have a right posture and only then can he summon the idea required for proper execution. The *act* must come *before* the *thought*, and a *habit* before an *ability* to *evoke the thought at will*."

In regard to the application of this idea in the field of character education the report of the Committee on Character Education of the National Education Association says, in Chapter II of Bulletin No 7,¹ "Classroom Procedure in Relation to Character Education," that such undertakings must be:

- (1) Meaningful, significant, and purposeful to the pupils
- (2) Socially valuable—valuable in equipping the pupils for doing successfully any legitimate thing which they may undertake (while children or in later life)
- (3) So carried forward that they appeal to the whole child, not just to his interest or some other partial ability or quality of the child
- (4) Secure thoroughness of mastery and integrity of effort on the part of each child
- (5) Constitute an on-going, developing, integrating process of growth

It is clear, then, that it is through the use of properly directed activities that character may best be taught. For some years

¹ U S Bureau of Education Bulletin, No. 7, 1926.

there have been programs of activities in many schools. Unfortunately, however, these have been so organized, or so left without purposeful direction that their character-education possibilities have been taken for granted and not assured. Recent measurements of certain character-education methods have shown that negative rather than positive results may be thus obtained. Methods of rewards, interschool competition in school journal publications, politics in class elections are undermining instead of building character in the lives of the student body.

IMPORTANCE OF HABITS IN IDEALS

Realizing the importance of habits and the psychological truth in regard to the primary necessity for these even in the formation of correct ideas and ideals many schools are turning to the field of activities and carefully directing the organization of these to better ends.

In one school the girls came frequently wearing unkempt clothes and a generally disheveled appearance. Doubtless they reflected homes of like conditions. They had never known how it felt to be clean and orderly. How could they "summon the idea required" for putting themselves or their homes in order?

A very wise teacher realized this. She organized the girls into a club and at an early meeting she suggested to them that they might like to change the room all around and "pretty it up" so that it would look more homelike. They began to plan curtains for the windows—but the sills needed new paint. Yes, they'd paint them! A window box at each window—the old brown table in the corner must be painted too. And a border of pretty stencil work added above the board. The desks were dirty. They should be scrubbed and polished—and teacher's desk and chair also. So they went to work and great joy and pride they found in the work.

But after all was complete they looked at themselves. No one said anything about the fact but each realized that she was not, herself, in keeping with the pretty, clean, bright new room. The improvement in personal appearance was rapid and marked. Voices even became pleasant and a sweet, calm atmosphere seemed

to have taken the place of the general disheveled appearance which preceded this activity.

There are already many activities in the school which if purposely motivated by the teacher as character projects may have equally fruitful effects. It will be necessary, however, to organize these in such definitely controlled groups that care may be taken to watch and direct the activities so that good habits are known to be the results.

Particular attention is called to the fact that, quite unknown to the pupils, but consciously in the mind of the teacher, these activities must be organized *for* character education. Many schools have had activities. Indeed, extracurricular activities have been quite the "thing" in educational programs for some few years. A large number of these have, perhaps, been character building in effect. Doubtless all have had some good effects at least for a few pupils. Yet, probably, in many schools the purpose of such activities has been to relieve the teachers of monitorial duties, or to bring about better conformity to the school's desires for peace and quiet. These ends are more or less worthy but the machinery for such ends may not always be the best for the pupils. As a result, sometimes, those pupils who were natural leaders were allowed to lead and the accepted plan of the whole procedure was simply that one which led to the exploitation of a few pupils as an aid to the teachers in ruling the many.

PROJECTS FOR CHARACTER EDUCATION

In service projects which are directly organized for character-education ends the teachers will find it necessary to see that those who are not "natural-born leaders" as well as those who are have a chance in positions of responsibility. He will be constantly changing his procedure, developing annually new constitutions and by-laws, formulating new codes or slogans. Why? Because it is in the discussion of these; i.e., in the making of a constitution that the club gets its real value out of the constitution. All activities in the group or club plans will be seen as educational opportunities.

In a "six, three, three plan" school, the student council may center in the sixth grade room, the highest room in the school. The

president of the graduating class may serve as the president of the school. Here may be found also the vice president, secretary, treasurer and chairmen of all the standing committees. The committee members may well be chosen from other grades down through the school. But should any question relative to the welfare of the school come up, the principal may at once call on this room and there find his "school council" ready to talk over the conditions, and decide means of solving the problems. Here in this one room he has the responsible body. The teacher of this room will find in this organization many opportunities for teaching citizenship, right ideals, responsibility, service, helpfulness, wise leadership.

Perhaps at an early meeting of the council the group will want to discuss their responsibilities. A list of these might be placed on the board and the necessary mechanics to the end of their successful fulfillment also listed. What qualities or traits do we expect a president to have? A secretary? A treasurer, etc.? What if the vice president should disagree with the president as to policy? How can such matters be adjusted? Are the duties of the officers all listed in a constitution? The group will desire to make a constitution, doubtless. Then a study of parliamentary law, a realization of the need for self-control, respect for the rights of others, the responsibilities and obligations of office will all be learned thereby.

Another sixth grade room may well include the Big Brothers and Sisters of the school. To these may be assigned the care and interests of the little first graders. Often on the playgrounds in the streets these need special care, and the big boys and girls will take pride in having their powers as guardians thus recognized. The Big Brothers and Sisters often help those of all grades who need a guiding hand—a boy who is "playing hookey" is called for every morning by a Big Brother on his way to school, a little girl who seems lonely on the playground or who is a stranger may be the charge of a Big Sister. Many delightful activities for their little flock may be planned by these Big Brothers and Sisters. In some schools individual tutoring is given by some Brothers and Sisters to their little charges—during study time within school hours. In another, one sturdy Big Brother who was also a scout

organized forty-two little boys into cub scouts and directed their trips and their meetings like a regular leader. He chose for his scout troop boys who had been troublesome, almost outcasts in the school. What qualities, indeed, these Big Brothers and Sisters must have in order to fulfill their duties, to act as inspiration to all the little ones under their charge. Correlation with the study of biology, of humane education, of citizenship and many other subjects will be easily effected by the teacher.

Other character projects of sixth or upper-class level may include the organization in one room of the troops of color guards—in another the traffic and safety squads are found, with sub-committees, perhaps, in lower rooms. In another is a room of hostesses—girls who are particularly sensitive as a mother would be to the appearance and the courtesy of the school—who study the needs of the school in this line and disseminate their suggestions and rules to all. These girls may be those who take turns making ready the teacher's hot tea at noon, who serve a luncheon occasionally to guests, who care for the babies while the mothers gather for the "P. T. A.," who may be called upon to receive and escort a guest about the school—who in all ways take the place of the hospitable housewife and mother. Such a group may become interested in Mrs. Post's etiquette book, in ways of beautifying the school, in proper speech and voice. Doubtless these little girls will gain a new sense of responsibility toward many of the duties of the home, and a greater appreciation of mother. Their teacher will be alert to give these young hostesses that information which they may carry over into the home in a helpful but uncritical way. These sixth grade girls and boys will find that their activities have given them new interest in many studies; history, civics, boy scout codes, etc. Home economics in all its phases, biology and hygiene, English, story-telling, literature, poetry, will all be seen as particularly useful and valuable to the little hostesses.

Among the projects possible for the fifth grade there should be two or three which will be a means of training for these sixth-grade projects. A group of fifth grade girls would be interested in organizing as a House Beautiful Club, for the beautification of the interior of the school. This group will be preparing them-

selves to be hostesses when in the sixth grade. Another group should be a junior council, another group of boys the junior safety and traffic squad. Other service projects appropriate to fifth graders may include a forestry club particularly active in the improvement of the school yard, its care and beautification. A pets club could make bird shelters, dog kennels for dogs that insist on following their masters to school, and see to the notification of the humane society in case any stray or wounded animals need their help. This little society will soon stand for humane education in the school. Its findings and ideas about the care of pets should be disseminated to all other grades. The American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals will gladly cooperate with any room in such work. The association will supply them with many materials including a book of charming songs about kindness to animals. Nature study, humane education, industrial arts and many other curricular studies for the fifth grade will be necessary topics to the girls and boys in these clubs.

The fourth grade children will also find many group projects of interest. In many school systems the primary grades are dismissed a few minutes earlier than the older boys and girls. One group of fourth graders, as the kindergarten guards, may be dismissed to the kindergarten where each will assist a little one into his wraps and take him safely out of the building, yards, and grounds and across the street, starting him on his way home. These kindergarten guards will find many projects of interest to them in this responsible work. Maybe some will call for little charges and bring them to school. Others will delight in bringing their old toys to the school shop and there repairing and repainting them for the little folks. Pictures, books, Christmas parties for their little charges—all will be planned. Character qualities of helpfulness, faithfulness, kindness, service will be found developing among the children. Safety education, hygiene, care of children will be of new interest to these little folks.

Often a fourth grade room is located on the fourth floor near the office. This room then may supply the office with messengers and monitors at call of the office bell. Manners and courtesousness will need to be a part of the equipment of this service. The little messengers will need the ability to open and shut a door quietly,

to be patient, to address an adult properly, to learn not to interrupt, to be prompt and businesslike on errands. The little messenger squad will, indeed, find in their service many opportunities for excellent training.

If, indeed, there are seventh and eighth grade rooms in the school, even more important needs of the school may be intrusted to them. One room of overgrown older boys, who will doubtless soon be entering the business world, may be organized as a Junior Chamber of Commerce. Their service to the school may include assisting with the business end of entertainments, managing the sale of tickets and the accounts for student events, auditing the books of any other pupil organizations in the school, keeping in touch with the business growth of the community and supplying such information to the school paper, assisting with the school supplies, studying the proper use of supplies and the causes of waste of such supplies, assisting with any part of the office or shop business of the school which may be delegated to them. Talks by members of the local Chamber of Commerce will be of interest to this group. What character qualities make for real business success in various trades, what skills need one have? Where and how may a boy or girl continue an education while working? All these problems may come up for discussion in this important group. Bookkeeping, arithmetic, history, civics, geography, commerce, economics, thrift, labor problems—all will interest these boys. The life-career interest is the most motivating force a teacher may use at this time of a boy's life.

One of the upper grade rooms might also be organized as a social committee for the school to take charge of assemblies, to supply ushers, to see that opportunities for parties are available to all organizations in the school without partiality and, perhaps, to assist in the conduct of such for little ones, to have available information about games to be played, how decorations may be made, etc., and to spread cheer and joy everywhere. I should like to call this the Joy Club. In our busy working life we are a little prone to forget the need for joy in this world and our young people suffer for lack of our attention in this regard. The Joy Club should bring a really *good* funny film to the auditorium occasionally—not a slapstick thing but a film based if possible on a real children's classic in which good humor is found. The

Joy Club may edit the fun page of the school paper, and generally help to build a right sense of that life-saving grace—real humor

The Arts Club of the school might be organized in one room. This does not mean that all the art talent nor yet all the appreciation of art will be centered in this room. No, indeed! In this club as in all others the *special aim* of the club will be to serve some need in the school, and to gather and disseminate some special information which will assist all pupils in a realization of true values in citizenship and life. The Art Club will be particularly interested in art news. Its first duty will be the listing of all the available art talent in the school. This list will thereafter be available when art posters or musical numbers are needed. It will edit the "three-arts page" of the school paper, keeping all the school posted as to the art and music activities of the school and community. Perhaps, if a school paper is not published by the school, it will make an attractive bulletin and thereon post daily news of interest in the art fields; programs of recitals in which the children of the school are appearing, any press comments about children in the field of art, any particularly pleasing art posters or pictures done by the children, etc. Copies of great masterpieces may at times adorn this bulletin board with a brief attractive description of the artist's life.

THE SCHOOL JOURNAL AS A PROJECT

The school journal or paper may be the publication of an upper room. Many indeed will be the character traits necessary for efficient work in this field. Care and accuracy, promptness and neatness, honesty and tact, kindness and justice, consideration and fair-mindedness—all will find development in the hearts of these children under the direction of the wise teacher. English, printing, history, civics, current events are necessary to these children now.

The boys in an upper room may also represent the athletic council of the school to pass upon the eligibility of the players, to assist in arranging games, to suggest rules and regulations for games which they wish submitted to a vote of the school as well as faculty, etc. They may see to the upkeep of athletic supplies

and needs, etc., etc. Biology, hygiene, civics, laws will be of new interest to these club members.

One other activity the faculty, indeed, should not forget. Adults are but children grown tall and if they are grown stiff, too, then new habits they must have to really appreciate the children's right use of leisure. Adults too serve as patterns for the children, whether they will or not. If being good "like teacher" looks to the child like "having no fun at all" then all the virtue or goodness of teacher is lost as a pattern for the child.

So a most important activity in the school is the organization of the faculty for good and happy times together. Volley ball or tennis at noon, with occasional student-teacher contests, dancing in the gymnasium, parties, week-end trips *en masse* for the faculty, have been found valuable ways of interesting children in the better use of leisure and of proving to them that people may be good and happy too. Children often have a new respect and a more friendly cooperative feeling toward the faculty in general when they find them, like themselves, interested in "having fun."

The mechanics of introducing into the school the use of character projects or activities as here suggested need not be difficult. At a first assembly the principal may describe to the children some of the needs of the school, i.e., that he needs a group of fourth graders to be his messengers and the type of messenger he wants, that he'd like to see an older group of girls upon whom he could depend as hostesses, that he'd like the help of an athletic council, and of a chamber of commerce, that the yard and garden need a group to care for their appearance, and the school needs another group to help beautify it, that the kindergartners need some assistance from some upper primary room, and that the graduating class of the year could greatly assist him if its officers could act as student-body administrators, not just class administrators.

After the classes return to their rooms from the assembly, the teachers talk over with their groups the needs the principal has described. Previously, at a faculty meeting, these services have been discussed and tentative assignments made in accord with the known needs, interests, and abilities of each room. Each teacher, therefore, in her group discussion leads her group to become interested in that service which it may do the best. The

group then plans its possible procedure and sends an outline of this to the principal with its application for this opportunity to serve the school. The principal acknowledges this offer and then comes in person to the group to talk over with the pupils the details of the service project. A program with a touch of solemnity and much of inspiration at the next assembly for the installation of these groups in the service of the school may help to add serious intention and appreciation of high ideals in the hearts of all.

Thereafter the first fifteen minutes daily "opening period" may be given by each club to a discussion of its daily deeds of service, and the fulfilling of the assigned duties according to the school's needs. A "butterfly squad" of House Beautiful Club children flies through the corridors seeing if all bits of paper are cleared away and that all is in order for the day's work, placing a bowl of fresh flowers in the office or surprising some dark corner in a corridor with a bit of color, taking flowers to a teacher who has just returned from a time of illness or a letter of appreciation to another room which has done some particular deed of beauty in the school.

During the period the Art Club is posting its art news of the day on its bulletin board, the hostesses are discussing games for the babies during the next Parent Teachers meeting or writing a bulletin of courtesy suggestions to be sent to the other rooms of the school relative to a need they see in this field. The council is discussing a new school rule and the athletic council is reading letters of invitation to contests and discussing these under the leadership of the athletic director. The Big Brothers and Sisters are calling on their special little charges to arrange coaching periods or to see if all are present. Those assigned to bring handicapped or crippled children to school may, indeed, be slowly coming—arriving a few minutes late because of the slowness of their little charges and the need to come after the traffic rush of the earlier 8 00-9 00 hour.

So the day is started with activities which are socially purposeful—the household is made ready for the day's work, the spirit of service is in the heart of all.

A longer club period on Friday afternoon will afford an opportunity for discussion of the week's experiences, duties overlooked, mistakes made, plans for the future. This time for the study of "consequences" may be valuable indeed.

Perhaps it will be found of value to reassign service projects at the end of each semester. The needs of various groups should determine this. Undoubtedly it will be advisable to change officers and committees at least once a semester in order to give many children executive experience.

In all, the teacher will have in mind the unfoldment of the individuals in her group—education through service experiences. Is this not a fundamental, a natural means of character education—true, indeed, to life?

SOME SOCIAL FACTORS IN THE PUBLIC'S SUPPORT OF ITS SCHOOLS

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DURING the past quarter of a century, the educational program of American public schools has been well-nigh revolutionized. The changed problems resulting in this modified program have been produced largely by three factors: the enactment and enforcement of strict compulsory education laws; the tremendous changes in the industrial life of the nation, and the flood of immigration which has come into our country during this time. The problem of the public schools has been further complicated by the failure of the average citizen to understand what it is all about. We are all conservative in matters of education and it is hard for us to realize that "the kind of education which I received is *not* good enough for my child."

There has arisen, then, the problem of interpreting the school to the people, a problem that must be solved if the present educational program is to evolve into what it should. A prominent business man recently said. "You won't have to convince my boy when he is grown up that swimming pools are a necessity in the junior high school, for he is swimming in one, but you've got to convince me, because I swam in the old swimming hole." He was pleading for an adequate program of publicity for the schools.

In other words, what the schools need is that which every business cultivates highly, *good will*. Good will is defined as "the advantage of a business concern beyond the valuation of its physical assets." It arises in consequence of business location, the reputation established for honest and fair dealing, and from the assumption that old customers will continue to buy at their accustomed place." This definition is sufficiently

descriptive of the good will of a school. Let us consider how business builds up good will.

- (1) Business seeks to employ efficient workers who are loyal and happy in their work.
- (2) Business seeks high quality in product so that there may result satisfied customers who will tell others about it.
- (3) Business trains its agents to meet courteously and tactfully all customers and prospective customers.
- (4) Business builds good will through advertising.

The school may likewise build up good will in much the same manner, for after all it is a big business enterprise:

- (1) The school must employ teachers, efficient, loyal and happy in their profession. Their successful endeavor is the cornerstone in the structure of good will.
- (2) The school builds good will through the high quality of its product. The educational program must be sold to the pupil who will in turn sell it to his parent. Quality and suitability of education interests the child. He recognizes it as worth-while and senses its value. He becomes a satisfied customer. If, however, the educational suit does not fit, he becomes a dissatisfied customer and actually "buys elsewhere" even though present in the flesh in the classroom. And this dissatisfied customer has no parallel in business in the problem that he creates. Later, when the adult enters upon his vocation the quality of the school's product is judged from his performance. He thereby becomes in another way a potent factor in cultivating the good will of the general public toward the schools.
- (3) The skill, courtesy, and tact of teachers and the other agents of the school in their personal contacts with pupils, parents, and other citizens are important builders of good will.
- (4) The school builds good will through advertising. It is, however, woefully lacking in this field and devoid of an effective program of publicity. Until very recently no fruitful attempt has been made to reach the citizens by a comprehensive plan of publicity. Now, however, the situation is rapidly changing. Superintendents' reports are in more popular form and of convincing simplicity. Newspaper publicity is being scientifically adapted to this purpose. Schools of education are offering courses

in school publicity. A new and effective technique is developing. In many systems, publicity material is in such form that the layman can really understand it when he reads. School officials are learning, as Professor Reynolds puts it: "It's the smell of the fish that determines the bait, not the smell of the angler."

- (5) The school also has many other ways of putting out telling advertising, means that are peculiar to itself—such as entertainments, exhibitions, and programs before the parent-teacher association. Then there is the splendid publicity value of gifts to the school by generous private citizens. Conspicuous among these are the Chazy Landing Rural School in New York State and Du Pont's gift of a \$300,000 elementary school building to the city of Wilmington, Delaware.

SOCIAL FACTORS PECULIAR TO THE INDIVIDUAL SCHOOL

We come now to a consideration of some of the social factors entering into the interpretation of the individual school to its people.

Most important of all is the spirit or atmosphere of the school. A vital spirit must be recognized throughout. This social spirit in the school means that the teacher is, in fact, *in loco parentis*. The elementary-school teacher will feel toward the child some measure of the great love and solicitude of the parent, no matter how unlovely that child may appear to be. Margaret Slatterly tells of "Jimmy," a red-headed boy who was making life miserable in her classroom. She decided to visit his home. She found the mother bending over the washtub. "I have come to talk with you about Jimmy," said the teacher. The mother's face lighted up and she began with enthusiasm to explain what a fine boy Jimmy was, how helpful he had been to her ever since his father's death. Miss Slatterly never mentioned to the mother how troublesome Jimmy had been in school and somehow after that Jimmy was not troublesome.

The relationship between school and home is an exceedingly important factor in the socialization of the school. The social spirit spreads from the school out into the homes until their reaction becomes a unified positive force in the life of the school.

The most important social factor, however, is undoubtedly the

teacher's relationship to the individual child, especially to those to whom the school's program seems unsuited.

In every grade there are children who loom large as problems. The teacher must come to take a more scientific attitude toward such cases. She must learn to diagnose and must know what agencies may assist in the solution. In the modern elementary school the teacher has available the following information or procedure to help her render such necessary services:

- (1) The pupil's educational history may be studied from the permanent record card.
- (2) His physical condition may be studied from the health card or he may be suggested to the nurse for a special physical examination if the record seems unsatisfactory. This is an absolute essential to the proper understanding of the child. Poor physical condition, often some defect easily corrected, is frequently responsible for the trouble. Innumerable instances could of course be cited.
- (3) The pupil may be proposed for an individual mental test which will be given by a trained psychologist from the child study department.
- (4) His home conditions and social environment will be investigated, for the asking, by the visiting teacher.
- (5) Finally, the teacher may consult in detail with the principal or assistant principal concerning a problem case.
- (6) Furthermore, the complete study of the individual child may lead to his transfer into a group more nearly suited to his needs. The modern elementary school provides, in addition to the regular grades: slow-moving groups, special classes of all grades for the mentally handicapped, classes for non-English speaking children, lip-reading and sight-saving classes, a coaching teacher who tutors small groups. For the physical needs there are available such agencies as the open-air school, day nursery, medical dispensaries, and dental dispensaries.

Needless to say, the teacher who is alert to the needs of her individual children, who cultivates a studious scientific attitude toward her problem children is building up good will toward the school in ample measure.

And, too, the teacher in addition to her service in interpreting the social spirit of the school through her classroom work, makes it possible through her help to carry out a program of interpreta-

tion through the wider activities of the school, activities in which she plays a vital part, such as the activities of the Parent-Teacher Association and similar projects.

Within the limited space of this article we cannot do more than list a few of these important activities:

- (1) The activities of American Education Week during which time parents visit the day school, committees of prominent citizens inspect its work; an evening session of the day school is held; the evening school is open for the inspection of adult education; finally, at the end of the week a significant parent-teachers meeting is held with a program designed to interpret to the parents important activities of the school.
- (2) Original playlets written by the dramatic teacher effectively explained to the parents the solution of pressing problems.
- (3) The Parent-Teachers Association is exceedingly effective in interpreting to the parents important problems concerning the health of the children
- (4) The Parent-Teachers Association raises money to provide free lunches for needy children
- (5) The provision of various memorials may come about in such a way as to be an effective means of interpretation such as a bronze tablet erected to the memory of alumni who laid down their lives in the World War; American flags presented to the school for all classrooms; an honor flag from the G.A.R.; and another from the American Legion, memorial flags for the assembly hall; one from the family of an alumnus who died in the World War, an exact duplicate from the alumni in memory of a beloved teacher, a memorial fund to meet emergency deficits in the lunch fund, a memorial fund whose income is used for the express purpose of providing transportation of pupils to the great out-of-doors.
- (6) The cooperation of the Chamber of Commerce in developing a closer relationship between old and new Americans, especially through personal visits in the home with invitations to attend evening school
- (7) Private financing of a boys' evening recreation center, the interest in which extends far beyond the boundaries of the school district

These, then, are some of the social factors which bring about a more willing public support of its school. The importance of the problem of interpreting the school to its people is paramount. Upon the superintendent of schools and the building principal is laid the heavy responsibility of studying their respective communities and organizing the program of interpretation best suited to meet the needs.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS OF MAXWELL TRAINING SCHOOL STUDENTS

THIS study was undertaken at the Maxwell Training School for Teachers of Brooklyn, to discover with what cultural equipment the student enters upon his professional training. To be sure, there are certain requirements to be met on entering the school. A physical examination assures that no serious physical defect exists. The applicant for admission must have graduated from a high school having a four-year course whose standing is recognized by the City Board of Education. Certain stipulations are made concerning the number of hours of English, of science, and what not, which the student must have had during his high-school course. His oral English must be fair. The principal of his high school must recommend the student as having a good moral character.

And so the students present themselves. What do we know of them? What attitudes, habits, ideals, have they developed as shown by their activities? What manner of living is theirs? What are their intellectual interests? What do they read? What form does their recreation take? What health practices are theirs? In what social activities do they engage, and what religious affiliations have they made? With what heritages are they endowed, under what handicaps must they work, and what economic burdens do they share? What amount of leisure time is theirs? What language equipment have they, or what language handicap?

This study began with a questionnaire, which was given to the entire freshman class, during the last month of the freshman year. The class numbered 372 students, of whom 342 were pres-

ent at the time the questionnaire was given. A selection of 168 papers was made, as typical of the class groupings.

These papers were divided as follows:

Papers of

- (1) American-born students, with both parents American-born.
- (2) American-born students, with one foreign-born parent.
- (3) American-born students, with both parents foreign-born.
- (4) Foreign-born students, with both parents foreign-born.

The purpose of this division was to group together for study and comparison those students who may be said to have in some degree a common heritage from the point of view of New or Old World backgrounds. Much interesting data is forthcoming and although in some respects it is limited and unsatisfactory it is hoped that by personal interviews, the limitations may be supplemented, and corrections made.

And now comes the question as to how far our training schools meet the special social and cultural needs of these young people presenting themselves for training. Should such needs be a problem for our special consideration? Are we considering it? Are we solving it? How?

ROSE A. TAFTE

AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND MEASUREMENT OF HEALTH PRACTICES OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN

LEADING educators agree in placing the attainment of individual health as the first objective of education. Unfortunately, they do not agree upon the method which can best realize this objective. There are two main methods of teaching health in vogue throughout the elementary school of today; one is the traditional method of teaching health knowledges to obtain health practices, and the other is the newer method of inculcating health practices and attitudes through the medium of regular school activities.

This experiment provided two groups of elementary pupils in a New York City School whose intelligence,¹ social background,

¹ Intelligence measured by the Stanford revision of the Binet-Simon intelligence test

and academic achievement² were comparable. The control group, according to the traditional method, had health taught as a subject in the curriculum with a prescribed course of study and a specific time allotment on the program. The experimental group, according to the more modern method, considered health an objective of all education and an integral part of the entire school program. The period of experimentation extended throughout one school year. At the beginning and end of this period each group was measured. Every pupil had a record made of his attendance and punctuality practices, a physical examination to discover his physical defects, a Gates-Strang test to determine his health knowledges, a Payne health scale to check up his health practices and attitudes, and a week's dietaries to give a comprehensive picture of his food habits.

In every instance the two groups were comparable at the beginning of the experiment. At the end of the experiment, this was no longer true. The experimental group had acquired more health practices, knowledges, and attitudes. They had better attendance and punctuality records. They had corrected more physical defects. They had better food habits, and last but not most surprising, they had acquired more academic knowledge during the year than the control group. All of which would indicate that the method of teaching health used in the experimental group made more vital changes in the life of the child than the method used in the control group.

MARY BEST GILLIS

² Achievement measured by Stanford achievement test, Kelly, Ruch, Terman. Advanced Examination—Form A.

INQUIRY

Discussions in this department of The Journal represent the views of the writer of the answer to the inquiry and are not necessarily the views of the editors or of sociologists in general.

IRA M. GAST

New York University

Principal, Public School No. 8, Jersey City

The practice of grouping pupils in school according to intelligence is being quite generally adopted among the more progressive school systems. What is the attitude of the sociologist toward this movement?

The sociologist is not concerned with native intelligence as such, nor particularly with the results of intelligence tests as a basis for educational procedure. He feels that the emphasis of the testing movement has been to turn the attention of the educator away from the most desirable social outcomes, and to cause him to proceed on unwarranted assumptions. Intelligence test results are not measures of native ability alone. They are measures of pupil responses to test situations; but are not necessarily measures of anything else in particular. Test results do indicate a composite quality of health, energy, ambition, training, and many other traits which aid or hinder successful achievement. We have tended to forget that the child is a personality as well as an intelligence and that he has attitudes as well as abilities.

Reasons assigned for homogenous grouping according to some social trait are essentially: (1) economy in learning; (2) improvement in educational procedure; (3) improvement in kind and quality of training; and (4) more adequate adaptation to pupil nature and needs. If educational practice were sufficiently standardized even within a particular school so that a pupil's mark would have specific meaning, and a grade reached would indicate definite social accomplishment, there would be little need for other than

a standard age-grade table for pupil placement within a school grade. Pupils having completed five years of school work at the age of eleven years have a composite homogeneity as a group far surpassing a group selected at random. The same is true of pupils older than eleven years who have just reached the sixth grade in school. Where school conditions permit of a sociological procedure, the placement of under-age and over-age pupils in the same group is not justifiable.

1. Economy of Learning. Pupils should be given all the socially significant training that is possible within a given period of time. Superior learning technique and better habits, attitudes, and ideals should result from school procedure. There appears no justification for rushing better pupils through school in much less than the standard time nor for spending less money to educate the superior than the inferior.¹

2. Improvement in Educational Procedure. Pupils making normal progress in school and not failing in their work are on the whole healthier, and capable of more and better work per unit of time. It is important that an inventory be made of the health habits and practices, attitudes, knowledges, and skills, as a basis for more economic adjustment to the environment. This adjustment is both collective and individual. "There is a collective learning process as well as an individual learning process."²

3. Improvement in Kind and Quality of Training. For proper training the curriculum must provide for the creation of community changes and practices and for methods of discovering to what extent school instruction does affect such changes.³ Every educative situation set up by the course of study, method, measurement, or by virtue of the school and class organization should contribute to the improvement of individuals in their social relations. It is possible, then, that even the teacher should be selected whose personality and culture satisfy most nearly the needs of the particular group.

¹ Henry W. Holmes, *Twenty-first Year Book of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part II, p. 121.

² C. A. Ellwood, "What is Educational Sociology?" *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, I, 27.

³ E. George Payne, *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, I, 1, iv.

4. Adaptation to Pupil Nature and Needs. Cyril Burt⁴ has ventured to suggest that the school may be responsible through wrong training for much of the antisocial behavior of society. The procedure of the classroom cannot be determined in terms of the learning process alone. Learning takes place in a social situation. In the classroom is a group of interacting personalities, the teacher being one of these.⁵ Unfavorable social environment and antisocial influence must not be tolerated. It is essential then that harmony and homogeneity abound to the fullest extent if the school is to assume its proper function—the development of desirable habits and attitudes to accompany the acquisition of essential knowledge and skills.

⁴ Cyril Burt, *The Young Delinquent*, (D. Appleton & Co., 1925)

⁵ Harvey W. Zorbaugh, "Research in Educational Sociology," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, I, 20

BOOK REVIEWS

Pupil Adjustment, by W. C. REAVIS New York D. C. Heath, 1926, 348 pages.

The author states the purposes of this volume as: "(1) to set forth clearly the problem of maladjustment in the junior and senior high schools; (2) to present an analytical treatment of the case method as developed by physicians, psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers as a procedure for the diagnosis, prognosis and treatment of (maladjusted) individuals, (3) to show the technical application of the case-method procedure to the educational adjustment of pupils, and (4) to demonstrate concretely by actual example the application of the case method as a *modus operandi* in counseling and guidance." There follow discussions of the problem of pupil maladjustment, the need for pupil counseling and guidance, the technique of the case method as applied to counseling and guidance, and a set of complete case records illustrating "social maladjustment," "physical and health disabilities," "endocrine deficiency," "deficient previous school training," "speech disabilities and emotional complications," "ineffective habits of work and study," and the like.

Dr. Reavis's volume is another indication of the dawning realization among schoolmen of the fact that the child is a personality as well as an intelligence, that education must take account of attitudes as well as abilities. Dr. Reavis has not, however, fully appreciated the relationship of personality to social experience, or the way in which the school situation is related to the situations represented in the family, play group and community. Nevertheless, *Pupil Adjustment*, properly supplemented by readings and lectures, should make an excellent text for a course on the teacher as adviser or on the visiting teacher, should prove a valuable handbook for school psychologists, visiting teachers and school social workers, and should have a place upon the shelves of every school library.

New York University

HARVEY ZORBAUGH

The Scholarship of Teachers in Secondary Schools, by EDWARD A. FITZPATRICK and PERCIVAL W. HUSTON. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927, Part I, pp ix + 109, Part II, pp xiii + 208

The purpose of the Sachs prize, in competition for which these essays were submitted, is to improve the scholarly efficiency of secondary-school teachers. The authors have made practical suggestions based on investigations of existing practices relative to the training, certificating, and assigning of teachers. Due emphasis has been given to fundamental deficiencies, such as lack of tenure, large annual turnover, inadequate salaries, and improper supervision. These conditions form a foundation of quicksand on which the building of any scholarship structure would be futile. The same course, of endeavoring to secure the utmost value from our present teacher-training institutions, has been suggested. The need is not for additional formal training of the variety usually acquired with academic degrees from our colleges and universities, but for a combination of professional training and scholarship enabling the teacher to develop in his pupils those habits, skills, knowledges, and appreciations, which should be obtained in a secondary education.

To the question, "Is teaching a profession?" the answer given is decidedly "No." The very existence of a profession presupposes technical knowledge and corresponding skill acquired through long study and practice. Germany trains for a life work, the average length of service being over thirty years. We train and our teachers serve six years on an average. It is not surprising that professors in Germany have received high social recognition. In America, the ideal of a professional status could be approached if the responsible agencies, in coöperation, made further diagnostic analyses of the teaching job and then put into practical application the best of the accumulated suggestions. That some such course will be followed, is the hope of the authors of these stimulating essays.

New York University

MARGUERITE DICKSON

Extra-Curricular Activities in the Junior and Senior High Schools, by J. ROEMER and C. F. ALLEN. New York: D. C. Heath & Co., 1926, pp iii + 333

In addition to a foreword by Professor Elbert K. Fretwell, and an introduction by President Lotus D. Coffman, the book contains

three chapters relating to the underlying principles and methods of developing an extracurricular-activities program, seventeen chapters, each dealing separately with a particular activity, and an extensive bibliography, arranged by chapters, well selected, and annotated. The authors have based the extracurricular program on a philosophy which holds that the program of the schools should be such as to reduce to a minimum the amount of external drive, and increase to a maximum the amount of internal drive of the pupil. It is clearly shown that any type of extracurricular-activities program, to be properly developed, must have the intelligent and sympathetic coopération of teachers. How this coopération may be secured is pointed out.

Seventeen types of activities are discussed. These include "Student Participation in School Control," "Athletics," "Internal Accounting in the Local School," and "Commencements." Each chapter dealing with a particular type of activity includes a discussion of this activity, its nature, function, and place in the educational program of the secondary school. In these discussions the authors have drawn widely from experience in this general field, the language is clear and easy, and the outlines set forth are of a practical nature. Commencement exercises are included as a type of extracurricular activities. The authors are the first to discuss the commencement as an educative process, and this will open up new thought in regard to this school procedure which at present serves none too well as a secondary school function.

The book fills a need. It states a philosophy and contains a program of action. It will be found suggestive and practical in helping the junior and senior high-school principals and teachers develop a wider and more effective program, and in more nearly realizing the major objectives of secondary education.

New York University

BENJAMIN FLOYD STALCUP

Secondary Education, by AUBREY A. DOUGLASS, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927, 649 pages

Within the last year or two several publications dealing with various phases of secondary education have made their appearance. The present volume justifies its appearance on the ground that there is a demand for a text which will give a summary of

many of the recent investigations in secondary education. The author assumes correctly that busy teachers and principals lack time to familiarize themselves with such investigations.

The text is divided into three main parts. The first chapter of Part I describes briefly the European background of the American secondary school and the subsequent rise of the Latin grammar school, the academy, and the American high school. In chapter two the author discusses the recent tendencies in the reorganization of secondary education, including the junior and senior high schools and their functions. In a discussion of the functions of the junior high school, a careful summary has been made of its purposes and of the findings of the most recent investigations.

In Part II the secondary-school pupil is discussed under various headings: (a) mental and physical characteristics, (b) individual differences, (c) elimination and its chief causes. Chapters ten and eleven call attention to one of the greatest of the problems that face the secondary-school administrator and the teacher, that of guidance. Here is given a brief résumé of the earliest attempts, the results of the latest investigation, and descriptions of practicable plans now in use. Administrators will do well to make an intensive study of these chapters if they would find many of the causes of their difficulties and suggested remedies for the same.

In the latter half of the book (Part III) the author reiterates and elaborates upon the modern conceptions of education as maintained in the *Cardinal principles of Secondary Education*.¹ The last two chapters treat of the two most important phases of secondary education; the program of studies and extracurricular activities. The author gives representative types of programs of study in progressive cities. He is extremely cautious in avoiding the pedagogical error of assigning too high a place to extracurricular activities or insisting that we grant them definite recognition.

Although the author lays no claim to originality he has done a useful piece of work in bringing together and summarizing much recent material and representing it in a tabular and graphic form. His somewhat exhaustive list of 60 tables and 40 graphs are sufficient evidence that he has made skillful use (as the preface acknowledges) of the investigations and writings of others. It is

¹ U S Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 35, 1918.

fair to say that the book will be very useful both to students of secondary education and to teachers in service.

New York University

PAUL S. MILLER

Creative School Control, by PHILIP W. L. COX. Philadelphia. The J. B. Lippincott Company, 1927, 320 pages

There has been much written of late on "creative education." Most of it has been rather bewildering to us ordinary mortals who teach. For it has largely been written by artists who have irked at the task of making clear to us the details of their technique. And it has set up as a goal a mystical something called "self-realization," which too often has left us with a program of immediate activities to tie to.

Creative School Control makes several departures in the literature of creative education. We are confronted not with young geniuses, but with the ordinary youngsters of the junior and senior high school. Their creative education takes place not through the media of color, word pictures, or clay, but through ordinary group interests and activities. Learning is pictured as taking place in a social situation, as being less dependent on abilities and formal curricula than on the interplay of attitudes that is a part of school life. And Dr. Cox sees with unusual clarity the rôle that the school plays in passing on the tradition and techniques of the community.

In presenting the school as a situation in which the child may build up an adequate conception of his social rôle, Dr. Cox discusses, among other things, the curriculum and classroom procedure of the creative school, home-room activities, physical recreation and athletics, clubs and societies, assemblies, student publications, student politics, grade congresses, student councils, student participation in school administration, and school social problems. These discussions are not mere theory, but are packed with practical observations and suggestions that have grown out of Dr. Cox's long experience as a school man and out of the experimental procedures of the city and country school upon which he has drawn.

Creative School Control is one of the high lights in the new literature of the school. Many a schoolman will lay it down with a

new vision and a quickened interest in his work. Among them will be those who, like the reviewer, will regret that they could not have come up through such a school.

New York University

HARVEY ZORBAUGH

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

Professor Charles A. Ellwood of the department of sociology of the University of Missouri is enjoying his sabbatical leave in study and travel in Europe.

Professor Erwin S. Selle, head of the department of social science of the State Teachers College of Winona, Minnesota, spent the past year completing the course requirements for a doctorate in educational sociology at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City. He has added a new course in educational sociology to the department of social science at Winona.

Dr. Joseph K. Hart, one of the contributing editors of this publication, has accepted a professorship in the department of philosophy in the State University at Madison, Wisconsin. His work began there with the opening of the present school year.

Assistant Professor Harvey W. Zorbaugh of the department of educational sociology of the School of Education, New York University, is taking a leave of absence for the present school year for the benefit of his health. He is spending his time in Arizona and New Mexico.

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

Lomax, Paul Sanford, Associate Professor of Commercial Education, School of Education, New York University. Professor Lomax is a Missourian by birth, receiving his B.S. from Missouri and his Ph.D. from New York University. Professor Lomax has taught in the Normal School at Las Vegas, New Mexico. He has been a member of the New York State Department of Education, as well as the Federal Board of Vocational Education.

Pendry, Elizabeth R., has received her B.S. degree from the University of Illinois and her A.M. from Harvard. She has served as vice president of the Vocational Guidance Association of Los Angeles, and more recently has been associated with the character education inquiry at Teachers College.

West, Nathaniel G., holds an A.B. and A.M. from the University of Rochester, besides having done graduate work at Teachers College. For a number of years, Mr. West has been an elementary-school principal in Rochester. He is now on leave of absence completing his doctorate at New York University. He is likewise giving courses in elementary education at the University.

For sketches of other contributors, see preceding issues.

REPRINTS

Contributors to THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY may secure reprints of their articles by writing to the publisher not later than the fifth of the month in which their contribution appears.

Schedule of reprint prices will be mailed upon request.

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A Magazine of Theory and Practice

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EDITORIAL NOTES

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY has received a great many comments and suggestions about the publication. A number of editorial comments have been made in various journals. The statement in *The Survey* of October 15, 1927, is reproduced here because it represents in part what THE JOURNAL would like to say editorially. The comment is as follows:

The new *Journal of Educational Sociology* makes its appearance this month with the hopeful subtitle, "A Magazine of Theory and Practice." Though it is published in New York, its editorial board, headed by E. George Payne, now of New York University, is representative of what sociologists have come to call "the Chicago point of view." The emphasis of this first number is upon research and experiment, with two departments offering opportunity for readers' discussion and a department of News from the Field. Sociologists ought to welcome this new journal. Doubtless in this field there is plenty of pertinent material available, but all sociology is in the flux and particularly educational sociology. This is not to be regretted because life itself is very much in the flux. Very naturally there are a number of brands of sociology which have a pertinent bearing on education. Between these there is not always the best feeling, indeed there is always friction between the sciences, perhaps a sign of health. A very unstimulating state of affairs would undoubtedly settle over us if friction ceased. But since there are these many schools of sociology and since they are all working in the field of social research, most of which has some educational implications, it seems that this new journal has made a timely appearance.

THE JOURNAL is anxious to promote the study of educational sociology through the National Society, as indicated previously in editorials. We are therefore glad to include here a tentative pro-

gram of the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology which meets during the Christmas holiday recess in Washington, D. C.

TENTATIVE PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE
STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

The Forenoon Session, December 29, 1927

"Science, Sociology, and Education,"

ROBERT C. ANGELL, *University of Michigan*

"Toward an Agreement as to the Content of Educational Sociology,"

ROSS L. FINNEY, *University of Minnesota*

"The Literature of Educational Sociology,"

C. D. CHAMPLIN, *Pennsylvania State College*

The Luncheon Session, December 29, 1927

Reports of studies now being made in the field of educational sociology:

A. O. BOWDEN, *New Mexico State Teachers College*

NATHAN MILLER, *Carnegie Institute of Technology*

O. MYKING MEHUS, *Wittenberg College*

and others

PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

HARVEY W ZORBAUGH

New York University

WITHIN the year I happened in upon a class in psychology for teachers. The instructor was the principal of a large high school in an Eastern city. He was teaching through the extension department of a large university. He was lecturing on neurones, After listening for the better part of two hours to a discussion of axones, synapses, ganglia, and the chemistry of nervous conductivity, I picked up with some curiosity a text which the student next to me had put down on the seat between us. It was by a well-known psychologist of the older generation, a book widely used in colleges and universities until within the past few years. The first one hundred and fifty pages were devoted to the physiology of the nervous system. The balance of the book took up in turn various abstracted "mental" functioning, such as sensation, perception, cognition, thinking, imagination, and affectivity. Interestingly enough, the second half of the book contained no reference whatever to the facts about the physiology of the nervous system developed in the first half, and there was little in the text to suggest that psychology had anything to do with the behavior of real persons in actual life situations.

It occurred to me that many of us who are now teaching studied psychology when it was learning to talk, when it was more interested in mastering a vocabulary than in research, more interested in the mysterious ways of the "mind" than in behavior. I can vouch for the fact that there are many teachers today—and by no means all of them in our hamlets and villages—to whom Freud is merely a corrupter of youth and Watson an agnostic who would destroy our belief in a soul, to whom Koffka—if he chance to be more than a name—is the person who has been wrangling with Thorndike as to whether children learn like cats or like apes, to whom Freeman's recent discoveries as to the inheritance of "intelligence" and Thorndike's recent researches into the relative learning ability of children and adults, for example, are unknown.

Most of us, of course, have had our earlier psychology supplemented by more recent professional training. But a cursory survey of the texts used in normal schools and in academic colleges (from which a large part of our teaching population comes) is not reassuring. The "educational" psychology taught in normal and training schools has become highly specialized about the learning process, has made almost a fetish of "tests and measurements," has interested itself in abilities and intelligence to the exclusion of attitudes and personality. Not long ago I sat in the office of another high-school principal while he interviewed a sullen, defiant boy who had just been reported as failing three subjects. After the interview he remarked to me, "The boy is unquestionably deficient." When I doubted this he referred me to a statement by a well-known educational psychologist as to the correlation between mental deficiency and school failure. When I asked if the boy had been tested, he admitted that he had not. The boy subsequently turned out to have an I Q of 128! The psychology taught in academic colleges is perhaps better because less specialized. But here, too, we find but fragmentary discussions of the recent contributions to our knowledge of behavior that have been made by the sociologist, ethnologist, glandular chemist, psychiatrist, psycho-analyst, and the experimental nursery. The behaviorist, to be sure, is beginning to come into his own. But the psychology of our colleges is still largely a blend of the traditional brand with the *sur-disant* "scientific psychology" (which gave the world the yellow cab and "job analysis"), an extension of psychology into the field of sensory and motor phenomena. The possibility of studying actual behavior rather than the processes of a nervous system that still defies our microscopes and galvanometers, the clinical conception of personality, the sociologist's query as to whether behavior may not be explained more adequately in terms of the social situation than in terms of the biological organism, the ethnologist's stressing of "culture," have as yet made little headway.

We are having it borne in upon us from all sides today that "preparation for living in our contemporary civilization," the professed goal of modern education, is not merely an affair of motor skills and logic, but that an increasingly complex mechan-

ical civilization demands increasingly stable emotional attitudes and personalities. Every phase of our life—political, social, industrial—affords evidence of this fact. Especially arresting is the testimony of those whose duty it is to salvage shipwrecked personalities—judges of our juvenile courts, psychiatrists in our behavior clinics, social workers for our charity societies, visiting teachers in our schools.¹

Surely the task of the public school is only half completed if, in addition to building skills and habits of correct thinking, it does not concern itself with the conditioning of emotional attitudes and the formation of personality traits that will facilitate social adjustment. The purpose of these papers is the mobilization, in a nontechnical but organized fashion, of our present knowledge of personality traits and their relation to school success and social adjustment, in the hope that it will prove of interest and value to many whose everyday duties have proved too pressing to permit their keeping in touch with the frontiers of our knowledge of social behavior. Lest what follows seem to fall short of fulfilling this promise, it may be well to point out here that our researches into the mechanisms of social behavior are only beginning to take us beyond the common-sense level.

ORIGINAL NATURE

Our subject falls into four natural divisions: original nature, our social world, personality, and social adjustment. We shall discuss them in turn.

In studying personality and social adjustment, we are not so much interested in the morphology and the physiology of the body as in its behavior. When we speak of behavior we refer to the ways in which the person as a whole acts with reference to the

¹ Dr. Smiley Blanton, director of the Minneapolis Child Guidance Clinic, wrote recently, "That children do not outgrow their difficulties is shown by a study of one hundred unselected high-school students, made by the Minneapolis Child Guidance Clinic last year. Fully one half of them, although doing good school work, had emotional conflicts and warped attitudes which certainly will interfere with their success in life. A study of more than one thousand unselected college students, juniors and seniors, has shown that fully half have emotional difficulties that will prevent them from realizing their highest possibilities, while fully ten per cent have maladjustments serious enough to warp their lives and in some cases to cause mental breakdowns unless properly treated." Child Guidance Clinics, *The Red Book*, October, 1927.

situations which surround him. Bodily structure determines the general nature of bodily behavior, of course. But we can assume that bodily structure bears a constant relationship to behavior and proceed directly to the study of the ways in which the individual behaves in various situations.² Here and there, where a knowledge of physiology seems essential to our understanding of some aspect of behavior, the necessary facts will be presented. But an elaborate presentation, especially of the functions of the nervous system, is unnecessary. We have made relatively little progress in analyzing the nature of events within the nervous system. And we have made less progress in demonstrating relationship between specific behavior acts and specific nervous processes.³ Even if we could trace each bodily response in all its psychological ramifications, such a procedure would have for us but the theoretical interest that describing the behavior of a gas engine in terms of the interaction of electrons and protons would have for the automotive engineer. Understanding and control of behavior will be achieved by studying behavior, for the present, at least, in terms of situation and response rather than by attempting to deduce it from physiological processes.

So, in inquiring into original nature, we are not so much concerned with the body with which the baby is born as with the behavior mechanisms⁴ which it displays at birth, its unlearned

² By saying that we may assume that the body bears a constant relationship to behavior, we mean that the structure and physiological function of bodily organs set limits to personal variations in behavior patterns, and that these limits are the same for each person. Thus, the fact that we do not eat wood is no doubt due to the nature of the alimentary tract. But the fact that a given person eats prunes, but cannot eat snails is the results of his experiences. What one person may be expected to do in a given situation, as over against what another person may be expected to do, is plainly not alone determined by the structure and physiology of the body.

The exceptions to this statement that we must recognize in facing the problems of sex, race, and "individual" differences (including pathology of the nervous system) will be discussed in another place.

³ This is not to discount or ignore the significance of the brilliant research of such men as Sherrington (*The Integrative Action of the Nervous System*), Herriek (*The Neurological Foundations of Behaviour*), Cannon, Lashley, Watson, Carr, and others. Those interested in the essentials of physiology as related to behavior will find a readable and accurate account in Watson's *Behaviorism*. Herriek's *Brains of Rats and Men* contains an equally readable, though somewhat more technical discussion of the nervous system.

⁴ The word "mechanism" is used by the student of behavior, as by the student of physical phenomena, to denote a predictable sequence of events—in the case of behavior a predictable stimulus-response series.

responses to stimulus-situations, the common behavior equipment which we all share and out of which the individuality exhibited in our personality traits is fashioned by our social experience. An adequate conception of original nature can best be developed, perhaps, by contrasting the ideas of the instinct school of psychologists with those of the behaviorists. Such a contrast will serve, further, to make clear the difference between the old and new methods of studying behavior.

Note:—Next month Professor Zorbaugh will contrast the instinct psychology with behaviorism

SUCCESS AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY¹

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DOES equality of educational opportunity mean identical organization and curriculum throughout a school system? May differences of capacity and background be taken into account in planning so as to enable each child to experience success? The two propositions seem to be supplementary to each other, and I take the liberty of recasting them into more compact form as follows. May the organization and curriculum of a school system be so planned as to take into account differences of capacity and background in order to enable each child to experience success?

To attempt to answer this question it is necessary at the outset to define the term "school system," and to recognize its implications. What is meant, presumably, is the institution of the public schools of a political unit, a city, for example, with the emphasis on the word "public." It follows that we must note the essential and significant difference between the status of a public school and that of a private-venture school.

In the case of the private school a contract is entered into between the owner or manager of a school and his customers or patrons, who are the parents of the pupils in his school. The manager conducts his school along lines of his own devising and in accordance with his own policies, prospective patrons look at his school and then take it or leave it. If his school attracts patrons, then business is good, and he is warranted in assuming that his methods are satisfactory. If the patrons come and go, and mostly go, then he must realize that he is not giving satisfaction as a purveyor of schooling, and he may seek and find the explanation in the kind and quality of his administrative and pedagogic methods. In other words the private-school owner is subject to much the same business principles and is dependent for success upon the same

¹An address delivered before the conference of the Teachers Union Auxiliary, October 1, 1927

qualities as is the shoe manufacturer, the retail storekeeper, or the milk distributor

The public school, by contrast, has a totally different status. It is not responsible to individual parents. Its authority does not derive from them. It has no contract with the parents of its pupils either individually or collectively. It is not organized by its pupils or their guardians, nor supported by them except incidentally. Its primary interest, therefore, is not the satisfaction of their demands.

The public school is the creation of the state. It is organized, supported, and conducted by the commonwealth for the common weal. In any community each and every person, whether he wills it or not or whether he knows it or not, is a financial supporter of the public school. Though all too frequently he does not realize it, he has an essential interest in the public school, regardless of whether he has children or whether, if he has, they do or do not attend the school. In our United States, each State has incorporated in its fundamental document a provision for the establishment and maintenance of a system of public instruction, and the legislature has transmuted this mandate of the State constitution into actual schools, State organized, State conducted, and tax supported.

The manager of a private school can go into business and go out of business as the humor takes him; the State is in the business of providing schooling in perpetuity. The manager of a private school can operate his school pretty nearly in any way he wishes so long as he pulls in the business. He may run an exceptionally good school or he may run a lamentably poor school. He may fawn upon wealthy patrons, he may violate every sound pedagogic principle and method, he may be undemocratic, overbearing, weak and mushy—anything so long as business keeps coming his way. The State, on the contrary, must operate its schools with intelligent heed to both the true needs of the individual pupil and the common interest of all the people.

The State goes further than merely to offer freely the benefit of public schooling to the individual child. It cannot stop at this, for there are parents who, from one motive or another, would give their children no educational advantages at all. Hence the

State says to every parent "You *must* enroll your children in our common educational institution—the public schools of the State" It makes the single reservation that you may, if you prefer, give them elsewhere, but not at public expense, an equivalent minimum of education satisfactory to it. So far does the State go in its efforts to conserve its sovereign interests as well as the interests of its constituent members that it inflicts penalties upon parents who neglect the education of their children. When necessary, it even resorts to the ultimate and drastic penalty of taking their children away from them and assuming for them the entire guardianship of those whom they have neglected.

The status of the public school, as noted in the foregoing, has two leading significances in relation to our topic. The first is that the public school has no choice as to the personnel of its pupils. It must and does admit to its ranks children of all races, of all varieties of social background, of all degrees of economic condition—in short, children of unlimited combinations and permutations of hereditary and environmental factors. This means that the pupils in a public-school system represent the widest range of individuality—from the moron to the genius, from the stolid to the hysterical, from the stable to the errant.

The second significance is that the State must treat all its pupils so as to meet a twofold interest—the interest of the collective state and the interest of the individual pupils. This status of the public school is often overlooked or not understood by parents and alas! at times by school administrators. For example, when a parent complains that his child is receiving unjust, deficient, or otherwise incompetent treatment at the hands of a teacher, the complaint is too often thought of and settled in terms of immediate personal relationship. The true situation is that a valid criticism of a school is of far greater concern to the State than it can be to the individual complainant. The parent is determined only that *his* child shall receive proper treatment. The State's position is that if any school or any class is not good enough for the complainant's child, it is not good enough for any child. The parent is the protector of his own children, the State is the protector of *all* children within its domain. The interest of the State demands that it shall discover as soon as possible its own

error in having licensed and employed an incompetent teacher, or in any other way failed to provide proper service.

We speak of the two interests which are furthered by the State—its own interest as a sovereign entity, and the interest of every individual, himself a sovereign unit in the State. There is, after all, little conflict between the two. A satisfactory citizen—in the broadest connotation of the term—will be satisfactory to himself as an individual. Conversely, an individual properly educated—again in the broadest connotation—is bound to be a good citizen. Society cannot ignore the true interests of its component individuals as individuals; no individual can ignore the true interests of society—the group of which he is a member and to which he owes all the benefits of social living.

Having noted the chief implications of the term “school system” we are in a position to consider our question up to a certain point, *i.e.*, “May the organization and curriculum of a school system be so planned as to take into account differences of capacity and background?” But the question does not stop here; these differences, it says, are to be taken into account “in order to enable each child to experience success.” And now we face the pre-eminent difficulty of attempting to define “success.”

What do we mean by saying that the child is to experience success? Before speaking affirmatively let us note that there are some things, popular acclaim to the contrary, that success is not. Success is not to be found in the implication of the words of the over strenuous character in the play who pounds the table and screams “I want what I want when I want it.” Success is not to be found in having a lot of money, or in going through life without having to work, or in always being “happy.” We cannot accept the dictum, sometimes promulgated, that the object of education is to see that children are happy, if that means that they are never to be crossed in their desires but are to have their own way in accordance with their passing moods.

No right-minded person would wittingly harm a little child, or, for that matter, any one else. But life as it really is, is above all else discipline, and he is truly the *unhappy* child who comes undisciplined into maturity cherishing the idea that the function of his fellows is to make him happy. When I use the word “dis-

cipline" I have in mind, of course, intelligent, constructive, guiding discipline; I am not thinking of brutality, of unwarranted assaults upon body, mind, emotion, will, or soul. But if parents and schools do not, in the right sense of the word, discipline a child, society will; and the last state of that child will be worse than the first. So much on the negative side, now positively, just what is success?

The dictionaries tell us that success is the "attainment of a proposed object," "the favorable or prosperous termination of anything attempted." For our purpose, however, an important qualification of this definition is necessary. We must consider the character of the "proposed object." A burglar when he "burgles" and gets away with it presumably experiences success. Fagin, conducting a private-venture school for pickpockets, taught his pupils to succeed in their chosen profession of picking pockets. But the State can scarcely encourage larceny or count pocket picking among the arts in which its individuals should be made proficient. A truant doubtless experiences a thrill of success when he eludes the attendance officer, but the State does not provide officers in order that boys may experience this kind of success. For our purpose, then, we must qualify the definition of success by saying "the attainment of a proposed *worth-while* object."

Perhaps we are not now much nearer our goal, for we may still ask: *What is worth while?* From the standpoint of the State and the State's schools, anything that is of immediate or ultimate value to society is worth while. But this is hardly enough. We must, on behalf of the individual, go a step farther and say that anything that is of immediate or ultimate value to himself is worth while, with the single but highly important limitation that the thing must not be inimical to society; *i.e.*, he must respect the rights of his fellows.

One thing to be noted is that, just as there are individuals and individuals, so there are successes and successes. Not all worth-while objects are attainable by every individual. One star differeth in glory from another star—but they are both stars. Henry Ford makes automobiles; his friend John Burroughs wrote books, both men are accepted as successful; both have contributed to the social welfare. Even within a single field of endeavor there are

varieties of success. I don't know the respective I. Q.'s of Walter Palmer and of Henri Matisse, but let's guess they are somewhat the same. Matisse, however, would scarcely accept one of Palmer's winter scenes as a standard of his own success, nor can we imagine Palmer getting any thrill in painting one of Matisse's odalisques. Yet each in his way is rated as a success and each, presumably, is laboring "for the joy of the working" and drawing "the Thing as he sees It for the God of Things as They Are."

So, too, in a group of pupils who grade alike in intelligence there are inevitable differences in the direction of their interests, and consequently in the direction of their possible successes. Tom and Harry are in the same classes. Each has an I. Q. of 100. Tom attains 50 per cent in his term's work in Latin and 100 per cent in chemistry; Harry gets 100 per cent in Latin and 50 per cent in chemistry. Both are failures or both are successes, according to who is talking. The chemistry teacher says Tom is a wonder; the Latin teacher says he's a dumbbell. Which is he? Let him cast the first stone who has never fallen to a 50 in any subject. Tom stands an excellent chance of becoming an eminent chemist, Harry an equal chance of becoming an inspiring teacher of Latin. Would it not be an impertinence to ask: Which is the success? Let us rather say with Pope, "'Tis man's to fight, but Heaven's to give success."

We are not quite ready yet to attempt to answer the question propounded, for what does it mean to *experience* success? Can we not experience success without being in the eyes of the world successful? It seems that we must distinguish between subjective and objective success, between what feels to the individual like success and what society rates as success. Society claims the right to demand that the individual in his activities render some worth while service—that he carry at least his own weight in the social structure. Hence, *what* he is doing is of concern to it, quite as much as how he *feels* while doing it.

A simple-minded giant may develop a lot of success-complex out of carrying a load of rubbish from one corner of a lot to another and back again, but society does not rate him a success until he disposes of the rubbish in the interest of the public welfare. The village ne'er-do-well seems to get a lot of satisfaction out of

just "settin'" and whittling, but the villagers say he ought to be making a whiffletree or an axhandle.

The public school, then, as the representative of society cannot be content in merely letting each child have the feeling of success without regard to whether the product of his effort is in itself of a worth-while character. Hence, when it is asked whether the school system may be so planned as to enable each child to experience success, it must mean that he is to have this experience in the accomplishment of some object that is worth while from the standpoint of social or individual value as well as from the standpoint of his own pleasure in accomplishing it.

In making this distinction, however, we must not overlook the pedagogic factor. The school is *teaching*; therefore it must await results of value objectively the while it is developing in the pupil subjectively a series of conquests. The school may well be satisfied for the moment with the degree of a pupil's success that is glowing to him but is not yet yielding a product of intrinsic value. For example, to take a material product as an illustration, a boy in the woodworking shop may experience success in gradually acquiring the ability to plane a straight edge; then to make a mortise and tenon joint, then to sandpaper a surface; then to handle filler and varnish. He has not yet produced a single object of value, but the school is biding its time, looking forward with pedagogical assurance to the day when the boy collates all these preliminary but necessary processes, these subjective successes, into one objective success in the form of a table.

We may now consider the relation of success to individual capacities and backgrounds. We may distinguish between quantitative and qualitative success. Of two children attacking new problems in arithmetic, the one with an I. Q. of 60 cannot expect the same quantity of accomplishment as the one with an I. Q. of 120, yet the quality of the emotion of success experienced may be equally high in one case as in the other.

When the 120 I. Q.'er solves 120 problems in the same time that the 60 I. Q.'er solves 60 problems, the former, we may say, has been twice as successful as the latter. But the child of lower mentality may have had every thrill of accomplishment that the

other child has had. In this sense of satisfying experience both children may be said to have been equally successful.

Before leaving these attempts to catch the elusive connotation of the word success, let us note that undoubtedly the most resplendent success, subjectively at least, is a noble dissatisfaction with one's own greatest efforts—the momentary glow of accomplishment followed by the aspiration to still greater accomplishment. Thus one goes from success to success, always successful but always unsatisfied—with ever the watchword "What next?"

Now to return to our topic. We must agree, I am sure, that the school system *ought* to take into account differences in capacity and background—that it should have respectful regard for the individuality of the individuals. The school, if it is to do this, must endeavor to develop to the utmost the latent power of each individual as an individual, to help him to find himself and his work, and to guide him in weaving his "behavior pattern"—to use the current term—so that, still being himself, he will be a pre-eminently useful member of society. Thus he will learn to say with Van Dyke:

"This is my work, my blessing, not my doom,
Of all who live, I am the one by whom
This work can best be done in the proper way."

These aims accomplished, the pupil will be both a success and experience success. In the process, however, he cannot avoid the rigors of training. Of necessity he must be trained in the habits, skills, and knowledges that are, at once, his rightful heritage and his social obligation.

Thus far, we have developed rather the academic and the philosophical answer to our question—the State *ought* to organize its schools so as to attain the objects stated. But, practically, can it do so? What the school *should* or *might* do and what it *may* or *can* do under actual present-day conditions are two different propositions. Converting the question before us into practical terms, it may be stated thus. What does the school now do to recognize individual differences, and what more can it do? Here as frequently we meet the idealist and we meet the practicalist, but it has been aptly said that "between the greeters of the millennium and the prophets

of disaster there are to be found those who carry on by taking what seems to be the wisest next step." Let us then ask ourselves, in practical terms, what are the wisest "next steps."

I propose that we talk not of Utopia, but, let us say, of New York City. I admit it might be interesting to lay out a program for forty teachers under ideal conditions teaching one pupil—Heaven save the pupil! But rather let us face the problem that really confronts us, with one teacher teaching forty or more pupils under all sorts of unfavorable circumstances. Whatever the actual conditions, favorable or adverse, it is clear that the school owes it to itself and to its pupils to give a maximum of service to each and every one. Indeed, if it does not itself succeed in this, its own problem and its own challenge, how can it expect to train its pupils to succeed? With the New York City school system as a type and our text, and not by any means to exhaust the possibilities, I suggest six important "next steps."

The first steps would be naturally to extend advantages already to the credit of the present organization. It is evident that the problem of taking into account differences of capacity and background, has not been unconsidered or neglected. There has been a progressive recognition of both physical and mental handicaps. Pupils thus handicapped cannot well experience success when put into competition with normal children, nor really succeed when the rules of the game are the same for all participants. Sport recognizes the handicap; education can do no less. When the handicapped child is placed in a group of his peers, two advantages accrue; he is given his chance, and the normal class from which he is taken can be administered more satisfactorily in the interest of the normal pupils.

In the New York school system the number of special classes for the handicapped is nearing a thousand. Of these, more than half are for pupils with physical defects—the blind, the weak-sighted, the deaf, the cardiac, the undernourished, the tubercular, the crippled. There are nearly 400 classes for the mentally deficient, with the title, possibly inapt, of "ungraded" classes. In addition to this provision of special classes, there are over one hundred teachers doing adjustment work. Sixty-eight of these are giving home instruction to children unable to make the trip to a

school; 27 are teaching or supervising the teaching of speech improvement, 15 are visiting teachers, *liaison* officers between school and home. All these various agencies are directing their efforts toward helping the less fortunately endowed children to adjust themselves successfully toward the strenuous life which is flowing on about them.

But much as has been done, much remains to be done. Thousands of New York children who merit the special attention of these adjusting agencies are without it, to their own detriment and that of their more normal neighbors. There is lack of public and even professional recognition of this gap between what ought to be and what is. The figures that follow tell the story. In the estimate for the 1928 budget, of 243 additional ungraded teachers asked for there were allowed—what shall we guess? Half the number? No, 15, or six per cent. Of 25 open-air teaching positions asked for, 5 granted; of 18 sight conservation, 6, of 26 home instruction teachers, 8; of 29 speech improvement, none, of 13 visiting teachers, none. Surely, this points the *first* important “next step.” Arouse public, professional, and official opinion to the need for the adjustment agencies asked for by the experts in charge of the work.

The next advance to be noted concerns itself with the pupils who do not need the attention of special agencies. They are the pupils in the so-called regular classes. They have already been classified into different groups with corresponding modifications of the curriculum. It is a quarter century since one Brooklyn school established rapid-advancement classes in the 7A-8A grades, segregating the brightest pupils and enabling them to accomplish three terms work in two. About the same time “opportunity” classes were devised for backward pupils. Since then the principle of differentiation has been widely extended until today it is a regulation that wherever there are two or more classes in a grade—and that means in the majority of schools—it is required that the pupils be grouped in classes according to their ability: bright, normal, and slow. Even where there is but one class to a grade the pupils are to be grouped within the class.

There is still need for improvement, based in part on the presence of many overlarge classes. The few studies so far made of the

class size seem to agree that there is little or no correlation between small class and scholastic progress. We must not, however, take these conclusions as a final argument against attempting to reduce the teacher's pupil load, for these studies do not take into account the very factors we are considering. The American city school, faced in recent years with the great problem of dealing with a large number of pupils in a single room, has developed a wonderfully efficient technique of mass instruction. An ordinarily skillful teacher of the present-day tradition can probably get as telling examination "averages" with a class of 45 as with a class of 35. But what has become of the individual pupil? His health, his interest, his initiative, his moral development, his social adjustment—in a word, his true success—may have been touched but little if at all. Without evaluation of those factors—difficult indeed to obtain by any testing methods thus far devised or easy to provision—we are not warranted in concluding that the size of class is a factor to be ignored if the school is to concern itself with educating every pupil in the many directions in which he is reasonably educable.

The teacher must *know* every pupil; that means there is an upper limit to the number of pupils he can adequately serve. On the other hand, the individual must have the benefit of a substantial number of social contacts; that means there is a lower limit to the size to which a class should be reduced. We may not know the ideal number of pupils to a class, grade by grade or group by group, but we can probably agree that 30 is better than 40 and that 20 is better than 10. To establish the practice in New York City of no classes above 30, or even, as a start, above 35, would mean a substantial increase in the school budget. *Second* "next step": Demonstrate to the taxpaying public the need for smaller classes

Next, we note progress made in many directions in material and physical equipment. Two hundred by three hundred feet is the minimum site now taken by the Board of Education for the erection of a new elementary school. Indoor as well as outdoor play space is on a liberal scale. The gymnasium—there are two in many buildings—is part of our modern standard equipment. The specially equipped rooms—music, drawing, sewing, science, woodworking, homemaking, library, nature-study—all evidence

a recognition of something besides the three R's. All new buildings are to have both kindergarten and kindergarten extension in adjoining rooms of one and one-half classroom units each. Standard equipment eliminates seats and desks in all kindergarten-extension rooms. Over one hundred kindergarten extension classes are now in existence and we may well regard this as a significant break in the wall of mass instruction. *Third* "next step": Urge the reequipping of old buildings, so far as it is in any way possible, to bring them up to the standards already admitted as necessary in new construction.

We turn now from extensions of present officially recognized progressive trends to consider the more divergent practices still in the experimental stage—attempts to recreate the whole organization and atmosphere of the traditional classroom. New York City, it must be admitted, has not been to any marked degree officially receptive toward such movements. This may be said without disparagement of the work of the Bureau of Reference, Research, and Statistics. This bureau, for one reason or another, has not been able to function extensively in its research phase. A distinct lack in the present administrative organization is a laboratory department. Experimentation is hit-or-miss, privately initiated, difficult of conducting within the crystallized formulæ of administration. Such innovations as we get are apt to be tied up with personalities and personal interests. The scientific approach is lacking. Propaganda takes the place of experiment. *Fourth* "next step". Secure the establishment of a bureau or division—the details of the machinery are important but not to be gone into here—that shall (1) act as a clearing house of progressive educational ideas, (2) search throughout the world—not omitting New York City itself—for sincere and worthy new methods and devices, (3) conduct experiments in selected schools under scientific conditions, (4) evaluate such experiments but only in due time, and (5) recommend, with supporting and convincing data, the extension of experiments that have proved their worth.

The scope of the question before us is so large that we can make but inadequate reference to the problem of the high school. For lack of time, we may only strike at what seems to be the under-

lying fundamental difficulty *Fifth* "next step": Secure the acceptance of the proposition that the secondary school is not a school teaching traditional so-called high-school subjects to a selected group of pupils, but a school serving adolescents and teaching *them* and not subjects, fearlessly letting the application of this principle lead where it may.

Finally, we must take thought of what is perhaps the most baffling phase of our problem, baffling because it concerns not the form but the substance, not the rules and regulations but the atmosphere and the spirit. First and last, the crux of the situation is the teacher. Equipment, organization, teacher—but the greatest of these is the teacher. I use the word teacher in the generic sense, to include all those directly or indirectly concerned with the pupil. Put a stolid, indolent, uneducated college graduate in charge of a class under admittedly ideal conditions and his pupils will experience success only as they contrive to escape him and his ways. But put a teacher with brain and heart in a forbidding room, with meager equipment, and even under unsympathetic supervision, and somehow and in some way he will make the very walls shine with a brooding glory and the eager faces about him glow with the spirit of accomplishment.

Sixth and last "next step": Transform all our inane teachers, our undereducated teachers, our overfrivolous teachers, our over-serious teachers, our tired teachers, our discouraged teachers, into the radiant teacher who breathes initiative and lives success and whose very living is contagious. Just how? I don't know. Do you?

SOME PROBLEMS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

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I

THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

SPEAKING broadly, the purpose of community organization is to apply rational guidance to social change. Change is perpetual whether or not there is any attempt to direct it, and many social theorists have affected to believe that any attempt to direct it will only produce nugatory results. I find more satisfaction and intelligence in the thesis that human reason is privileged to modify somewhat the course of social change, and that the nature of this modification is qualitative. The reference to qualitative change implies, of course, standards of evaluation of experience which in some minds create the assumption of ultimate values. If one were to admit this assumption he could very easily define community organization as the conscious rational guidance of social change toward certain perceived goals of ultimate good. I do not think, however, we need to move so rapidly. Why can we not satisfy our craving for finality by accepting change itself as an ultimate, and then we can think of qualitative improvement in reference to relative standards which themselves are subject to enlargement and enrichment. I should be satisfied to see as the aim of community organization nothing more "utopian" than the conscious attempt to secure for society as a whole the real values which have been secured by the more enlightened portion of society. That is, the health, wholesome recreation, and opportunities for all-round expression enjoyed by those who are admittedly favored in these respects should provide rather concrete goals for community realization. This view carries some very specific negative implications to the nature of the enterprise. It can be neither paternalistic nor completely philanthropic. While recognizing that the cutting edge of social reason is found in the best equipped, and that the responsibility for leadership will

doubtless always be with them, I cannot preserve even the logical integrity of this discussion if I grant that opportunities for all-round expression are consistent with a paternalistic conception of community organization. If the foregoing means anything at all, it means that community organization embraces more than welfare work; it embraces the education of the masses.

The method of education presents some troublesome problems. Should a public bathhouse be provided before the people for whom it is intended have developed a demand for a bathhouse? Some would call that paternalism. Of course the State could invoke the police power to compel people to bathe on the grounds of public safety, but the extent to which such coercions are employed is the measure of the failure of real community organization. The issue will be clearer if it can be perceived that the means of education are not all vocal. A public bathhouse, like a merchant's window may serve to create a desire through suggestion. People do not demand certain styles in advance of their appearance. They are objectified by persons who, for what reason it doesn't matter, think more persistently and creatively about styles, and then they soon become the common property through suggestion and imitation—or perhaps sometimes by satisfaction of some real rational need. Hence we should expect to find community organizers fostering modes of expression which have not as yet become common. Any community program which stops there, however, will open itself to the charge of being aristocratic, or perhaps *bourgeois*. An example of this type of criticism is seen in the scornful designation of the Y. M. C. A. as a "club for middle-class boys"

In delimiting the field of community organization we are reminded that the science of sociology has grown up in modern times, finding its phenomena in that range of human experience which expresses itself in life circles having community objects as their aim, but which fall outside the sphere of the single personality as well as that of the political. It is this range of social experience with which community organization should deal in a formative and, of course, administrative way. Its task is to convert applied sociology into the art of social reformation.

In acknowledging a separation between the political field and the field of community organization, I do not wish to emphasize

differences or lines of demarcation. As the modern state functions the fields overlap in a way that might be illustrated by two circles having a partial common area. Neither do I wish to imply any permanency for this partial demarcation. I should prefer to think (and it is not theoretically inconsistent) that the common area will gradually enlarge until the circles coincide.

If the purpose of community organization, namely, to enrich human experience, is to be realized, it must, of course, express itself objectively in some definite form of organization with a definite program. Just what the details of this administrative machinery should be like it would be presumptuous of me to say in the light of the various measures of success met with by the same plan in different communities. The safest hazard is that the plan of organization should be the one which works best in the local situation. One is naturally predisposed to cooperation and coordination in such matters, and that will provide adequate *general* principle against which to check any proposed modification of existing machinery. In backward communities, where little or no community organization has been attempted, it is easy to see that the goal should be a centralized type of organization with various departments corresponding to the various interests of the community life. In situations where the field is already preempted by more or less effective independent agencies any step toward coordination and arrangement which will enable them to think in terms of the community as a whole will probably make for improvement.

II

WHAT IS A COMMUNITY? WHAT OUTSTANDING ATTEMPTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO DETERMINE WHAT A COMMUNITY IS? WHAT FURTHER STEPS ARE NECESSARY IN ORDER TO GIVE GREATER DEFINITENESS TO THE TERM COMMUNITY?

I am inclined to believe that there is no such thing as a community, unless indeed the concept may be conceded to embrace the entire ambit of humanity, including the dead and those yet unborn. The quest for a community of more narrow prescription is instigated by the disposition of the mind to recognize local focal points in this intricate maze of relationships—intellectual areas which because of geographical and other influences exhibit an intensification of relationships, both as to number and poignancy. The practical drive back of the quest for a community is the need for limiting the field of application for a given amount of social energy. That is, the community organizer feels that he needs the aid that a working definition of his community will give him.

Strictly for practical purposes, then, one can quiet his theoretical scruples and think of a community as confined to the range of relationships which obviously constitute a concentration area in the universal mass. An arbitrary line can be drawn about this area where the relations seem to become a little attenuated. What we have then is merely an approximation, and it will not be advisable to make the line too rigid. Is it incompatible with the interests of community organization to conceive of the community as expanding and contracting as the function being performed seems to require?

I believe the geographical factor must be considered prominently in defining the community, for people cannot escape altogether from the influences of space, but I think the geographical unit should be only one of the ways of looking at your community. This suggests that after all a community worker might well abandon the concept of *a community* and see his field of labor as comprising many communities, not at all perhaps of equal significance. The number of cleavages it would be profitable to envisage might well bear a direct relation to the size of the geographical area and

the density of the population. The multiple community concept here suggested would not divide the population checker-board-wise. The division would rather follow lines of interest. Thus a single individual would come in contact with the community organization program in several different capacities.

In rural work I should be inclined to regard an individual as a member of the town community which is nearest to him measured solely by the time it takes to arrive there. Of course there will be exceptional cases, but these can be allowed for. Ordinarily country people are more interested in the town they can get to most quickly than in any other town. This question is wonderfully complicated. Oftentimes there are several small independent towns quite close together where the sensible thing would be to consider them as a unit for certain kinds of work. Sometimes traditional hostility prevents this. On the whole I believe that it is much easier to determine what your community is in a given instance than to lay down any generalization or rules about its determination.

Many attempts to define "community" have been made. A law in North Carolina gives permission for any group of citizens to organize a legal community, though it must be limited to their school district. This is a lawyers' definition. President K. L. Butterfield, Dr. W. H. Wilson, Professor R. M. Maciver, Dr. N. L. Sims, and many others have offered academic definitions. Wilson says, "What they must have in common in order to form a community or society are aims, beliefs, aspirations, knowledge, and a common understanding—like-mindedness, as the sociologists say." Sims adds, "a common locality, a common type of agriculture, a common blood may be just as fundamental as a common interest in religion, education, business, recreation, etc. Any one thing in common makes a community, many things in common make a stronger one; and all the things we have seen to be common factors, when held in common, make the most complete and the strongest community."¹

Doubtless there have been numerous practical attempts to define communities on the part of those who work in them at commu-

¹ N. L. Sims, *The Rural Community* (Scribners)

nity organization and others, but the only definite cases I am aware of where the object was to establish something like a norm for communities of a certain class are those of (1) Professor Burgess, who tried in the city of Chicago to outline "natural areas" by questioning large numbers of people as to where they considered their community bounds to lie; and (2) Professor Charles J Galpin, who conducted a survey of twelve civic centers in Walworth County, Wisconsin. The object was to see how far out among farm homes the several villages or towns served any social purpose. Banking, newspaper, milk, church, high school, and library zones were charted, and the resultant maps led Galpin to conclude "that the trade zone about the civic center forms the boundary of an actual, if not legal, community"²

If it is desired to give further definiteness to the term "community," it is obvious that many studies will have to be made of various kinds of population areas. These studies will have to be directed toward measuring both quantitatively and qualitatively the interrelations of the people studied.

III

COMMUNITY DISORGANIZATION

Three kinds of disorganization are distinguishable: (1) There is the disorganization incident upon the lack of organization; (2) that incident upon too much organization; and (3) that incident upon social change.

The first kind may be attended by conflict expressing itself in crime, poverty, ignorance, and disorder in general, or it may be attended by a state of order based upon habit and custom. Of course no American community is entirely without organization, for the political machinery constitutes a minimum form. In disorderly communities, however, the political government is prone to reflect the vicious state of public morality. This suggests a fourth type of disorganization, namely, that incident upon a condition of corruption and inefficiency in existing organization. This introduces no new category, however: It is just a refinement of the category under discussion.

² C. J. Galpin, *Rural Life*, (Century Company) chap. 4

There may be some objection to using the word "disorganization" to describe an orderly community where the basis of order is custom. My aim in this connection is simply to emphasize the point that, from a social worker's point of view, a folkways community is disorganized because it is unorganized. Conscious control of human progress requires foresight and the definite shaping of means to more or less clearly perceived ends.

Apropos of the second type of disorganization mentioned above, let it be noted that the purpose of organization is to secure results. Now when a community has so many organizations that they get in each other's way, the efficiency of all is hampered. This is equivalent to disorganization.

In thinking of the third kind of disorganization recognized, one is reminded that there is no such thing as a perfect organization. It is not only human foibles and weaknesses that prevent; there is still the fact that well-articulated administrative machinery tends to defeat its own purpose by suppressing spontaneity and even squeezing the human element out of the service it essays to render. A certain amount of disorganization is necessary to give the zest to activity, and to permit of progressive adjustment. In the larger field of social change the rapid modification of the complexion of life by countless forces throws existing social machinery out of gear. The type of disorganization here concerned is not all clear gain, for there is much human wastage in its wake—but at any rate it is a wake and not a sinking.

Community organization meets the first type of disorganization discussed by isolating the problems of the community and setting up machinery to ameliorate the effects of and remove the cause of the evil. Too often it gets little further than the ameliorative work, but that is gain if one accepts the humanitarian principle. I should say that there are very few communities in America where such organizations are altogether lacking.

For overorganization the remedy proposed by community organization is a drawing closer of existing agencies. This takes various forms, such as federation, amalgamation, and councils of social agencies. The principle is to take some of the slack out of the loose organization of society. The widespread adoption of the community chest is an example of this movement.

The third type of disorganization mentioned puts upon community organization the burden of self-analysis and reconstruction as well as community analysis and readjustment. At first glance the measure of success attained seems meager. The divorce rate, murder statistics, automobile accidents, unemployment, etc., all seem to indict community organization with breakdown. That would be too rapid a conclusion, however. Social change in America places too heavy a burden on community organization. Then the rational control of this process is too new in the world's history to carry such a heavy burden.

PARENTAL OCCUPATIONS AND VOCATIONAL CHOICES OF PRIVATE-SCHOOL STUDENTS

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IN his monograph, "The Selective Character of American Secondary Education" Counts has studied the parental occupation of *students in four public high schools and two private schools*, and has drawn certain conclusions therefrom.¹ The purpose of this present study is to supplement his data by presenting (1) certain facts concerning the parental occupations of students in four additional private secondary schools, and (2) the vocational intentions of the students themselves in three of the schools.

Counts studied two private schools, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H., and the University of Chicago High School of Chicago, Ill., from the point of view of the occupations of the fathers of the students. The detailed results are seen in Table III where percentage figures from four private schools and four public high schools are presented.

Exeter Academy is a nonsectarian school, enrolling at the time the study was made about 575 students, all boys. It is of the purely college preparatory type, with annual charges for boarding pupils of from \$800 to \$1000. The University of Chicago High School, on the other hand, is a nonsectarian day school and is coeducational. It, too, is college preparatory, though college preparation is incidental to giving its students a well-rounded secondary education. Its fee for day students is \$275.

Counts points out that the social composition of the student population in these schools is decidedly different from that of the public high schools of Bridgeport, Conn., Mt. Vernon, N. Y., St. Louis, Mo., and Seattle, Wash., seen together with a summary of the two private schools in Table I. The two highest groups on

¹ G. C. Counts, "The Selective Character of American Secondary Education" Supplementary Educational Monographs, No. 19 (The University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., May, 1922)

TABLE I

OCCUPATIONS BY PERCENTAGES OF FATHERS OR GUARDIANS OF 17,265 STUDENTS
IN THE PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS OF BRIDGEPORT, MT. VERNON,
ST. LOUIS, AND SEATTLE, AND 619 STUDENTS IN PHILLIPS
EXETER ACADEMY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF
CHICAGO HIGH SCHOOL

Parental Occupation	High Schools of Bridgeport, Mt. Vernon, St. Louis, and Seattle	Phillips Exeter Academy and University of Chicago High School
Proprietors	19 8	42 7
Professional service	9 4	31 0
Managerial service	16 5	11 5
Commercial service	9 5	9 0
Clerical service	5 8	2 1
Artisan-proprietors	4 2	1 3
Agricultural service	2 4	0 7
Manual labor	29.1	0 3
Unknown	3 3	1 4
Total	100 0	100 0

the occupational scale include three-quarters of the parents of children in the private schools, and the manual-labor group is almost negligible, while in the public schools the manual-labor group is as large as the proprietor and professional groups combined.

This supplementary study concerns principally the Lawrenceville School, where the writer asked the following questions of 520 boys during the school years 1922-1925:

"What is your father's occupation?"

"What is your own intended occupation?"

"Why do you wish or intend to follow that occupation?"

There is, of course, the possibility that the boys did not answer the questions correctly, or that they took the matter as a joke, but, from the character of the answers received and the general bearing of the boys during the psychological test to which these questions were appended, it seems probable that the majority were honest in their answers. Hints as to the sort of answer expected were carefully avoided so as to obtain the boy's own reaction, and the answers ranged all the way from a simple statement of fact, such as

"Father is a lawyer, I want to be a broker to make money" to explanations more in detail. It was difficult to classify the occupations of the fathers so as to bring out the facts, in many cases the information given had to be verified either by a personal interview with the boy or by reference to other sources. Counts's classification of occupations was followed to enable a comparison to be made with Exeter and the University of Chicago High School.

Table II shows the parental occupations at Lawrenceville, arranged according to Counts's classification. More detailed information may prove interesting.

TABLE II

OCCUPATIONS OF FATHERS OF BOYS IN THE LAWRENCEVILLE SCHOOL, 1922-1925

Parental Occupation	Number	Percentage
Proprietors	271	52 1
Professional service	120	23 1
Managerial service	56	10 8
Commercial service	41	7 9
Clerical service	4	0 8
Artisan-proprietors	1	0 2
Agricultural service	10	1 9
Manual labor	—	—
Dead, retired, unknown	17	3 2
Total.	520	100 0

Included in this list are forty lawyers, thirty-six merchants, thirty doctors, twenty-five bankers, eight of whom are presidents or vice presidents, twenty-four real estate men, twenty engineers, sixteen brokers, fifteen insurance men, twelve contractors or builders, nine auto salesmen, six publishers, five clergymen, three railroad presidents, three architects, and four teachers. There is a small group of oil men included under the head of proprietors, since they were owners of companies, fields, or refineries. There was considerable overlapping in the vocations, because in a number of cases the fathers seemed to be interested in several different lines. A few typical examples are . coal and coke operator and broker, president of a salt company and railroad president, owner of a foundry and florist, oil man and banker, rancher and banker. One man was interested in oil, gas, and farming as well as being a bank president. The great majority of the men were heads of concerns or

higher officers and executives and, as they became successful and prosperous, seemed to reach out into other businesses. The vast majority of them were business men. But ten were listed as being in agricultural service, ten in public service, and 120 in professions, and of these last many were consultants closely allied with business. The salient fact is that they had "arrived," had become successful, and were leaders in their lines of endeavor. Many ambitious boys in this country seek to improve on the social or financial status of their fathers, but it is clear that the sons of this group will have to show exceedingly high qualities of every sort to even equal their fathers.

Additional data are available from three other schools, the George School, Bucks County, Pa.; the Loomis Institute of Windsor, Conn.; and the St. Ambrose College High School of Davenport, Iowa. The first of these is an endowed Quaker coeducational institution, enrolling about three hundred students almost equally divided as to sex. The figures given in the following quotation from a survey of this school,² therefore, as well as those given for the University of Chicago High School and the public schools, apply to both boys and girls, whereas in the case of Lawrenceville, Exeter, Loomis, and St. Ambrose College High School boys only are included.

The present student group (1923) comes very largely from occupational groups of high social and economic standing. The professional group is best represented, with the proprietor group a close second. Of 249 students reporting the father's occupation, 26.1 per cent belong to the professional group, of which engineers and physicians make up almost one half. The proprietor group contribute 20.9 per cent, more than half of which is composed of a large number of unclassified elements. The agricultural group ranks third, with 18.8 per cent of the total. This group includes 44 farmers and 3 nurserymen. Managerial service ranks fourth with 17.2 per cent of the total. The other occupational groups in order of importance are: commercial service, 8.4 per cent, artisan and labor, 4 per cent, and clerical service, 3.2 per cent.

In addition to the occupations of the fathers as outlined, 35 students reported mothers engaged in occupations, the more important of which, from the standpoint of numbers, are housekeeper, musician, social worker, teacher, insurance, farming, business, and owner and manager of an apartment house.

Table III is a composite table by percentages of the occupations of the fathers of boys in Exeter, George School, Lawrenceville,

² Report of the Survey of the George School, a Summary. The George School, Bucks County, Pa., 1925.

the University of Chicago High School, and the summarized totals of students in the four public high schools studied by Counts.

TABLE III

OCCUPATIONS OF FATHERS OR GUARDIANS OF 17,265 STUDENTS IN THE PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS OF BRIDGEPORT, MT VERNON, ST LOUIS, AND SEATTLE, AND 1,388 STUDENTS IN THE PHILLIPS EXETER ACADEMY, GEORGE SCHOOL, LAWRENCEVILLE SCHOOL, AND THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO HIGH SCHOOL

Parental Occupation	Exeter 1921	Lawrence- ville 1922-25	George School 1923	University of Chicago High School 1921	Four Public High Schools 1921
Proprietors	44 0	52 1	20 9	42 1	19 8
Professional service	31 0	23 1	26 1	31 1	9 4
Managerial service	10 5	10 8	17 2	12 0	16 5
Commercial service	7 5	7 9	8 4	9 8	9 5
Clerical service	2 5	0 8	3 2	1 9	5 8
Artisan-proprietors	1 5	0 2	2 0	1 2	4 2
Agricultural service	1 0	1 9	18 8	0 5	2 4
Manual labor	1 0		2 0		29 1
Unknown	1 0	3 2	1 4	1 4	3.3
Total percentages	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0
Number of cases	201	520	249	418	17,265

Exeter, Lawrenceville, and the University of Chicago High School are seen to draw from the same occupational strata of society; in the first school 75 per cent come from the proprietor and professional classes, in the second, 75.2 per cent, and in the third, 73.2 per cent. On the basis of the figures reported the George School apparently draws but 47.0 per cent from these two groups, but if those in agricultural service are included and doubtless many so listed should be included under proprietors, the percentage would approach that in the other schools. It seems entirely probable that they should be so listed since an ordinary farm laborer could hardly pay \$800 a year fees.

Data impossible to fit into the above classification are available from the Loomis Institute, Windsor, Conn.³ This is essentially

³ Annual Report of the Headmaster, 1920. The Loomis Institute, Windsor, Conn., 1926.

a boys' boarding school charging about \$800 a year for boarding boys. More than half of its 225-odd boys are in the college-preparatory courses, and the remainder in business or agricultural courses. Figures from the St. Ambrose College High School of Davenport, Iowa, are also given in Table IV along with those from Loomis. It is a Roman Catholic boys' boarding and day school, with the greater emphasis on the day department.

TABLE IV
OCCUPATIONS OF FATHERS OR GUARDIANS OF BOYS IN THE LOOMIS INSTITUTE,
1925, AND ST AMBROSE COLLEGE HIGH SCHOOL, 1924

Parental Occupation	Loomis Institute		St. Ambrose College High School	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Agriculture	14	6.1	33	14.6
Artisan			36	16.0
Business executives	72	31.6		
City and federal employees			3	1.4
Clerical	25	11.0	7	3.1
Manual labor	8	3.5		
Merchants	9	4.0		
Middlemen and office workers			35	15.5
Professional	62	27.2	6	2.9
Proprietors of small business	5	2.1		
Trade and manufacture			30	13.3
Transportation			12	5.5
Unclassified and dead	33	14.5	63	27.7
Total	228	100.0	225	100.0

The study of these additional schools, then, except in the case of St. Ambrose College High School, bears out statistically the conclusions which Counts reaches and which everyone conversant with the situation knows; namely, that the private schools draw largely from the upper vocational levels of the population of the country. At Exeter, Lawrenceville, the George School, and the University of Chicago High School the proprietor and professional groups include about three-quarters of the fathers, and with the exception of the managerial group, no other vocational group has even 10 per cent of the total. The same condition of affairs is true at Loomis Institute. Artisan-proprietors and those engaged in manual labor are almost wholly absent. In the public schools the condition is almost reversed; only 29.2 per cent being

from the proprietor and professional groups, while 33.3 per cent are artisan-proprietors or engaged in manual labor. Counts goes on to say, and the data from the additional schools as well as the writer's personal experience in three leading private schools bears him out, that:

The differences between the public high school and these private secondary schools are actually greater than statistics indicate. In all probability, for example, there is an important average difference between the managerial service represented in the two types of schools. Fathers engaged in these occupations who send their children to the private school hold positions somewhat superior, as a rule, to those held by fathers similarly classed who send their children to the public schools. Many of those representing the managerial occupations in the high school are foremen while this grade is practically absent in the private school. The same may be said of each of the remaining occupational groups, when examined in the concrete.

In view of the increasing number of Roman Catholic high schools, Counts endeavored to secure the cooperation of one of their schools, but without success. It is interesting, then, to compare the facts at the St. Ambrose College High School with the other private schools as well as with the four public high schools studied. There is no evidence to prove that this school is typical of all Catholic high schools, but there is no indication that it is not. Since the classification of parental occupation used by Neuzil⁴ is not exactly comparable with that employed by Counts, absolute comparisons cannot be drawn, but an examination of Table IV corroborates Neuzil when he says that the table shows no greater selection, on the basis of occupation of the father, than is found in the public high schools of three Iowa cities studied by King in 1914.⁵ The earlier date of King's study, however, may invalidate the comparison, since the increase in high-school attendance since that time has perhaps decreased the selection. At all events this one Roman Catholic school more nearly resembles the public high schools in its social composition than do the other private schools studied.

The second part of this study is to ascertain the vocational choices of the boys themselves and their reasons for choosing them.

⁴ E. W. Neuzil, "The Educational Achievement of St. Ambrose College High School" Master's Thesis, University of Iowa (Iowa City, Iowa, 1925).

⁵ Irving King, *The High School Age* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1914), p. 159.

Out of the 520 boys at Lawrenceville, 198, or 30 per cent, intended to enter their father's occupation, 205, or 40 per cent, intended to enter a different vocation; and 117, or 22 per cent, were undecided. In forty-one cases the reason given was a chance open through the father, or the boy expressed a desire to follow in his father's footsteps, forty-seven additional boys mention an opportunity through friends or relatives, and in fifty-two other cases the boy was interested in his father's occupation. In the case of 143 boys, then, family influence is traceable. Specific examples follow:

I want to be a lumberman and boxmaker in a factory. The factory is already built and the family expect me to go in it. My grandfather built it and expects me to carry it on.

I shall enter the railroad business. I am very much interested in this business, and all my family have been railroad men.

My intended profession, cotton planter. I desire to follow in the footsteps, of my father and love the Delta and its products.

I propose to follow in my father's footsteps for obvious reasons.

I want to be a coal dealer, it is very interesting. I was born in a coal town and have coal in my blood.

My father is a fruit grower, banker, and real estate broker. I shall be a fruit grower because the business has been built up for me to step into, and I know the business.

In most cases where a change from the parental occupation is contemplated the reasons were specific, including interest, talent along certain lines, or an opportunity for a start through friends. Occasional replies were very interesting as presumable reflections of the parental attitude. For example, one boy, an extremely intelligent fourteen-year-old whose father was in a bank wrote "My business will be anything but banking or some other business where it is impossible to get to the top without a large amount of money or influence to back me up." The ambitions of the boys fall into the groups seen in Table V.

It will be noticed that this classification is not the same as that given for the fathers, since listing the exact occupation brings out more clearly the ambitions of the boys. The total is larger than the number of boys answering the questions, for if a boy gave an alternate choice, both were listed. It is apparent that the boys will follow much the same lines of business as the fathers, and that, excluding those who have not made up their minds, the 78

TABLE V
INTENDED FUTURE OCCUPATIONS OF 403 BOYS IN THE LAWRENCEVILLE SCHOOL,
1922-1925

Occupation	Number mention- ing it	Per- centage	Occupation	Number mention- ing it	Per- cent- age
Engineering	183	38.3	Newspaper work	6	1.4
Business	70	16.5	Mineralogy	5	1.2
Law	44	10.4	Diplomacy	4	1.0
Manufacturing	36	8.2	Army or navy	3	0.8
Medicine	30	7.1	Publishing	3	0.8
Banking	20	4.7	Ministry	3	0.8
Architecture	15	3.6	Writing	3	0.8
Agricultural products	10	2.4	Stage	3	0.8
Building	6	1.4	Teaching	1	0.2
			Inventing	1	0.2
Total.				425	100.0

per cent who had ideas on the subject had rather definite ideas. Seventy boys intended to go into business and, in most cases, the business was specified. Twenty had ambitions towards banking or brokerage, as compared with forty-five of the fathers, and it is worth noting that many of the fathers listed as bank officials were also interested in some other business as well. Substantial and successful business men often go into banking subsequent to their main success. There were twenty-five doctors among the fathers and thirty prospective doctors among the boys. One hundred sixty-three boys intended to study engineering, though only twenty-two of the fathers are listed as engineers; the explanation seems to be that many who study engineering in college get into other connected vocations as their interests develop and broaden.

The reasons why these boys chose certain vocations is instructive. Forty gave no reason. Thirty-three frankly mentioned the desire for money, 133 spoke of interest in the vocation, and 143 mentioned a chance open through their parents or relatives. In twenty cases the father desired the boy to enter a given vocation, and this desire was probably present, though unexpressed, in many other instances. Fifteen only mentioned reasons which might be considered as altruistic. If these boys are typical, the private schools and the homes of private school pupils do not succeed in overcoming the materialistic spirit of the age.

Unless these boys concealed their true thoughts, very few were attracted by less worthy callings. However, some are found. For example, there was the son of a restaurant keeper who said he wanted to become a part of the moving-picture industry "Because there is lots of money in it and it is a life of ease." Then there was the lawyer's son who wanted to become a banker because "They make lots of money and never exert themselves." A third was the boy who wanted to become a moving-picture actor "because of the attractions of the same." The two other boys who expressed a desire for the stage were both prominent in dramatics, and one said "I intend to become an actor because it is interesting, a great pleasure, and is really an art, not a profession."

Examples of the more sensible answers given are. "I expect to go into the horse business; horses interest me, I have a good opportunity, and I believe the encouragement of thoroughbreds a good thing." Another said: "I wish to become an architect of country homes or public buildings, because I enjoy the artistic and artistic architecture." The son of an interior decorator wrote: "I will be an interior decorator and writer, because father wishes me to be a decorator and I am interested in writing." A well-reasoned analysis was given by the son of a man engaged in surveying, appraising, and adjusting (mostly marine): "I shall follow my father's business because it is an interesting business that will not vary as the financial world increases or decreases in prosperity. There is always a certain amount of shipping, and, while there is shipping, there is a certain amount of damaged cargo. If shipping should go down to a great extent, there are always certain lines of work to fall back on, such as automobile, railroad, or even common merchandise work."

Some boys seemed mindful of their scholastic difficulties. "My father is a doctor, I *hope* to be one." "My father is in the moving-picture business. I want to study law or enter the same. Will take law if I am able to complete prep school and college, otherwise go in the picture business."

An example of the bombastic type of reply which might be expected from schoolboys, but which proved the exception rather than the rule in this school was. "I want to be a lawyer, since it is the only life work in which one may be financially prosperous

and at the same time retain one's intellectual dignity." The spelling of the next example is in harmony with its materialism: "Artutecure because it is a money proposition." An example of the effect of proficiency in sport on one's outlook is seen in the case of the boy who intended to follow his father's manufacturing business or become a golf professional. Another boy wanted to become a lawyer or diplomat, as he felt that he "can do the most good to humanity as a lawyer and the most good to my country as a diplomat." This same boy finally ruled out diplomacy, for in a later answer he said he wanted to become a lawyer "because I enjoy arguing and like unusual situations."

At the George School 89.4 per cent of the boys and girls expected to finish their course there, and 55 per cent expected to go on to college. Fifteen per cent had not decided on anything beyond that particular school. Ten per cent planned to enter professions requiring normal-school training or training of academic and professional character. Seven per cent planned to enter business, half with further preparation and half direct from the school.

At St. Ambrose College High School, of 219 boys, 85 per cent expected to finish their secondary course, 43 per cent intended to go to college, 35 per cent did not, and 23 per cent were uncertain. One hundred and seventeen were uncertain as to their future vocation; ninety-four had definite ideas as follows: law, fourteen; engineering, twelve; accounting, nine; farming, nine; medicine, eight; ministry, eight; salesmanship and business, seven; architecture, three, and mechanic trades, three.

The above three schools represent three typical levels of private schools; the essentially college preparatory, the semicollege preparatory, and the parochial. Counts's study shows that in the four high schools, the future intentions of the boys by percentages were as follows: college, 57.8 per cent, undecided, 16.2 per cent, work, 10.5 per cent, clerical service, 4 per cent, commercial service, 3.3 per cent; industrial service, 3.2 per cent, other schools, 3.2 per cent; professional service, 1 per cent, all others, 8 per cent.

It is realized, of course, that preferences expressed in high school are not necessarily final. No doubt, many will change their minds or be unable to carry out their intentions. Nevertheless, it seems fair to assume from the data presented here that boys in

these private schools, especially from the non-Catholic institutions, will occupy some of the higher places in the professional, business, and industrial world of the next generation, just as their fathers do in this generation. Whether this may be attributed specifically to training in private schools or to the superior advantages which the boys enjoy from the point of view of wealth and social position is beside the point.

There is little evidence of any constructive work in the private schools in vocational guidance, but it would seem a problem worthy of attention. It is vital to those not going to college and would, perhaps, lead to some fruitful thinking along vocational lines previous to the present sudden awakening during the senior year of college that the following year means earning one's livelihood.

THE MEASURE OF A COMMUNITY¹

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I

THERE is always grave danger that any rule-of-thumb measurement of a community will become mechanical or slump into a case of licking the outside of the platter. An intense inner spirit must inform any inquiry. The American people are experts at a hundred-yard dash, but not quite so eager to maintain a prolonged, patient, and toilsome journey towards an ideal.

Far too often they seek and pin the blue ribbon on quick, flashy results. Communities are not refashioned in a day nor a generation. It is a slow, discouraging process. The makers of these score cards have made a start. The problem now is to dig deeper into the subsoil of community life, to find out the mystic hungers, for most men hunger for some higher good, be it but a wisp of a hope, a thread of a broken ideal. No one will quarrel that the makers of community scores start with the most tangible needs. Now let them take up the ones not so obvious, but perhaps more necessary.

Each plan is based on a few simple categories. The West Virginia plan is more concrete, the Bureau's more abstract and philosophical. The former is best suited to small and rural communities, the latter to large and urban communities. The West Virginia plan emphasizes community spirit directly, the Bureau plan holds it in solution, as it were. Consequently, it seems to the writer that the concrete, simple, direct plan will make greater appeal for it will, as Bacon says, "come home to men's business and bosoms."

¹ A Comparative Study of a Community Score Card, Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C., and *Lifting the Community by Its Own Boot Straps*, circular number 255, Extension Division, The University of West Virginia, Morgantown, West Virginia

II

THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE SPIRIT

The programs of both of the score cards stub their toes on the matter of the higher spiritual recreation and rejuvenation that come from art and religion. Perhaps they think the drab, crass, backwoods communities are not ready for such food, or they are reserving it for a second bulletin. What they have outlined for physical education is excellent, but they have stopped just when they had a good start. It is a threadbare commonplace that man does not live by bread alone. He stifles and chokes in the lower depths and damp. He needs small doses of "the light that never was on land and sea" - Macy Campbell, a leader in the rural education movement in the United States, once told the writer that the farmers of Iowa had fat pocketbooks and lean hearts; that they needed Shakespeare more than market reports.

The community score card is long on political measurement and short on spiritual tests. In fact the authors run the matter of the fourth section "political development" into the fifth section entitled "social and moral development," whatever that means. Probably they do not realize the artistic poverty of the average home, where there are no books except a Bible, which speedily opens at well-thumbed places where repose texts ready to leap forth truculently to furnish ammunition for doctrinal and denominational strife, the horse-doctor book, *The Iroquois Theatre Disaster*, Gene Stratton Porter's sentimental syrup, and other volumes of the mother, home and heaven vintage; of communities where the "local pastors" are still fulminating their anathemas against evolution; where the high-school literary societies died twenty years ago and basketball, foamed to a white heat by the betting pool-room loafers, has taken its place; where there can be no parties without stunts; where the women's clubs are valiantly fighting for culture, but never reach the men and those that need it most—the hordes of the youth in the overcrowded high schools. Oftentimes to gain admittance to one of the many women's clubs one must be either a matron or a well-seasoned spinster.

A little genuine beauty, the throb of the heart and the assent of the head that come from reading a great book, seeing a good play

or hearing a fine singer would do much to encourage actual patriotism and morality instead of the flatulent type so in vogue today. It is encouraging to note that the little theater is "getting big," as *The New York Times* says. Let us have more of them and in the smaller communities, too. Beauty is almost the best thing any community can create; so let us have more space for stimulating and evaluating it set apart in the next revision of the score card.

III

THE LITTLE RED SCHOOLHOUSE

The Little Red Schoolhouse has lost a lot of its paint. Although it still lingers in the gushing drivel of popular spellbinders. The West Virginia bulletin has taken hold of the school without gloves, at least the yard and buildings. There are a lot of high-salaried country-school experts in state departments of education and in nearly all of the large universities, but "still sits the schoolhouse by the road, a ragged beggar sunning," flanked by ash heaps and ramshackle and often unspeakably filthy outbuildings. Perhaps these experts can make no inroads on the monumental inertia, ignorance, or poverty of rural communities. The town schools in many parts of the United States are "a thing of beauty and a joy forever."

IV

Both bulletins have a separate division for citizenship or patriotism. Both stress the most neglected element in the national life—the obligation to vote. To the writer, democracy will always invite the scorn and vitriolic cynicism of hostile critics as long as a large percentage of intelligent citizens do not show enough interest in good government to register their wills and moral integrity at the polls. The makers of the score cards do not give percentage value to courses in government where both the youth of the land and adults seriously study and thrash out in creative discussion the nature and function of government in a democracy. Patriotism and citizenship are more than saluting the flag and reciting sections of the Constitution by rote without knowing what they mean.

With all the good that such so-called service clubs as Rotary and Kiwanis have accomplished, they have signally failed to stress the study of government. Even the liberal-arts colleges still offer more courses in Greek than in government. It serves to add another pregnant illustration to the truth that the mass of humanity is interested in things in inverse ratio to their distance. The remote and ancient are extremely fascinating to the makers of courses of study for colleges. So let us judge a community by its earnest desire to know and practice the principles of good government.

V

INTERNATIONALISM

After going through both score plans with high-power lenses, the writer was unable to find any reference to the new internationalism that is vexing the conscience of the foremost humanitarians. Just before Edith Cavell was shot down in the national gendarmerie in Brussels she is reported to have said, "There is something higher than patriotism."

The Chicago Tribune still pinning its faith on the hoary demagoguery of the cult of national snobbishness daily prints on its editorial page the famous aphorism of Decatur, "My country right or wrong." It is not too soon to begin to test the tens of thousands of communities in the United States on their world views and world attitudes. Wars and rumors of wars will continue to plague humanity until it is graduated from the elementary school of narrow patriotism. International good will is sadly neglected in the world and it is a pity that the originators of these excellent scores lost a rare opportunity to be the first in this promising, unplowed field of creative internationalism.

INQUIRY

Teachers are generally slow to concern themselves about problems of health education. Occasionally a principal will state that he is not interested in education in health. Is the sociologist merely promoting a hobby or is there a vital need for health training in the schools?

For many reasons it is to be expected that educators will minimize the importance of education in health. They are thinking in terms of their personal training and their earlier individual experience rather than in terms of demands upon education due to changed living conditions. Health education has rarely been considered an essential in teacher training. Superintendents and principals having the modern viewpoint often find it difficult and even unwise to attempt achievement in a new field beyond the point where the teachers are able and prepared to follow them.

In the late nineteenth century physiology, anatomy, and hygiene came to be quite generally required as school subjects. Textbooks in these subjects were usually written by physicians, or included subject matter suitable for physicians. They contained little if anything that could keep either the child or adult in practices of healthy living.

The twentieth century has presented the outgrowths of several new developments. Modern functional psychology requires that subject matter be effective in developing controls of behavior; that is, that the subject matter be such as the pupil can use to his advantage. Along with the effective functioning of knowledge there has been developing a science of healthy living and practices essential to individual health. The World War taught us that fifty-one per cent of the young men of military age were physically unfit for first-line duty; but we were in the midst of a great testing movement which tended to obscure the fact that much of our school procedure was still based on the antiquated theory of mental discipline. Educators were content to proceed "psychologically," regardless of any actual improvement in individual behavior resulting from school instruction.

Most of the teachers now in training and all teachers actually employed must have had training in service before they realize that health is essentially a school function; that health depends upon the observance of such specific and well-known practices as are related to nutrition, exercise, sleep, rest, recreation, and cleanliness. These in turn depend on specific habits, adequate knowledge and appropriate attitudes of healthy living.¹ The development of habits, knowledge, and attitudes that will control individual behavior can never be expected until each and every teacher understands the true function of the school, and that the informal educational agencies, such as the press, the platform, and daily association are too slow, incomplete, and often too misleading to insure adequate health practices. Knowledge alone, even if accurate, never has guaranteed and never will guarantee right living.

Through the availability of so-called intelligence measures educators have been led to believe that they have been sectioning pupils according to native endowment. Just how far we have been measuring native intelligence is unknown. Pupil responses to test situations have very largely reflected family and individual habits of living. When we measure pupils by intelligence tests we are largely measuring pupil ability to respond to these tests, resulting from health habits and practices. When we sort pupils according to "intelligence quotient" we are probably sorting them as much on the basis of physical fitness as on that of intelligence.

There is no more potent hindrance to progress in school than ill health and its essential cause—bad individual health practices; and school authorities will inevitably realize the economic waste from this cause. The place to begin the elimination of much of the slow progress and retardation is in the classroom. Teacher training must include subject matter and the necessary procedure essential to health under modern living conditions. The writer recently measured the health habits of a third-grade group of

¹ E. George Payne, and L. C. Schroeder, *Health and Safety in the New Curriculum*, (American Viewpoint Society, 1925), chap. 1.

forty-two pupils, using the Payne health scale.² This particular group had been selected as the poorest in school achievement among eighty-six pupils of the same grade. The group had had no real school instruction in health. The examiner and teacher working together found but two pupils "good" in health habits; thirty-eight "fair," and two "poor." Among the traits most carefully studied were (1) food—variety and quantity, (2) cleanliness; (3) sleep; and (4) indications of health.

- (1) Of the forty-two children, two had come to school without breakfast; thirty-seven had coffee for breakfast; twenty-eight reported nothing for breakfast except coffee and cake, or rolls or bread and butter. Only six had cooked cereal.
- (2) Ten pupils had brushed their teeth that morning. Seventeen had a toothbrush in common with other members of the family. Fifteen reported not having a toothbrush. Two were apparently already "sewed up" for the winter as they were not anticipating another tub bath before spring.
- (3) Fourteen children each slept in a bed with two or more other members of the family. Only three actually slept alone. Several reported no windows in their bedrooms.
- (4) Two children had teeth either perfect or in good repair. Six had already lost one or more first molars. Nine had one or more first molars decayed beyond repair.

Teachers ordinarily do not know the health habits of the children they teach and do not realize the extent to which health conditions school work. This knowledge is absolutely essential for intelligent school procedure; and without it a recognition of individual differences in health practices is impossible.

Many of the undesirable habits affecting health are due to ignorance, especially in the home. Foreign parents may have been able to survive very well under rural or semirural European environment. On coming to this country they bring with them their family and individual living habits, many of which are very inadequate for an urban environment in the United States. Our Americanization schools teach foreigners to read and write Eng-

² E. George Payne, *Education in Health* (Lyons and Carnahan, 1921, chap. 12)

lish, but it is even more essential to teach them how to live in America. Children of native parents need similar adjustment.

The sociologist faces a real educational problem in teaching how to live efficiently and how to avoid accidents. People are not educated by being taught merely conventional subject matter. They should first of all be adapted to their environment. Through education they should become harmonious with their environment, not clash with it, they should be more able to maintain a livelihood; and as far as possible improve their environment. All this means that education is responsible for the improvement of individual and social behavior. This is the primary function of the school, and a school system should be measured first of all as to its achievement in these fundamentals. The schools have been quite willing to attribute retardation and slow progress of many children to heredity rather than assume responsibility for bringing about the necessary social changes. Without adequate health, children unquestionably fail to measure up to their possibilities.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

EDITORIAL NOTE *It is hoped eventually to make this department a clearing house of information with regard to research projects in progress in the field of educational sociology and in related fields when such projects have a bearing upon the problems of educational sociology. Those engaged upon such projects or in touch with investigations being carried on by others in the field are urged to report them briefly to this department.*

It is highly desirable also that methods of research suggested for experimentation, or found in practice to be valuable, be made available through this department to all those who may profit by such information. This may be done by the presentation here of such methods or by reference here to literature where they are described.

In the interest of cooperation in research, it is also suggested that readers who are in a position to give assistance through suggestions or in other ways to those engaged in making studies write to them directly or through this department.

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF THE UNSTABLE CHILD

Changing conceptions in educational sociology, psychology, and psychiatry with reference to the behavior problems of children have given rise to many observations and much speculation concerning the causes of these social maladjustments, and many theories have appeared in both popular and professional literature concerning them.

A sufficiently large body of valid data has been made available through permission to use the cases studied by the Demonstration Child Guidance Clinics of the National Committee of Mental Hygiene to make a reliable study of the social factors in the behavior problems of children and a study being made of that group known as the "unstable child." The unstable child is here tentatively defined as the child who "can't get along" in the home, the school, or with his playmates, who is erratic, nervous, and given to impetuous responses, and who shows a lack of emotional balance and control.

The case studies furnish data concerning the physical, psychological, psychiatric, and sociological status of each child studied, and a staff conference of the examining specialists unifies their respective findings in plans for treatment. Analyses are being

made of a sufficient number of cases to assure the reliability of the results. While the study concerns itself primarily with the social problems involved and the mental hygiene of the home and other institutions which help to determine child behavior, it carries with it a compilation of physical, psychological, and psychiatric data which may contribute to an understanding of the social problems involved in the cases.

H. L. Pritchett

A PROPOSED STUDY OF NONGANG BOYS IN A GANG AREA

An interesting study of the social backgrounds of nongang boys in a gang area will be undertaken by Mr. Cecil Ryan, Council of Social Agencies, Kansas City, Missouri. Mr. Ryan proposes to find out what boys having social approval and living in a Kansas City gang area do which keeps them from becoming members of gangs and developing antisocial behavior. He plans to get the names and addresses of some one hundred or one hundred and fifty boys from social settlements and teachers teaching in gang areas. He expects to interview each of these boys personally and with all possible ingenuity to get the boys' own stories, including accounts of their spare-time activities. He will use a questionnaire, which will not be in evidence during the personal interviews. This procedure will be supplemented by interviews with adults, when practicable, to get from other angles statements of the boys' activities and interests. It is planned finally to make tabulations and interpretations depending upon the kind of answers secured. Mr. Ryan will welcome suggestions and questions on this study from those interested.

A STUDY OF CERTAIN FACTORS IN THEIR RELATION TO SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF HIGH-SCHOOL PUPILS

- I. The remarkable development of scientific methods in their significance to educational problems has taken place within a short space of time. These methods have made it possible to determine with some degree of certainty whether a given individual will succeed in some particular capacity.

Tests have also been devised which attempt to measure other factors than intelligence. It is now generally agreed

that factors other than intelligence are also important elements in determining a pupil's success in school.

This study which must of necessity have definite limits, is an attempt to determine the relationship of certain of these factors to the success and failure of high-school pupils.

II. *The Factors Included*

1. Choice of life career
2. Expectancy of stay in school
3. Amount of time spent in study
4. Definite time and place for study
5. Amount of time devoted to other work and activities outside of school
6. Participation in school activities
7. Occupational level of parents
8. Nationality and language
9. Companions
10. Number of subjects now taken, repeating and failed
11. Intelligence

III. *Materials to Be Used in the Study*

1. Scores from general intelligence test
2. Teachers' marks as criteria
3. Chronological age
4. A record of separate items included in II
5. The records and statements of approximately one thousand pupils in six different high schools.

IV. *Method of Procedure*

The groups studied include the pupils in the upper and lower quartile in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades of the high school. It is obvious that in such an investigation it is impossible entirely to eliminate the element of subjectivity. In order to reduce this to a minimum, a cooperating teacher in each school will explain the nature of the study to those who are to be interviewed.

SUMMARY

1. This study does not presuppose that either teachers' marks or intelligence scores are the only elements which have a direct relationship to the success and failure of high-school pupils.

2. The results of the study may indicate that some of these factors have a direct relationship while others have an inverse relationship to the total school situation within these groups.

3. The investigator of this problem is aware that the factors included in the study are not constant, but the results may indicate that these factors may be used as the basis of prediction and guidance to a greater degree than the school is now employing them

Paul S. Miller

READERS' DISCUSSION

EDITORIAL NOTE. *This department is designed to be an open forum wherein full expression will be encouraged upon all questions in the field of THE JOURNAL.*

IS Professor Ellwood¹ justified in stating that the majority of educationists and sociologists have overlooked the fact that educational sociology not only starts with, but deals with, the most vital and central aspects of general sociology? To the contrary, educators commonly recognize "the fundamental identity of the human social process and the educative process." They agree with Professor Ellwood that educational sociology should "show the origin, development, and functions of the educative process in human society," but they are not willing to stop at that point and regard this as the only, or the primary, task of such a science.

The ultimate aim of educational sociology must be the intelligent direction or control of the educative process. Of the various agents consciously serving this purpose, the school is unique in its opportunities for modifying and shaping social behavior, but, for the greater realization of that end, educators could not hope for the "reaction upon educational institutions" which Professor Ellwood assures us would follow the development of a social philosophy of education such as he describes.

Professor Ellwood's theories regarding the functions of the school and his prophecy as to the changes that a social philosophy of education would produce in the school would have more constructive value if accompanied by a suggestion as to just how such a philosophy shall be put to work and tested. The technique of applying a philosophy and the test of its validity by the measurement of results are as important as the philosophy itself and demand exhaustive research and experiment.

L. E. Annis

¹ "What is Educational Sociology?" *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, I, 25.

PROFESSOR PHILIP W. L. Cox suggests a program for the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades in which "teachers and pupils cooperate eagerly, during more or less of the time, in a program of student activities that have subject matter as only an incidental objective."¹ This program is for all junior-high-school pupils, one would judge, regardless of ability, capacity or interest. The article does not indicate any exception. This is, to be sure, the exploratory period in the life of the child and he should be given an opportunity to make the most of it. But would it apply equally well for all schools regardless of the character of the membership? Would it serve the purposes of the school where from fifty to seventy-five per cent of the pupils are going to college as well as the school where ninety percent are not going to college? With present standards, the senior high school has a very exacting task in completing the preparation of the pupil for college. To finish the task in three years the pupil must enter the senior high school with the ninth grade completed. If the pupil can get first year algebra, first year Latin, and ancient history, etc., as "incidental objectives," well and good. Later success, however, makes it imperative that this be done. Perhaps Professor Cox's program would be elastic enough to provide for the needs of the college preparatory group but he does not say so. Perhaps he would have the exploratory period for this group end with the eighth grade. Surely it would be a mistake for any pupil preparing for college to enter the senior high school without having formed some regular habits of study.

The various activities which pupils of this age enjoy and which afford ample expression of interests may be so integrated with formal school work that the whole life of the child may develop happily and purposefully. For schools in which a large per cent of the pupils enter the trades and for the so-called problem pupil, Professor Cox's theory has much to recommend it.

R. F. Perry

It is evident that it is not sufficient simply to be moving, we must be moving toward some goal or objective. With this in mind the following questions for discussion are suggested.

¹ "Behavior Adjustments and the Junior High School Curriculum," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, I, 37.

Is Professor George S. Counts's¹ statement of the fundamental purpose of education adequate? He says, "The fundamental purpose of education is to induct the child into the life of the group, to train him in the use of its institutions, to teach him to cherish and guard its possessions, and to instill in him the desire to promote its welfare."

Granting the validity of Dr. Counts's conclusion that the school is a highly specialized educational agency, and not the only important educational institution, how may we determine the fields of educational activity in which the responsibility should rest wholly upon the school, the fields in which it should function as a cooperating agency, and what educational activities lie wholly without its province?

A third problem relating to control is important. Do laymen or professional persons really determine the policy of our schools? Should we concentrate on the the masses of the people, or the relatively few professionals in our efforts to raise our educational standards? I have often felt, for example, that if the speaker addressing a gathering of teachers on educational problems had been speaking to parents and taxpayers instead, it would have been much more productive of results.

Vincent E. King

¹ "The Subject Matter of the Curriculum and Sociology," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, I, 11.

BOOK REVIEWS

Supervision and Teaching of Reading, by JULIA M. HARRIS, H. L. DONOVAN, and THOMAS ALEXANDER Richmond, Va.: Johnson Publishing Co., 1927, 477 pages.

This book brings together a large number of quotations from reports of scientific investigations of reading and from authorities on the subject. It is a good reference book. For "teacher-training classes" fewer quotations and more definite illustrations of the principles involved would seem more desirable.

Part one states clearly the underlying principles of supervision. Little attention, however, is given to the specific problems of supervising reading, except in the chapters on "A Supervisory Campaign" and "The Demonstration Lesson", their value is undoubtedly overestimated.

The problems considered in part two, "Teaching Reading," are the outgrowth of questions asked by teachers. The chapters on "Physical Difficulties," "Phonics," and "Tests and Measurements" are particularly good, others on "Word Difficulties" and "Motivation" are disappointing. Reading in the intermediate grades is discussed more satisfactorily than primary reading. Both are too general.

Each chapter has a good bibliography. There is also an excellent bibliography of school readers and a suggestive list of supplementary reading material.

EDITH C. BARNUM

Outlines for Participation and Observation, by GEORGE A. RETAN and BLANCHE R. ROSS, State Teachers College, Mansfield, Pennsylvania.

In our normal schools and teachers colleges, increasing emphasis is being placed upon systematic observation by prospective teachers of expert teaching and classroom management as a means of arriving at objective standards and of learning how specifically to apply them. The best of the demonstration departments of these teacher-training colleges are staffed by master-craftsmen teachers who have achieved the highest rank in the practice of their art. They are sometimes called "artist teachers." One of the most difficult things the instructor in the course known as "Introduction to Teaching" has to do is to work out some systematic plan for giving practical assistance to the freshman who is a novice in the study of the "science and art of teaching," while he is attempting to lay hold on the essential principles of motivating effort, adapting subject matter, securing group cooperation and individual response, et cetera. To this end a number of manuals for systematic observation by normal-school students have been prepared in recent years. Many of the best of these have been published for distinctly local use in a given demonstration school or department. Their authorship represents in each case the cooperative effort of the director of the observation and training departments and his staff (including those who teach the several courses in special method) to set up the problems of teaching and

management as they occur in the classrooms of those departments and to offer practical suggestions to novices for observing the way in which expert teachers work out solutions to these problems. They attempt to bring into the focus of the attention of the teachers-to-be the really significant points which may be observed in the character of the pupils and their response, in the teacher and her performance, and in the effect which the teacher (and the educational environment created by her) have upon the learner. These and many other significant observations are brought into the prospective teacher's "focus of attention" by means of stimulating and pointed questions, grouped under headings corresponding to the matters stressed in a given observation period with a given class, or to those which characterize the school as a whole, to be seen at any time and alike in all classes. Because the best of these manuals have been prepared to meet a distinctly local and institutional purpose and because they are undergoing fundamental revision in each succeeding term, they generally appear in mimeographed rather than printed form. They differ as widely in scope, content, and organization as do the institutions in which they have been prepared. The *Outlines* here reviewed contain an interesting collection of observation sheets in mimeographed form, each consisting of an analytical presentation of a number of complex classroom situations to be observed. The introduction to the collection indicates clearly and explicitly the purpose of the manual and the method of its use. The manual throughout is singularly free alike from "pedagugese" and from the "graduate-school vocabulary." It should serve its purpose admirably in the institution for which it has been prepared.

AMBROSE L. SOUTHERN

The Problem of Industrial Education, by ARTHUR B. MAYS. New York: The Century Company, 1927.

Professor Mays divides his book into four parts. The first is entitled "The Background of the Problem," and deals with the high spots in the history of the development of industrial education in a readable and concise manner.

The second part is entitled "Modern Phases of the Problem." In this section, the outstanding agencies which train for occupational efficiency in industry are discussed from the standpoint of their evolution and their present status.

The third part is entitled "The Training of Female Industrial Workers." This section is, without doubt, the most valuable of the whole book inasmuch as it deals in a concrete fashion with a phase of industrial education which has been rather neglected in the past. Professor Mays quotes figures from a variety of sources and draws conclusions from them which would tend to present a very gloomy outlook as far as the status of women in industry is concerned.

A quotation from his seventeenth chapter entitled "Kinds of Work Women Perform" might be in order at this point.

The data presented in this chapter have been selected from a wealth of material. The unanimity of testimony in all the reports examined is striking and seems fully to justify the following conclusions:

1. Female wage earners receive very much lower pay than men
2. They engage almost wholly in the lower grades of work
3. They do not remain permanently at such work, but soon disappear from the factories, only to be replaced by other and younger females.

4. There are very slight possibilities of promotion to higher occupational levels

These factors all serve greatly to complicate the problem of the industrial education of women, but the hasty assumption, sometimes made, that women need no such education is not justified by the facts presented

The twentieth chapter deals with the types of training and education already in existence and the twenty-first chapter deals with the types of education and training needed. These two chapters are very suggestive and illuminating in the light of the factors brought out in the foregoing summary. Very properly the author points out the obvious fact that no complete solution to the problem of training women for industry has, as yet, been reached. He makes clear also that no final and complete solution has been reached of the problems of industrial education of any form.

The fourth part of the book deals with "Administration, Policies, Problems, and Practices." Mays stresses the need for a carefully conceived program based upon a knowledge of facts gathered by those agencies which are qualified to secure the data needed, and brings out further the necessity for a greater degree of co-operation between industry, labor, and the public schools in the effort to solve the problems of industrial education.

This book is a very readable one, is soundly conceived, and embodies a wealth of material. It is a distinct contribution to the literature in the field. In fact, the author discusses such a multitude of problems that one wonders why he did not use the plural form in the title rather than the singular. The literature of the field would be benefited by more books of this caliber.

RALPH E. PICKETT

Elementary Science Readers, by E. GEORGE PAYNE, HENRY R. BARROWS, and LOUIS J. SCHMERBER. Benjamin H. Sanborn & Co., 1927. First book, pp. vi + 184; second book, pp. vi + 229.

The aim of the authors appears to be to present in an attractive manner a body of readable and interesting material which will stimulate children of the primary and middle grades in the direction of wanting to make close observations in the world of nature about them and to classify more accurately such experiences, so as to use them more effectively in their reading and in further observations. Those who can read only a portion of these books should select from the first book "The Flight of Birds," and from the second book "The Snake Family," because in the judgment of the reviewer these chapters exemplify the aim of the authors in a very satisfactory manner. Just so far as books of this type give children reliable information which will stimulate them to learn more about the worth-while things in nature to the end of doing things which will add to the worth-whileness of life, they are valuable in a nature-study way.

Future editions should correct such factual errors as are now evident in certain places and should eliminate nature forms, such as the Venus flytrap and the poison hemlock tree, which most children will never meet except in books.

J. A. DRUSHEL

Supervised Study Plan of Teaching, by FRANCIS SHREVE. Richmond, Va.: Johnson Publishing Co., 1927, 533 pages.

Supervised study as a plan of teaching has to a great extent failed to produce the results that educators were justified in expecting from a method so thoroughly in keeping with current conceptions of child learning. In many instances the adoption of supervised study has led to results not measurably superior to those brought about by conventional teaching; in some instances the outcome has been a loss of efficiency.

Dr. Shreve admits the failure, but holds to the conviction that in principle supervised study is a sound procedure. Its failures in practice he attributes to the lack of clear understanding of its meaning and to the inadequate administration that results from this misconception.

He points out that in many cases supervised study has come to be thought of as synonymous with some routine procedure such as the divided period, and that our conception of it "must be revised and extended in order to rescue the movement from the clutches of formalism and superficiality." He defines supervised study as effective direction of all the pupil's learning activities, and offers the following analysis of the method of carrying on such direction:

- (1) Establishment of a definite plan for directing the learning of a subject
- (2) Determination of the needs of pupils by observing their methods of study
- (3) Instruction of pupils in the most effective methods of study, and supervision of their study until right habits are firmly established

He then makes extensive application of this procedure to the major types of classroom activities, and closes with résumés of several studies of the measured results of supervised study carried on according to his conception of its true meaning. The book is a timely and stimulating study of a highly significant educational problem.

New York University

A. D. WHITMAN

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

Robert D. Cole is professor of secondary education at the University of North Dakota. Professor Cole received his A. B. and A. M. degrees from Bowdoin College and his doctorate at the University of Pennsylvania. For a number of years he was in secondary school work in the William Penn Charter School and the Huntington School, both of which are at Boston, and the Lawrenceville School of Lawrenceville, New Jersey. He has been one of the leaders among private secondary-school workers in the United States.

Edwin Barlow Evans is a lecturer in education in New York University. He is a graduate of the College of Wooster (Ohio). He has held professorships in Drake University and Thiel College, besides being the dean and director of the Summer Session at Thiel College. He has done graduate work at Ohio State University and is now completing his doctorate in English at New York University.

Arthur Cecil Perry is a district superintendent of the New York City schools. His bachelor's, master's, and doctor's degrees were all secured at New York University. Dr. Perry has written widely in the field of school management and administration, besides being a joint author of a series of books on history, grammar and geography for the elementary school. He has also been a lecturer on school administration in New York University since 1912.

R. Ray Scott is professor of education in West Virginia Wesleyan University at Buckhannon, West Virginia. Professor Scott is a native of Ohio. He received his bachelor's degree at Hiram College, and his master's at Columbia and has continued his graduate work at Chicago, Wisconsin, and Ohio State Universities. He has taught in Tarkio College in Missouri, the Normal School at California, Pennsylvania, and he has been in his present position since 1920. Professor Scott is a member of several educational associations, both state and national, and he is a frequent contributor to educational publications.

For sketches of the other contributors to this issue, the reader is referred to former numbers of *THE JOURNAL*.

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

Professor R. Ray Scott of West Virginia Wesleyan University, a contributor to the present issue of this journal, is a member of the West Virginia State Educational Survey Commission which is making a survey of Upshur County in that state.

Lester K. Ade, who for the past two years has been a graduate student in the School of Education of New York University, is now the dean of instruction in the State Normal at West Chester, Pennsylvania.

Dean John W. Withers of the School of Education of New York University attended a recent meeting at Washington, D. C., of the commission of the Department of Superintendence on curriculum reorganization.

Professor Paul Chandler of Kent State Normal College, Kent, Ohio, at the beginning of the present year became dean of instruction in the State Normal School at Millersburg, Pennsylvania. Professor Chandler was teaching educational sociology at Kent.

Professor Fred. C. Ayer of the department of education of the University of Washington has accepted a position as professor of educational administration in the University of Texas.

The Journal of Applied Sociology and the *Bulletin of Social Research* have been combined and now appears under the name of *The Journal of Sociology and Social Research*. This journal maintains the same editorial staff, of which Professor E. A. Bogardus of the University of Southern California is the editor-in-chief, with the publication still at the University of Southern California.

Dr. G. R. Davies of the department of sociology of the University of North Dakota is spending his half year of leave of absence teaching in the University of Iowa.

Professor Ross E. Finney of the University of Minnesota, who is the chairman of the section on educational sociology of the American Sociological Society, has accepted an appointment on the "University Afloat" next year to teach courses in sociology.

Professor John A. Kinneman of the department of social science of the State Normal School of West Chester, Pennsylvania, is now teaching in the State Normal University, at Normal, Illinois.

The manuscript of the committee on bibliographies on educational sociology, compiled for the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology, is practically all in. The committee has been working on it for a year and a half. However, much work remains to be done to fill in gaps, verify doubtful points, and get the manuscript in shape for the printer. The printing is in the hands of the general committee of which D. H. Kulp, II, is chairman. The following are the members of the committee:

A. O. Bowden, State Teachers College, Silver City, N. M.

Carroll D. Champlin, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa.

F. R. Clow, State Teachers College, Oshkosh, Wis.

Alvin Good, State Normal College, Natchitoches, La.

Edgar D. Randolph, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.

H. M. Woodward, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

FORTHCOMING ARTICLES

The following articles will be published in early issues of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY:

The Practical Revision of an Elementary-School Curriculum—
John Loftus

Personality and Social Adjustment—Harvey W. Zorbaugh
Social Backgrounds and the School Child—Frederic M.
Thrasher

Studies in Educational Sociology—David Snedden

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- II. **PROOFS.** Galley proof sheets are sent to authors for reading and correction. In order to avoid delay in publication, the corrected proof should be returned at once. Because of the heavy expense involved in making changes after the article has been set up, the editing committee asks that only the necessary typographical corrections be made. Manuscripts, when submitted, should be in condition to go to the printer.
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The Journal of Educational Sociology

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

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A Magazine of Theory and Practice

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EDITORIAL

THE progress of any science depends upon the amount and character of research that can be carried on in its field. Discussions, arguments, and essays serve a valuable function in the advancement of a science as they tend to clear the ground, formulate the principles, and produce a common understanding and a basis upon which research studies may proceed. But in the last analysis the fundamental thing in the advancement of a science is the research carried on.

The truth of the statement made above is well illustrated by the sister science of educational psychology. Psychology of a sort had for centuries been applied to educational procedure. Plato in his *Republic* explained the mind and outlined an educational procedure in terms of his psychological notions. Since Plato's time it has been the habit of many thinkers to justify educational practices in terms of their psychology.

However, it was not until the late nineteenth century that psychologists began to conceive their subject as a science, and began to apply scientific technique to its development. Since this change in point of view and method of attack, rapid progress has been made in outlining methods of learning and of teaching in terms of psychological principles, based upon psychological research and experiment. We witness, therefore, at the present

time a definite body of psychological principles applied to education. We have as a result a science of educational psychology.

The science of educational psychology alone, however, is not adequate to the needs of education in a democratic society. It is concerned primarily with the technique of learning and of teaching, and with the measurement of the results of learning and teaching in the narrower sense. Psychology can never provide the principles of selection of what should be emphasized, it can never determine fully the method of teaching to be used, and it can never survey the results of education in its complete sense. Psychology is not concerned with education as an instrument of social adjustment. Sociology, however, is concerned with this problem, and its contribution must be made, if at all, by developing principles of educational procedure, principles that will justify subject matter, method, and measurement, that will ensure social adaptation, and that will promote social progress.

Furthermore, educational sociology has its justification in its capacity for attaining this end. But its effectiveness will depend upon the extent to which sociologists are interested in the development of a scientific basis of educational procedure, as the psychologists have done. The possibilities for the development of a science are unlimited, but the work has very largely yet to be done. We are in the earliest stages of a science of sociology applied to education. The task of developing the science of educational sociology will demand the best intelligence the world affords; it is a task that should appeal to the students in the field of education and of sociology.

Several of the contributors to *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY* have seriously undertaken this task in a variety of ways, presenting real contributions to the science. Professor Thrasher's article in this number presents a definite technique for the study of one aspect of social backgrounds, the gang. Mr. Loftus has outlined a technique for the organization of a school for the realization and measurement of behavior changes of a social character effected through the school. Other contributors have seriously attacked this problem. It is from such beginnings as these that an adequate science will ultimately be developed.

We do not mean, however, to imply that other significant con-

tributions have not been made here and elsewhere. We are merely emphasizing the necessity of extending this type of research, in order that we may advance our science. It is necessary to engage in elaborate research in social backgrounds in order to outline the subject matter and objectives of education, to examine the nature of conflict, cooperation, and leadership in the informal social relationships in the community in order to establish the methods and technique of instruction that will ensure appropriate social outcomes; to discover the nature of the social organization in order that the school and classroom organization may contribute its efforts toward social adaptation, and to develop a technique of survey and measurement that will discover for the educator the social outcomes of educational endeavor.

Research in educational sociology, then, along the lines here suggested will, we believe, not only be fruitful in a complete readjustment of our educational procedure, but it will ultimately produce a body of data that will ensure more intelligent educational practice, and that will bring the schools into the service of the community and make them contribute to social advancement.

The editor of *THE JOURNAL* has just received a letter from Professor Ellwood of the University of Missouri who is enjoying his sabbatical year in Europe. He lectured recently in the University of Montpellier in France on the "Recent Development of Sociology in the United States." As a result of the lecture a movement was started among the professors to organize a sociological society and ultimately to establish a chair of sociology in the University. Professor Ellwood says: "I am much pleased with the first two issues of *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY* which have just reached me. Your *JOURNAL* starts on an extraordinarily high level. It is impartial, all sides are presented, and yet it is thoroughly scientific. It will fill a want both in education and in sociology."

HOW TO STUDY THE BOYS' GANG IN THE OPEN

FREDERIC M. THRASHER
New York University

THE boys' gang is one of the most vital social backgrounds of certain types of school boys, particularly in the congested areas of our cities. It determines the boy's conception of the rôle he plays in his own world depending, of course, upon the character of the gang and to some extent upon the nature of his other group affiliations. In so doing it conditions his school behavior when members of the gang are present or when such behavior touches gang activities. The gang exerts an important influence, also, upon his various attitudes with reference to current values in his own social world, upon his personal habits, upon his moral standards, and upon his ambitions and philosophies of life. This is the informal education that is so far-reaching in determining the ultimate development of his character and personality.

The question is often asked as to just how a boys' gang may be studied in the open without approaching it through the interposition of some recognized social agency which might prejudice the investigator's relations to the boys. A little thought upon the problem will in most cases render what is seemingly difficult comparatively simple. It may best be illustrated by an actual case undertaken in Greenwich Village (in October, 1927).

The first problem, of course, is to find a gang to study and that requires a preliminary survey of the area within which it is proposed to make the investigation. The Greenwich Village area was chosen for this purpose because of its easy accessibility to the writer and because it has long been known to social workers as an area abounding in boys' gangs.

CORRALLING A GANG

One cannot walk into a gang and ask questions. Boys in this environment are quite suspicious of any such procedure. The

first problem is to select a group and by a very carefully worked out plan to establish *rapport*.¹ One method is gradually to get acquainted with some individual members of the gang without seeming particularly interested in them. Passing by each day, stopping to watch them occasionally, a bantering remark now and then, some little favor such as tendering a board for a scooter, gradually learning and calling them by first names, hiring one boy now and then to assist in some small matter such as carrying unwieldy packages, and so on. This process requires several weeks, but eventually the investigator becomes sufficiently well known to the group to be trusted somewhat and the time is now ripe for suggesting an enterprise such as going to a show, engineering a game, taking a hike, or some similar project which appeals to the boys. Once having participated in such an undertaking with the boys, further opportunities for conversation and observation will depend upon devising some sort of program for them which permits the investigator to participate and to retain their interest while observing their behavior. Almost any information desired may be elicited after the ground has been prepared.

Rapport may be established more quickly and with the whole gang, however, if the investigator is alert to take advantage of opportunities which may arise. The following case illustrates the method.

At six-thirty one Friday evening the latter part of September (1927), I (the writer) was driving home from a class at New York University. For several days I had been watching for an opportunity to establish rapport with some local boys' gang for purposes of study. As luck would have it such a group was sighted riding on the back of a delivery wagon—six boys of about twelve years of age in a rather hilarious mood. I drew up beside the wagon and, as we waited for the crossing lights, exchanged bantering remarks with some of the boys. Finally I asked them where they were going and they told me "for a ride." I let the wagon get ahead and followed them in the car instead of stopping at home for dinner which had been my original intention. At intervals I would speed up and pretend

¹ By *rapport* is meant that condition of mutual responsiveness which encourages free interchange of confidences and promotes sympathetic understanding without the interposition of formal explanations and qualifications. It involves a community of experience which provides a common universe of discourse and common sentiments and attitudes. Practically it means that those *en rapport* interpret each other's behavior by signs and more subtle suggestions which often escape the casual outside observer because of his lack of the common experience which makes the rapport possible.

that I was going to crash into them, leaning over like a racing driver. That interested them greatly. Presently we stopped again at another street intersection and here they made the request I had been waiting for, "Take us for a ride!"

Surprised at my quick rejoinder of "Sure!" their suspicion of strangers was momentarily dispelled by the reflection that there is safety in numbers and the gang was quickly and enthusiastically transferred from the back of the wagon to the inside of my car (a Chevrolet coach). Having swarmed my bees, I made quickly for a main thoroughfare, determined that the ride would be long enough to establish the preliminary conditions of rapport. Mutual questions and answers were exchanged in lightning succession amidst a great deal of random activity and noise among the boys.

Where to go? "Uptown!" "But not too far, I haven't had any supper." We made our way to Tenth Avenue where I went as fast as I dared, making the ride as wild and exciting as possible by dodging in and out among the cars. The leader of the gang was Markie and he had taken the place of honor by my side. One boy they called "Rooster" because of a very clever barnyard imitation which he did whenever requested. Another, whom I dubbed Young Tunney, was training to be a prize fighter, his brother who had died had been one. All the boys were Italian but one, whom we began to call "Irisher." "Would you like to have a club?" "We'll say we would." "Remember, I haven't had any supper." The leader: "We'd better turn back now." Echo from gang: "Yes, let's turn back now." "Will you go with me to the garage?" "Sure." I kept the car under 25 miles an hour, but went through the motions of racing; great glee was exhibited by the boys. They told me about the cars their relatives drove, the big Lincoln, etc. "Well, when shall we have our first meeting to organize our club?" Chorus: "Sunday afternoon." "All right, boys! Come to my house. We'll stop there on the way back from the garage so that you'll know just where to come." "Sure!" They took charge of my brief case while I made a purchase and then carried it up to my apartment where they were ushered in and introduced to my wife. "This is my gang, aren't you, boys?" "Sure!" "All right, boys, see you Sunday afternoon at two-thirty. Don't forget how to come." "Sure! We'll be dere!" and they were off.

ESTABLISHING RAPPORT

The preliminary rapport established in the case cited above took only about thirty minutes to create and necessarily required considerable reinforcement, which was the purpose of the following meeting.

When two-thirty came around Sunday afternoon, the family were wondering if the boys would come. "No doubt about it; they'll be here within ten minutes." Sure enough, a timid knock at the door. When I opened it, there they were lined up, ten of them (four of them members who had not taken the ride) with only one boy missing, who had to spend each Sunday with his family. The leader, Markie, was in front saluting, and then came the rest of the gang in order of importance, the right hand of each member resting upon the shoulder of the one in front. In this way they marched into my apartment in solemn array. They

were "dolled up," too, as they had promised, all of them were clean and neatly dressed, although some of the clothing was pretty well patched.

They took chairs in the living room and I seated myself at the typewriter with the suggestion that we get organized without further delay. My first suggestion was that we select a name, this had already been done by the boys and Markie said, "We want to be called de Independents' Athletic Club." "All right, that's fine!" The ice was soon broken and the boys were standing, an interested group about the typewriter.

THE "COLLECTIVE INTERVIEW"

Then began what may be called a "collective interview," although the participants themselves would not have recognized it as such. Information obtained in this way came much more quickly and with fewer inhibitions than if each boy had been interviewed separately.

I wrote the name of the club at the top of the paper. "We must first have a roster." I explained that this was the membership roll of the club and we proceeded to take each boy separately, a process which consisted of a sort of general introduction to a few leading facts about each boy as well as some of his behavior traits.

(1) Markie, leader, aged 14, but small for his age, in grade 9A, public school xx. "Why are you the leader, Markie, because you are the oldest?" The answer is collective. "He is the leader because we like him best. No, not because he is the best fighter or the oldest." It becomes apparent that Markie is the leader because he is quiet, steady, genial, good-looking, and level-headed, he has what is popularly called "a good personality." He can play the harmonica and the boys now insisted that he produce the instrument and favor us with "Yes Sir, She's My Baby," and "In a Little Spanish Town." This Markie eventually did with a proper show of modesty.

(2) Tony ("Young Tunney"), aged 12, uncle of Markie, public school yy, grade 8B. "My brother was a prize fighter. He died several years ago. One time he fought with Gene Tunney for a case of chickens. Yes, he won him. They were boys then. Yes, Tunney's home was in the Village." Then began an exhibition of sparring in which various members of the gang were taken on. Tony also demonstrated a number of athletic tricks on the living-room rug: standing on his head, turning handsprings, and so on.

An incidental question was put as to whether the boys liked school. Yes, they liked it, but Tony had recently played truant for two days and the teacher sent a letter home. Tony got the letter and tore it up. He then asked my advice as to what to do. Whereupon some humorist in the gang suggested that I write an excuse as follows:

"Dear Teacher: Please excuse Tony for playing hookey for two days. Signed, The Professor."

This created great merriment among the boys. Finally Tony, slightly ruffled, declared that he *was* smart or how could he be in 8B at his age.

(3) Angelo, aged 10, the "Mascot," public school 22, grade 6A, brother of Markie, the leader. Angelo was just ten today and was very proud of that fact. When the attention of the group was called to it, they began a series of birthday ministrations of ten swats apiece.

(4) Henrico, aged 13, public school 22, grade 8B, known as the "Rooster" because of his clever barnyard imitations. He could not attend the meeting because his father insisted that the whole family be together on Sundays. They usually went on an outing.

(5) Marco, aged 11, public school 22, grade 8A. This boy was evidently a different type from the others and rather sophisticated by comparison. He lived on a different street and seemed to be a corrupting influence. He was constantly interrupting the leader with suggestions, which were received more or less tolerantly (he was the leader's cousin). Yet he seemed to possess a great deal of initiative and was evidently popular with the boys. On one occasion when Cherry let slip some profanity, Marco quickly rebuked him with "Don't be vulgar!"

(6) Patrick, aged 13, grade 8A in a parochial school. Pat was known as the Irishman and was the only boy in the group who was not of Italian parentage. He was a humorous individual and laughed uproariously at all jokes including his own.

(7) Francisco, aged 11, grade 7A, public school 22. He had received the nickname of "Cherry" because he got some "red stuff" on his nose once that made it look like a cherry. He was also known as Francis. Cherry proved to be a talented youngster and contributed as his share of the entertainment an agile demonstration of the Charleston. He did not take part in the gymnastics, however, because of a hurt leg. Thus he showed us immediately and it proved to be an ugly gash. I got the mercurochrome and asked Cherry to let me put it on. At first he refused, but finally said, "Oh, that's red ink, it won't hurt like the brown ink (iodine) does!" Then the boys held all movable parts of his body while he simulated great agony as I applied the antiseptic. When I had finished I painted above the wound the letters "I. A. C." of which he was very proud and which he displayed three weeks later in scarcely diminished brightness. The boys will have their little joke and they say "Cherry ain't had no batt(h) since!"

(8) Johnnie, aged 11, grade 6B in public school 22, known upon occasion as "Sleepy." "Well, Johnnie, what can you do?" The gang. "Oh, he can sing, a drunk man once wanted to take him on de stage." Without being requested a second time, Johnnie at once launched into a popular song, "Me and My Shadow." Then followed several others and finally came "La Fascisma" and "O Sole Mio," which were rendered with true Italian verve. The boy's voice was of good quality, but penetrating and somewhat distorted to give a stage effect. The boys made much merriment during the songs, holding their ears on the high notes, but this disturbed Johnnie not a bit, he took his performance very seriously.

(9) Gabriel, aged 11, public school 22, grade 7A. Gabriel was just another member, but was considered an important one because of facility in basketball.

(10) Buster, aged 12, public school 22, grade 7B, had recently moved away from the neighborhood and there was some question as to whether he could belong to the club because he now lived six or eight blocks away and did not hang around "the block" much. Five of the boys lived in the block and the other four lived within a half block of it.

FORMULATING A PROGRAM

This collective interview, which was the first of a series, had disclosed many basic facts about the boys including some of their interests, their various rôles in the group, their temperamental traits, their school status, and so on. The membership roll completed, the next step was to determine a program of activities, which would further reveal their inclinations and give the investigator a chance to observe them in action and draw them out along many different lines.

The chief interest of the boys was obviously athletic and in this they were following a pattern having prestige in the local community with its traditions of Tunnoy, the Van Est boys (city handball champions in their class and living in an adjoining street), and so on. Handball was the game they could play easiest in the cramped quarters of their own narrow street. Football intrigued them but was very difficult because they had no suitable place to play. Only that morning some "crab" had complained and a cop had stopped their play. Although the cop was sympathetic, he told them they had better "lay off" the game for a while.

It was decided, therefore, to organize a handball team and get games with four other streets (which the boys named, giving the investigator clues to other groups which constituted an important part of their social world). Markie, who was named captain by popular acclaim, suggested that Tony, Henrico, Marco, Patrick, Francisco, and Gabriel constitute the team, whereas Johnnie who seemed to occupy an inferior status would be "waterboy," and Angelo (age 10), "Mascot." I was to be "manager."

It was proposed that we apply for the use of the gymnasium at J House, a neighboring settlement, for the purpose of gymnastic exercises and basketball practice. Boxing, which was also an obvious interest, was contemplated and Marco, "the sophisticated," made a list of boxers he was familiar with, illustrating this proclivity. Jack Dempsey, Gene Tunney, Louis Firpo, Jack Sharkey, Jack Delaney, Benny Leonard, Tommy Conte, Ace Hudkins, Tommy Heeney, Jim Maloney, Paul Berlenbach, Carpentier, Paulino, Mickey Bulgai, Mickey Walker, Martinis, Johnnie Dundee, Sid Terris, Harry Wills, Monte Munn, Johnny Wilson, Tiger Flowers, Eddie Anderson, Tommy Kilbane. Then Marco paired them off in what he thought would make good matches.

The boys wanted daily meetings, but I suggested that once or twice a week ought to be enough. We finally compromised on Tuesday and Saturday afternoons. It proved later, however, that the gang was likely to drop in informally most any time. At our meetings we proposed to have games of various kinds and I suggested an orchestra of harmonicas, mouth organs, etc. The advantage of an automobile for purposes of study soon became obvious, for an occasional ride greatly interested the boys even though only in a small car. At the close of the meeting I suggested that we take the air in what the boys called the "Chevrolette."

A TRIP TO FOREST HILLS

One object of the investigation of a gang should be to observe the boys in as many different types of situations as possible. Their behavior in an automobile should be interesting from this standpoint. It reveals their knowledge of the local area and the community, the nature of their social worlds, and the range of their contacts, as well as instructing the investigator in local traditions, population groupings, social distances, and so on. Taking the group for occasional rides is also valuable in promoting rapport with the boys by creating a body of common experience to which the boys can refer—obstacles overcome, dangers passed through together, etc. It gets the investigator "in solid" with the boys.

Another method of increasing rapport may also be used in the automobile ride (as well as in other situations). It gives the investigator an opportunity to put himself in the position of being instructed by the boys. He asks their advice about which way to go, what to do next, what various buildings are used for, and so on. This procedure generates surprising responsiveness from the boys by satisfying their craving for recognition and by creating what is for them an important new source of appreciation.

All these ends were served in the trip to Forest Hills.

When we first got into the car it was the intention to take a short spin and be back for supper in half an hour. We traveled about over the Village and the boys pointed out various spots of interest, such as where Mayor Walker lives, their favorite rendezvous, the playgrounds, and the teams now engaged in games, the street of the famous Van Est boys, and so on.

We stopped at a novelty shop and the boys "set up" the investigator to a bottle of pop, they seemed not to lack for funds; and they all purchased "kazoes," with which they made a din that could be heard for a block in every direction. All the popular songs of the moment were played with great zest.

On the way back from the Battery, the door next to which Markie was sitting slipped open and only a fortunate clutch by a fellow gang boy saved him from being thrown violently to the rough cobblestones of West Street. This experience gave us all a scare, but greatly augmented our solidarity. Throughout the trip the boys addressed me as "Manager" or "Fred."

As we proceeded it became evident that the boys had a definite destination in view. By various hints they finally indicated that they wanted to go to the 59th Street (Queensborough) bridge, "where the water flows under so nice and cool." It was a beautiful afternoon and I followed instructions, hardly knowing where they were taking me. On the way they told us about a delightful woods at the

home of the sister of one of the boys in Forest Hills, which was supposed to be just a little farther than the bridge

When we arrived at the bridge I saw by the congested incoming Sunday afternoon traffic that it would be impossible ever to get back to the Village at the time appointed for supper and decided to give it up in the interests of research. We crossed the bridge and then Forest Hills would just be a little bit farther—always a little bit farther until many miles had been traversed. Marco, the sophisticated, was our chief guide; he seemed to know everything about where to go and identified all the chief landmarks. The boys said, "He knows how to go anywhere."

Forest Hills finally proved to be many miles away on Long Island. I finally arrived with my eager cargo at the home of Tony's surprised relatives where I was abruptly introduced as "Fred, the professor" and "our manager." I talked with Tony's sister and her husband, who insisted that I come upstairs. There, in a well-equipped modern kitchen, I met the baby and found it necessary to accept some genuine Italian hospitality in the form of a glass of homemade wine that had a real kick. Pressed to drink a second glass I could not decline although the effect upon me (with an empty stomach) was rather untoward. I excused myself as soon as possible and upon emerging from the house I found that the boys had gone pell-mell to the woods, where they were discovered after a considerable search. Upon getting into the car, I felt rather dizzy and we made at once for a store where I purchased some cakes and ate as many as possible. The effect of the wine was rather persistent, however, in spite of anything I could do, and our wild ride back to the Village through the terrific incoming traffic was full of thrills.

The boys, noting the effect of the wine upon me, were greatly pleased, although they were not invited themselves to partake. Observing my voluble mood, they talked very freely on the way back. Cigarettes, which had been concealed heretofore, were brought out and most of the group began to smoke. There was also considerable profanity and some dirty stories. I could tell from their attitudes that I was one of them and that any further information I desired about them would be easily forthcoming if they could give it. The rapport was pretty well established, in other words.

On the way back the boys demonstrated great confidence in me and told me what a great fellow they thought I was. They were so pleased at the Forest Hills adventure that they gave a series of yells to show their appreciation. One of these was

One-two-three-four
Five-six-seven-eight
Who do we appreciate?
Fred! Fred! Fred!

SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS

The subsequent meetings were used to acquire further information of various types about the boys and they indicate the methods of continuing such an investigation to build up a complete case study.

On one occasion the boys arrived at my apartment unexpectedly just as a large shipment of books was being placed upon the sidewalk. The chief part of the

program of this meeting was the carrying of eight or ten boxes and their contents up five flights of stairs. Thus they did with great gusto, so anxious were they to demonstrate their gratitude and their strength. One exciting incident was the dropping of a box of notes (written on sheets of paper 4 by 6 inches) from the fourth story where the boy had poised it on a bannister while he was resting. The box hit a radiator and split wide open, scattering carefully arranged materials in every direction.

Incidents of a disconcerting sort are common occurrences in doing this type of research and have to be laughed off and considered as "part of the game." The sacrifice of a piece of furniture, a box of notes, dinner, part of the finish on one's car, and so on, must be taken stoically and with good humor.

A typical meeting program at the apartment where the whole gang often drops in on a rainy afternoon may be described as follows. I am busy at my desk in the midst of some urgent pursuit. A knock at the door. It is the gang in force, hand on shoulder, bedraggled and dirty, but with faces beaming. In they come and sit down on the living-room rug to play cards. Off come the boots and we behold a great variety of toes great and small peeping through their various stocking windows. The boys call them "houses to rent." My wife opens a window.

We learned on one of these occasions about all the different kinds of games which the boys like. Brisque seems to be the favorite. We also learned of their gambling habits. They all gamble as occasion arises, usually with pennies, sometimes with nickles as times are more prosperous. Markie can never lose, that is his reputation, and he always seems plentifully supplied with money. Craps are a favorite game, poker is common, but almost every game is made a means of gambling. There was no gambling at our meeting, but instead the boy who lost had to take a sharp blow on the bare knuckles from the card deck, administered by each boy in the game.

Tring of cards, the boys gave a series of tumbling feats, in some of which the whole group were involved, building up a sort of pyramid which was always sure to fall precipitately like a house of cards. They demonstrated the elephant's walk, which they had learned at the J. settlement. This gave another clue to be followed up, viz., their record and present status with the settlement.

As it grew dusk they turned to telling jokes. I was sitting at the typewriter and they gathered round in a very compact group, having adjusted the lights to be just dim enough to border on the "spooky." Then followed a series of jokes, several of which involved "Lord and Taylor," (the name of a department store), in which a pun on the word Lord was the chief source of merriment. Towards the end, the jokes got rougher and the final one, recounted by the sophisticated Marco, was nasty. It was told, however, in the presence of my wife, without any show of modesty. Afterwards, Marco confided to me that he had a lot of good ones which he would tell in private.

I told the boys I thought that would be a good place to stop and, after treating them each to a piece of homemade cake, we adjourned. (It should be borne in mind that the old adage, "The best way to a boy's heart is through his stomach," still works.) They had entertained themselves for two hours practically without suggestion from me and with no apparatus except a few old decks of cards.

The collective interview was employed at some of the subsequent meetings to get material upon the boys' attitudes towards girls, their interest in the movies, and the origins of their parents. In all these cases the subjects were brought up naturally and the information came the same way. Once started, it was not difficult to direct the discussion along desired lines.

The "goils" were freely discussed and seemed to be very favorably regarded by the members of the gang. They did not appear to have the animosity towards girls which one finds so often in young adolescent groups of this type. Names of several girls were brought into the conversation and the various exploits of the boys with them were recounted. It developed that Cherry "had a way wid de wimmen", he was the sheik of the gang. As the boys put it, "He makes all de goils." They told how he would go up to girls on the street and kiss them. I accused another boy of being a sheik, whereupon he immediately mussed up his hair.

I got down a map of Italy, which interested the boys, and almost without suggestion, they began to try to find where "dere mudders" had come from. This proved that they were practically all from stock that had originated in southern Italy, some were from Bari and others from a town near Naples. There was one Sicilian in the group and the mother of one of the boys was a Spanish woman who had come from Buenos Aires.

I had promised the boys a show. What kind of pictures did they like? Marco said he liked spooky pictures best like "The Cat and the Canary." "War" announced the leader, however, and every boy followed his lead. Marco himself backed up and told me that he meant to say "War." The choices of individual stars by the boys indicated a greater variety of tastes, but gang pressure made individuality impossible and all the boys followed the leader and a few others. The individual stars voted for were Gerry Cooper (three votes), John Gilbert (two votes), and one vote each to the following: Ramon Navarro, Jack Hoxie, John Barrymore, Karl Dane, Richard Barthelmess, Larry Semon, and Ronald Colman. The extent of attendance at the movies according to the statements of the boys was one boy, twice a week, five boys, every week, and five boys, every two weeks. (Some additional members had been brought into the group by the boys.)

In the collective interview above there was clearly indicated part of the mechanism producing uniformity of action in the gang. Whatever diversity may exist among the boys individually tends to disappear when they are together. Suggestions by the leader and a few leading supporters are likely to turn the gang in any direction; this grows out of intercommunication which proceeds at a rapid rate in such a group until unanimity on some particular policy is arrived at, this seems to be necessary to pave the way for the consequent action of the group as a whole.

The solidarity of the boys was undoubtedly augmented by their taking the name "Independent Athletic Club." They reported several victories in handball, one over "de big guys on de block," and they always referred to their group with pride. On several occasions they appeared with various combinations of the letters "I. A. C." and decorations in ink on their arms, legs, and other parts of their bodies. Arrangements were made for them as the I. A. C. to have access to the gymnasium and a clubroom every week in the J. House settlement where they have been coached in gymnastics, handball, and basketball by a leader furnished by the investigator.

At the present writing the group is ripe for intensive study along any line. One of the boys has asked help in a family educational adjustment. It will be a relatively simple matter now to obtain complete information as to their family backgrounds, their school problems, their delinquent records (if any), their relations to similar groups, and so on. Interviews with outside boys, with social workers, with teachers, and others should enable the investigator to complete a picture which would be very helpful to any teacher or other person who is called upon in a practical way to deal with these boys either individually or as a group.

A PRACTICAL REVISION OF THE ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL CURRICULUM

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A SYSTEMATIC ATTEMPT TO ORGANIZE THE CURRICULUM OF A TYPICAL PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ON THE BASIS OF ACTIVITIES

IN any scheme of public education there is always in the background a fundamental opposition between the claims of the individual and those of society. The tendency in current practice is to harmonize the two interests as far as possible by giving to the individual the richest opportunities for self-development through a graded program of active participation in the ever expanding communities of which he is a member. This harmonization has proved quite difficult in the public schools and pioneer work has still to be done in accomplishing it.

The past decade has witnessed a great activity in curriculum revision. An average of one revision a week has been completed during the past five years in important communities in the United States. These revisions are affecting the lives of millions of children. In most of them there is manifest an earnest effort to provide a maximum of self-realization and at the same time to secure for society an educated, well-disposed, useful, self-supporting citizenship that will guarantee its conservation and progress.

This objective finds expression in the Report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Education Association in 1918¹. The report lays down as fundamental the principle that "Education in a democracy, *both within and without the school*, should develop in each individual the knowledge, interests, ideals, habits, and powers whereby

¹ U S Bureau of Education Bulletin, No. 35, 1918, p. 9

he will find his place and use that place to shape both himself and society toward ever nobler ends". for . . . *"the purpose of democracy is so to organize society that each member may develop his personality through activities designed for the well-being of his fellow members and of society"* This principle would extend to all pupils the opportunity to develop their individual powers and talents through useful activities. At the same time the beneficiaries of such a program of education would be enabled, disposed, and morally obligated to contribute as far as possible to the welfare and progress of society. This conception of education requires that "human activities be placed on a high level of efficiency, that to this efficiency be added an appreciation of the significance of these and loyalty to the best ideals involved; and that the individual choose that vocation and those forms of social service in which his personality may develop and become most effective."²

The acceptance of the point of view of the Commission implies a curriculum of activities substituting "useful and significant subject matter for the old formal grind in indefinite preparation for something, sometime, somewhere—that is, substituting life experience for verbal memory. In the long run, the best preparation for coöperative living anywhere and everywhere is intelligent participation in the life of one's own community."³

Coincident with the great curriculum activity of recent years is the rapid development of the project idea in education. Not entirely a new thought in education, it represents, however, a similar transfer of emphasis and attention to the activity rather than to the subject. The traditional curriculum has been built on the basis of subject matters in vertical alignment; and a great part of the time and energy—in fact, nearly all of the time and energy of teachers—has been devoted to imparting organized and classified information, for which no great demand exists outside of the school room. Self-made men and women have attained their successes in spite of the schools and independently of them. The types of person who received the highest ratings in school are not

² *Op. cit.*

³ Department of Superintendence, Third Year Book, National Education Association, Washington, D. C., 1925, p. 190

the ones who get along best in society or in business or in many other necessary activities of life.

The project idea and the project curriculum deal with the school in terms of a horizontal alignment of activities in which everyone must engage under normal circumstances, and in which everyone should be trained to participate efficiently.

An analysis of the activities and relationships of the normal individual under ordinary circumstances of life led the Commission to adopt seven major goals of American education:

Health

Worthy home membership

Vocational insight and guidance

Faithful and useful citizenship

Desirable use of leisure time

Ethical character

Command of the fundamental tools of knowledge
and social intercommunication

These major objectives of education are familiar enough to school people and are very frequently announced in recent courses of study as the controlling principles for the selection of the contents of these courses of study. Experiments have been set up to demonstrate the validity of some of these individual objectives. Experimental schools have attempted to organize project curricula based on pupil needs and interests and actual controlled experiences. There is lacking, however, definite specification of how such programs can be carried out. Practically nothing has been done to make the project curriculum available in the public elementary schools where the millions of pupils are to be found.

The experiment to be described in this article is a definite attempt to revise in this way the curriculum of a typical large crowded public elementary school in the City of New York, dealing with all the usual problems of large registers and a foreign community, and with a group of very special local problems. It was assumed that such a program would be practical in the ordinary elementary school if it could be made to work successfully amid the numerous handicaps in the school selected for the experiment. The specific problem was to determine *what activities*

"within and without" the school could be incorporated into the curriculum of the school that would effect desirable changes in the pupils and the community under each of the main objectives of education.

The school selected for the study is Public School 80, Brooklyn, New York. It is situated in the heart of Coney Island at the southwesterly tip of the City and known throughout the country as "The Playground of the World," a summer resort that attracts annually close to fifty million pleasure-seeking visitors. Because of local conditions the school has been growing at an alarming rate, and at one period of the experiment, was housing nearly six thousand children in quarters adapted for less than two thousand. A shifting population, largely foreign born, and the kind of environment that might be expected under such circumstances, together with most unfavorable conditions of overcrowding and promiscuity within the homes, combined to present every conceivable handicap. The success of the experiment in the face of such difficulties will no doubt strengthen any claims based on an orderly study of the practicability of an activity curriculum carried on systematically for a period of more than three years.

The experiment was limited at the outset by three important considerations.

1. The official course of study

No attempt was made to evade responsibility for the usual requirements of the course of study and the syllabuses in the New York schools. Any modifications or adaptations were such as would have been sanctioned in any public school of the system. No changes of schedule of studies were made except those imposed by the overcrowded conditions and the part-time situation under which the school was forced to operate.

2. The teachers

Teachers had not been specially trained for the work. Most of them were recent appointees and recent graduates of the local training schools. Any special skill or technique acquired during the experiment came as the result of intensive in-service training in the school itself and of a constructive policy of supervision.

3. The equipment

There was nothing in the way of special equipment that is not available in any of the modern school buildings of the City. In fact, almost any building constructed during the period of the experiment was better equipped for such a project.

Probably, with a special course of study, trained teachers, and special equipment, better results could have been attained throughout. However, the definite problem was to discover whether an activity curriculum could be made to work under ordinary conditions and circumstances, and the handicaps ultimately served to strengthen the conclusions reached.

There was very little in the form of model or pattern on which to base the experiment. The problems of procedure and measurement of results present many difficulties. Before the idea of a formal experiment was thought of, many of the activities had already been introduced on a smaller and more informal scale. The point of departure was considered for quite some time. The final procedure was as follows.

Step 1

During 1924 and early 1925, the idea of the activity curriculum was presented to the teachers in as many attractive ways as possible through meetings, conferences, and demonstration. Activities were set up tentatively in various parts of the building and under each of the major objectives. Considerable inertia and some opposition had to be overcome before the formal study could be undertaken to best advantage. By the end of this period the idea had been pretty well sold to the faculty and to some influential members of the community, and a rather definite schedule of activities decided upon. In the meantime, several teachers had been induced to try out in their own classrooms or in the assembly periods several interesting projects, and the results of their work were broadcast.

Step 2

In June, 1925, a survey was made of the home and the community conditions and of the interests and activities of some 484 pupils of the upper grades who were capable of giving or getting the information needed. This information was obtained largely on the basis of a carefully prepared questionnaire, which was safeguarded from errors by many precautions.

Step 3

In October, 1925, an analysis of each of the major objectives of education into desirable specific objectives for Public School 80 was made by the principal and a committee of teachers on the basis of the June survey and the educational aims of the school. On the basis of these specific objectives a curriculum of desirable activities was gradually built up. From these activities, a suggestive list was compiled and classified as class activities and school activities. The former could be used in the ordinary classroom recitation period. The latter required a broader field and led to vital uses of the assembly periods, supervised recreation, visual instruction, public speaking, school and community activities, and various projects. Eventually they led to the establishment of a more democratic and

dynamic student organization, of a definite group of worth-while intracurricular clubs and community affiliations on a much broader basis, culminating in actual membership of the school in the Coney Island Chamber of Commerce

Step 4

In November, 1925, a mimeographed copy of all these specific objectives was put into the hands of every teacher with instructions to consult it regularly in planning her daily work and to indicate by a simple code in her plan book as accurately as possible the specific objective she had in mind in every class activity or school activity which she entered in her plan and progress book. There were 61 regular teachers in the faculty at this time. In view of the traditional emphasis on the tool subjects and fundamental processes, it was thought best not to consider this major objective for the time being, but merely to indicate effective devices that led to a project presentation of the topic or that indicated a phase of one of the other specific objectives. Some teachers tried to carry on the analysis even in this objective.

The whole project of cooperative curriculum making was taken up with the teachers at this time and they were instructed to have ready on call a list of the best class activities and school activities which they were recording in their plan books under the various specific objectives. At this time it was decided because of their importance and the growing local needs to isolate and include as major objectives the special topics of accident and fire prevention and thrift. Sample activities and entries were exhibited, and teachers were urged to realize the importance of their efforts as a scientific contribution to their profession.

Step 5

In June, 1926, a survey was made of all the class activities set up by 61 teachers in attempting to realize the specific objectives. This list, compiled from the plan and progress books, was used as the basis for constructive supervision and teachers' conferences during the following term.

Step 6

In December, 1926, a survey was made of all the school activities reported by 63 regular teachers in their efforts to realize the specific objectives. These activities and devices were broadcast during the following term in teachers' conferences and elsewhere in order to enlarge the scope of the growing curriculum and to suggest new lines of thought.

Step 7

In January, 1927, a summary was made of all the devices listed in the plan and progress books of 63 teachers under each of the specific objectives. Most of the teachers listed several other devices which they were planning definitely to use during the coming term. These were decided on as a result of conferences with other teachers in connection with this report.

In this manner the curriculum of Public School 80 "emerged" from the realization of local needs and resources, and from the

democratic coöperation of the faculty and others interested in the experiment. For purposes of recording and checking progress, information and statistics under each of the major objectives were assembled under the following captions:

- (a) Statement of the problem
- (b) Survey of home and community conditions and pupils' interests and activities
- (c) List of specific objectives
- (d) List of typical class activities
- (e) List of typical school activities
- (f) Tables of devices reported by 63 teachers
- (g) Exhibits in the form of samples, tables, and studies under d, e, and f

The next article in this series will discuss the specific objectives that were incorporated in the curriculum of Public School 80 and will indicate how they are merged into a conscious and consistent program of work adapted to the special needs of the Coney Island children.

SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS AS BASIC TO EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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EDUCATORS have every right to expect great progress during the next decade not only of "educational sociology" as a body of selected knowledge and hypotheses comparable to educational psychology, medical bacteriology, and agricultural chemistry; but also of educational sociology as a fertile source of numberless suggestions immediately practicable of application in teachers' and policy makers' practices

Towards realization of such purposes, however, it is essential that analysis, and then more analysis, should be constantly made of the highly composite fields with which general sociology is still too exclusively concerned. As examples of such preliminary analyses, the writer submits herewith certain findings recently presented to a class of mature students seeking to formulate "sociological foundations of courses and curricula."

A INTRODUCTORY

1. *Recent and current developments of the social sciences* make available for us numberless items of knowledge and generalizations which compose general sociology. They also give us fairly innumerable special sociologies. Any one of these fields may be studied for knowledge or mastery "as an end in itself"—"pure science," so-called, or it can be studied primarily with practical purposes of human betterment in view—"applied science," often so-called, or it can be studied with a view to human betterment by one type of helpful social process—legislative, business, religious, social reform, or education. The last approach could give foundations for (general or special) applied political sociology, applied economic sociology, applied religious sociology, applied pathological sociology or applied educational sociology. It is important to recognize in this connection that

(a) *General sociology*, like general chemistry, general biology, general physiology, and general psychology, deals largely with data, generalizations, principles, and other phases which are largely common throughout or basic to these sciences

(b) *Applied general sociology* (or general social economy or general eudemics) is devoted first to a consideration of those factors, conditions, or agencies that in general make for social well-being, and, second, to their practical use in programs of human amelioration or betterment

2 *Most of the practicable and profitable studies of applied or betterment sociology now available derive from fields of special sociology*

(a) An indefinitely large number of "special sociologies" can now be differentiated. For example: the sociology of the family life of all mammals (and of human families in all ages, or in present-day American cities, or among the present-day rich), the sociology of present-day international relations, the sociology of American college life, the sociology of teachers organizations, the sociology of states' prison life, the sociology of the modern drama. (Twenty other examples could easily be added by the reader.)

(b) The term "eudemics" will be used here, in a scope as broad as that of human sociology, to include all arts and sciences of "applied" or "applicable" or "human betterment" sociology—or welfare sociology. Hence we can array an indefinite number of (special applied sociologies) "eudemics" of: American family life, American family life among coal miners, American family life among foreign-born peoples of the nonunionized soft-coal mines, competitive athletics among urban high schools, present-day American political parties, social control by present-day American police powers (including courts and prisons), present-day thrift and investment and capital using among American people, and thousands of others.

B DIVISIONS AND APPLICATIONS OF SOCIOLOGY SIGNIFICANT TO EDUCATORS

3 *Thousands of areas of sociology and eudemics have no significance to American educators.* The sociology and eudemics of Esquimaux, Chinese rural family life, Kaffir trade in South Africa, survivals of tribal government among Arabs, and religious taboos of Hindus in conservation of animal life—are probably of no practical significance to policy makers or executants of American education.

4 *Hundreds of areas of American present-day sociology and eudemics may be of much significance to statesmen (politicians in the better sense), economists (business policy makers), religionists, militarists (leaders of defense), jurists (justices, and other administrators of political justice), sanitarians, and relief workers (social workers), but only slightly to educators.* For example, the sociology and eudemics (or sociological and eudemic consequences, correlates or antecedents) of American relations with South American States, further American land acquisitions in the Arctic Ocean, future immigration policies, game conservation, treatment of recidivist criminals, government operation of railways, government control of power generated by the Colorado River, flood prevention in the lower Mississippi, government loans to farmers, modification of the Volstead Act, cessation of American missionary contributions to Chinese and Africans, researches to discover an antitoxin to influenza, and hundreds of others.

5 *Hundreds of areas of present-day American sociology and eudemics are of direct importance to educators because of the probabilities that some kinds of education do play negative or positive rôles or should play them in these fields.* For example

(a) The sociology and eudemics of *American family life*

Many facts, specific and general, are now known regarding the sociology and eugenics (which is a branch of eudemics) of family life among those who belong to both the *highest quartile of American economic life* and to the highest quartile of *intellectual cultural attainments*—superior stocks, stock suicide, low death rate, infrequent divorce, prolonged care of offspring. Some conclusions are surmised. high rate of chronic physical morbidity among women, high rate of natural sterility, low anticipatory interest in progeny, excessive preoccupation with superior standard of comfort. It seems probable that social policies of high scientific efficiency would find many opportunities in these areas to apply preventives to probable evils.

(b) The sociology and eudemics of family life among those recent *non-English-speaking immigrants* who are forced to become semiskilled manual laborers in mines, factories, railway systems, and building are also fairly well known—social merits as well as defects. School education, as now operated, obviously plays large rôle among the first American-reared generation of these immigrants. Can educators discover policies whereby still greater services may be rendered—towards lessening irresponsible fecundity, providing prophylactics to frequent delinquency, promoting better adaptation of young people to vocational work (by guidance or training), or enriching them with American political idealities? Certainly the soil is promising.

(c) Towards what useful *educational policies*, beyond those now customary, does it seem probable that contributions can be had from the scientific study of the sociology and eudemics of American families or family life in areas of (a) rural renting folk, (b) illegitimacy, (c) offspring of mixed white and Indian stock, (d) children of divorce-sundered families living isolatedly—lighthouses, lumber camps, electric power head stations, etc.; (g) adolescents in the "fitting season"—in approaches to, and early stages after, entry upon self-supporting work, (h) "men without country", e.g., American-born Japanese, who in social reality are neither Japanese nor Americans.

6. The sociology and eudemics of *American political life* can be analyzed similarly. Political life includes chiefly the formation and (under democratic or "republican" American conditions) collective maintenance and advance of *political societies or groups*, nations, beginnings or empires, states, cities, countries, incorporated villages, districts, political parties, political leagues, etc., the primary purposes of which are to provide for the common defense, maintain internal order, administer justice, and carry on some economic and other enterprises—road, building, public-school operation, relief of dependency, sanitation, water supply, etc. These are illustrative divisions.

(a) The sociology and eudemics of American large urban political groups

(b) Of dispersed rural political group members

(c) Of older political parties

(d) Of American voters under twenty-five years of age

(e) Of women voters

(f) Of farmer voters

(g) Of labor unionists in politics

(h) Of college graduates taken as a case type or class

(i) The sociology and eudemics of prohibition (of alcoholic beverages) as a political issue and as respect its militant followers

7 Under each of the foregoing, some issues for probable future detailed considerations by educational policy makers can readily be suggested. For example:

(a) Can or should high schools do much more than is now done to equip with knowledge, convictions, and idealities, political voters, ages 14-18, so that between the ages of 21 and 25 they will both enter ardently into "good politics" and consciously self-educate themselves to a degree not now planned for or even conceived?

(b) The functionings of political groups bring into relief a great variety of special situations, some of which obviously have intimate bearing on educational policy making. For example:

(c) Since the original major function of the state (the most inclusive political society) was to provide for "the common defense" (and related militaristic aggression), we can detail for special consideration

(d) The sociology and eudemics of including among the objectives of general secondary education, and of (all) (some) forms of collegiate education, training for defense (military training, militia training, reserve officer training).

(e) Since one function of the state is to conserve friendly relations with neighboring states

(f) The sociology and eudemics of school education in whatever may be discovered to be the attitudes and other means of international friendliness

(g) Since one function of local government or politics is the prevention of crime or criminality

(h) The sociology and eudemics of juvenile criminality or delinquency as indicated educational means of prevention and cure

8 Other major divisions for study might well be the sociology and eudemics of: (a) American economic productive groups (all societies devoted to or using mutual aid in producing, conserving, and using as capital tools, goods of any sort; (b) American economic utilizing or sumptuary group, (c) American religious group, (d) American culture promotional group, (e) American fellowship or sociability group, (f) American school or educational groups, (g) others

9 It may prove profitable to the science of educational policy making to segregate certain other kinds of areas of educational sociology for intensive consideration. For example, the sociology and eudemics of rural negroes, the very young children of the rich, wage-earning girls during premarriage years, popular literature, especially in magazine form, high mechanical specialization in industry, racial intermixtures, culture blendings, Jews and Americans, urban apartment life, American philanthropic idealism, and others

SCHOOL, SOCIETY, AND BEHAVIORISM

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I

BEHAVIORISM is with us whether we want it or not. It is making a great stir not only in psychology but in sociology and in other spheres of life. The politicians have, perhaps, indirectly paid more attention to it than anybody else simply because they have always been practical psychologists or behaviorists. Actions of men and women which have been in many cases obscure to the most profound psychologist, have been an open sesame to the politician. Whether he was aware of it or not, he engaged in politics for the purpose of getting certain results. And though he might never have heard the word "psychology," he was an expert in that field from the practical point of view. Behaviorism is indeed a deliberate attempt to have us look at the actions of men and judge what they are by what they are doing. That is good philosophy as far as it goes, but it plainly falls short in certain respects.

Of the truth or falsity of behaviorism as a specific form of psychology but little will be said in this article because it is concerned primarily with the effect which it has on society and education. Only as much of its theory needs to be considered as is pertinent to the two topics mentioned.

II

What, then, is behaviorism? Professor Watson, the principal protagonist of behaviorism has given these definitions of his own theory. Perhaps the simplest definition is given in his *Behaviorism*.¹

Why don't we make what we can observe the real field of psychology? Let us limit ourselves to things that can be observed, and formulate laws concerning only those things. Now what can we observe? Well, we can observe *behavior*—

¹ *Behaviorism*, p. 6

what the organism does or says. And let me make this fundamental point at once that *saying* is doing—that is, *behaving*. Speaking overtly or to ourselves (thinking) is just as objective a type of behavior as baseball.

Another definition is given on page 11 of the same book.

Behaviorism, as you have already grasped from our preliminary discussion, is, then, a natural science that takes the whole field of human adjustments as its own. Its closest scientific companion is physiology. Indeed you may wonder, as we proceed, whether behaviorism can be differentiated from that science. It is different from physiology only in the grouping of its problems, not in fundamentals or in central viewpoint. Physiology is particularly interested in the functioning of parts of the animal—for example, its digestive system, the circulatory system, the nervous system, the excretory systems, the mechanics of neural and muscular response. Behaviorism, on the other hand, while it is intensely interested in all of the functioning of these parts, is intrinsically interested in what the whole animal will do from morning to night and from night to morning.

The interest of the behaviorist in man's doings is more than the interest of the spectator—he wants to control man's reactions, as physical scientists want to control and manipulate other natural phenomena. It is the business of behavioristic psychology to be able to predict and to control human activity. To do this it must gather scientific data by experimental methods. Only then can the trained behaviorist predict, given the stimulus, what reaction will take place, or, given the reaction, state what the situation or stimulus is that has caused the reaction.

According to the first definition, which Watson calls a platform, we are invited merely to look at people and judge their character by their action. That is what science does when it observes phenomena in the inorganic realm and judges their qualities by their behavior. And science is absolutely right as far as it deals with manifestations of the inorganic world. It is able to judge qualities and quantities purely by these external manifestations because there is little else behind them. When we come to the organic realm and more particularly to a highly complex being such as man, the problem changes considerably.

To illustrate: a toothache is presumably a very simple thing. It can be located definitely in a particular tooth and it produces a certain kind of ache and pain different from those of headache or of stomach ache. It produces specific reactions such as hollering and when the dentist applies the forceps, a very decided jerk away from the forceps. Here are two plain manifestations of toothache which everybody can observe for himself. What does it tell us, though, about toothache? Will anybody who sees these two reactions know the peculiar quality of toothache as different

from any other ache? Judging from these two reactions, toothache in terms of behaviorism might be defined as a "jerk and a yell" It is to be feared, though, that a man who has never suffered from toothache is not likely to know much about its meaning.

Behaviorism falls short in a similar way in defining pleasure. The taste of an apple gives pleasure to one man, more or less displeasure to another; some people enjoy bananas, to some other people even the smell of that fruit is nauseating. Can we by any means discover, from the behavior of these different people concerning the two fruits, what these respective pleasures and displeasures are? The list might be extended indefinitely but everywhere and always we would find that mere response to stimuli would not tell us very much about the real essence of our nature. Behaviorism simply gives us valuable data concerning the reactions of different men to the same stimulus but does not explain why the same stimulus produces different reactions.

III

What is the reason for this inadequacy of behaviorism? Watson claims that we have inherited no specific instincts, predisposing us for certain kinds of reactions. Be that as it may, we have, nevertheless, inherited certain physical constitutions predisposing one man toward this kind of activity and another toward a different kind. Watson admits that much when he says:²

So let us hasten to admit—yes, there are heritable differences in form, in structure. Some people are born with long slender fingers, with delicate throat structure, some are born tall, large, of prize-fighter build, others with delicate skin and eye coloring. These differences are in the germ plasm and are handed down from parent to child. More questionable is the inheritance of such things as the early or late graying of hair, the early loss of hair, the span of life, the bearing of twins, and the like. Many of these questions have already been answered by biologists and many others are in the process of being answered. But do not let these undoubted facts of inheritance lead you astray as they have some of the biologists. The mere presence of these structures tell us not one thing about function. This has been the source of a great deal of confusion in the subject we now have under consideration. Much of our structure laid down in heredity would never come to light, would never show in function, unless the organism were put in a certain environment, subjected to certain stimuli and

² *Op. cit.*, p. 77

forced to undergo training. Our hereditary structure here only to be shaped in a thousand different ways--the same structure, mind you--depending on the way in which the child is brought up. To convince yourself, measure the right arm of the blacksmith, look at the pictures of strong men in our terrible magazine devoted to physical culture. Or turn to the poor bent back of the ancient book-keeper. These people are structurally shaped (within limits) by the kinds of lives they lead.

If that much is admitted, the platform of behaviorism becomes at once more or less untenable. There is no need to assume that specific instincts such as an "instinct for workmanship" or anything of the sort is inherited. The word "instinct" has, as a matter of fact, been very much abused and extended to limits beyond recognition. To put it differently, try as we may, the fact is plain even on Watson's admission that we are born with different dispositions and capacities. That much being granted, the question arises what relation behaviorism has to education and to society.

IV

The question whether we are "born" or "made" is as old as philosophy. Are we very largely what our heredity predisposes us for, or what our environment makes of us? The battle between the advocates of one or the other is age-old and need not be entered into. It may be remarked, incidentally, though, that we are dealing here with one of those finespun academic distinctions which has no basis in fact. The advocates both of heredity and of environment usually forget the most simple of simple facts; namely, that an individual is not born into a vacuum but into a definite environment with specific conditions. No matter what heredity we may presumably have or what our environment may happen to be, the individual is always under the necessity of reacting to certain conditions. The only question is, whether a specific environment will call forth particular reactions. We know, as has already been remarked, that different people will react differently to the same stimulus. Behaviorism, standing specifically for the theory of environment in the making of man, avoids the real issue by saying that no two individuals have the same environment. In other words, that the same things are not the same to different individuals. If so, the only way the difference can be explained

is by assuming that these individuals approach the same things from a different angle. And if that is granted, environment at once loses its exclusive force in the making of man. Watson, in illustrating his theory that the same environment—which objectively must be the same for all men—is different for different men, cites the following case:³

But every one admits this about bone and tendons and muscles—"now how about mental traits? Do you mean to say that great talent is not inherited? That criminal tendencies are not inherited? Surely we can prove that these things can be inherited." This was the older idea which grew up before we knew as much about what early shaping throughout infant life will do as we now know. The question is often put in specific form. "Look at the musicians who are sons of musicians, look at Wesley Smith, the son of the great economist, John Smith—surely a chip off the old block if ever there was one." You already know the behaviorist's way of answering these questions. You know he recognizes no such things as mental traits, dispositions, or tendencies. Hence, to him, there is no sense to the question of the inheritance of talent as the question is ordinarily raised.

Wesley Smith was thrown into an environment early in life that fairly reeked with economic, political, and social questions. His attachment for his father was strong. The path he took was a very natural one. He went into that life for the same reason that your son becomes a lawyer, a doctor, or a politician. If the father is a shoemaker, a saloonkeeper, or a street cleaner—or is engaged in any other socially unrecognized occupation, the son does not follow so easily in the father's footsteps, but that is another story. Why did Wesley Smith succeed in reaching eminence when so many sons who had famous fathers failed to attain equal eminence? Was it because this particular son inherited his father's talent? There may be a thousand reasons, not one of which lends any color to the view that Wesley Smith inherited the "talent" of his father. Suppose John Smith had had three sons who by hypothesis all had bodies so made up anatomically and physiologically that each could put on the same organization (habits) as the other two. Suppose further that all three began to work upon economics at the age of six months. One was beloved by his father. He followed in his father's footsteps and due to his father's tutorship this son overtook and finally surpassed his father. Two years after the birth of Wesley, the second son was born, but the father was taken up with the elder son. The second son was beloved by the mother who now got less and less of her husband's time, so she devoted her time to the second son. The second son could not follow so closely in the footsteps of his father, he was influenced naturally by what his mother was doing. He early gave up his economic studies, entered society and ultimately became a "lounge lizard." The third son, born two years later, was unwanted. The father was taken up with the eldest son, the mother with the second son. The third son was also put to work upon economics, but receiving little parental care, he drifted daily towards the servants' quarters. An unscrupulous maid had taught him to masturbate at three. At twelve the chauffeur made a homo-

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 77-78

sexual of him. Later falling in with neighborhood thieves he became a pick-pocket, then a stool pigeon and finally a drug fiend. He died of paresis in an insane asylum. There was nothing wrong with the heredity of any one of these sons. All by hypothesis had equal chances at birth. All could have been the fathers of fine, healthy sons if their respective wives had been of good stock, (except possibly the third son *after* he contracted syphilis)

In reply it might be said that if you assume certain conditions you have all the factors under your control and are consequently able to make them what you want when they do not fit into your theory. As to the specific case of the Smith family and its three sons, the answer is simple. Watson assumes a father thoroughly abandoning himself to economics. He assumes a mother who was interested in only one of her three sons, and further assumes that neither of the two parents was interested in the third son. These assumptions are certainly interesting, although rarely found in life. As we look around and about us, we find that most parents are interested in the welfare of their children without any marked distinctions. If Watson's assumptions in the case of the Smith family be true, we are dealing with a very marked case of heredity. The father was plainly "daft" on economics, else he would not have tried to turn all of his three sons into economists; the mother was just as plainly devoted to the second son, presumably because he resembled her to a greater extent than the first son did. She was evidently "a weaker vessel" in the literal sense, and so the second son under her influence and with her heredity naturally became a "lounge lizard." The third son probably inherited the worst features of both his parents and so he went wrong when opportunity came his way. This is a case of "Nature" rather than of "Nurture," the very opposite of what Watson tries to prove. In my own family, if I may speak of personal and intimate knowledge—the everlasting problem has been how to make our two boys fit into the same environment. Both parents in this case have been scrupulously concerned about giving our two boys—only seventeen months apart in age—the same treatment. But one of them takes to books and the other takes to companionship. Watson might perhaps have explained the love of the one boy for books from the fact that he spent most of his babyhood in my library. That argument sounds plausible, but if the other boy

should have taken to mechanics because early in his life we tried to teach him the handling of objects. He has opposed this tendency, never openly to be sure, but with a persistence which has eventually overcome all opposition. He is still the companionable, friend-making boy and almost absolutely immune to the handling of tools and other movements of hands requiring deftness and agility

V

If the assumptions of behaviorism are granted, it throws a responsibility upon the school and society which would involve an impossibility. When Watson speaks of his ability to take those "squirmings" of the baby within his first few weeks of life and by presenting the proper stimuli, turning him into a musician, a great business man or a scientist, he assumes a responsibility which every human being has thus far avoided. It is pleasant to think that we can make of our children what we want. Presumably, all parents would in that case try to make their children not only rich but handsome, not only clever but attractive, and so on. Few people have succeeded in their wishes unless there was something in the heredity of the children which predisposed them in the direction desired.

But suppose that the thing could be done. Who would take the responsibility of creating, let us say, 5 per cent of our babies into big business men, 5 per cent into artists, 10 per cent into statesmen, perhaps 15 per cent into teachers and so on, turning the other 65 per cent into plumbers, carpenters, hod carriers, and so on? I am afraid that the Russian Revolution would be a Sunday-School picnic compared to what would happen in our own country. The school would obviously be the agency to bring about these desirable and undesirable results. It would put an autocratic power into the hands of our teachers such as has never been equaled by the most autocratic of autocrats. It would continue a régime of selected families who had influence with the school boards and consequently the opportunity to have their children turned into persons occupying important offices. And it would eventually condemn the majority of men to necessary and inevitable subjugation—or would it be slavery? As already mentioned,

a revolution would result which would speedily cut down, if not eliminate, all school appropriations, and the very walls of our school houses would be unable to resist the attack that would be made upon them by the majority of parents.

VI

Whether rightly or wrongly, the aspirations of a human being have to be counted as a part of our psychical and social make-up. It is, of course, true that out of the millions of boys who are born in this country every year and who have, theoretically, the right to become presidents of the United States, an extremely small number attains its object. That is natural and inevitable. Disappointments are with most human beings a part of their very existence and everyone of us learns in the course of time how to deal with adversities. That is one thing and it is our privilege to make these necessary adjustments. It is an entirely different thing to have any agency, no matter how benevolent, determine my fate. Against that proposal mankind has always rebelled and will always rebel, because the determination of our future is of the very essence of our personality as free and responsible human beings.

THE BUILDING UP OF MORALE IN EDUCATION

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MOST of the work which has been done in the past in this field has taken the form of a list of items which make for increased morale, which list has been the result, for the most part, of the introspective processes of some one interested individual. Relatively few attempts have been made to obtain a consensus from a representative group of those in education. This study has been made for the purpose of finding out just what factors a representative group of educators would consider important for the building up of morale.

To begin with, an attempt was made to define the term "morale." Webster's unabridged dictionary gives the following definitions: "1. Morality; moral principles, teachings, or conduct 2. Condition as affected by, or dependent upon, such moral or mental factors as zeal, spirit, hope, confidence, etc.; mental state, as of a body of men, an army, and the like." As is often the case, the popular meaning differs from the dictionary meaning and so the popular conception of the meaning of the term "morale" is different from the definition cited above. A group of twenty teachers were asked individually to tell what they understood the word "morale" to mean. While no two statements were exactly alike and no one of the statements was exactly similar to the dictionary definition, nevertheless, there was a remarkable degree of concordance. Practically all of these teachers agreed that good morale rests on an emotional basis and almost all agreed that this favorable affective state is brought about when an individual likes his job, wishes to work hard at the job, is assisted in working hard at his job by the helpful efforts of others, is ambitious and "peppy" and enthusiastic, and has an optimistic outlook, through his job, on life, rather than a pessimistic one. An interesting viewpoint is that held by several of these teachers that morale

can be likened to the individual aspect of a favorably predisposing emotional basis for good work on the job, whereas *esprit de corps* can be likened to the group aspect.

The first step in this study was to submit a request to a group of about 100 teachers and supervisors of varying experiences to list from one to five factors which, in their estimation, tended to build up morale in their present jobs; and also to list from one to five factors which tended to break down morale in their present jobs. This group of one hundred was made up of one group of forty and two groups of about thirty each. A tabulation was made of the factors tending to build up morale submitted by the group of forty. In order to avoid duplication, statements which were essentially similar were so considered. These factors were then checked in terms of the factors suggested by the remaining two groups of thirty each. Any time a factor was mentioned, it was considered to have received one vote. A total of 57 factors were so obtained. These were then grouped under 13 arbitrarily chosen major headings under which they seemed to group themselves naturally. The order in which these factors appeared under each heading indicates the results of the votes of these 100 teachers.

Copies of mimeographed sheets were submitted to an additional group of 105, with the request that they indicate by the numbers 1, 2, and 3 their respective first, second, and third choices concerning the factors listed under each one of the 13 headings. These results were then tallied by giving a weight of three votes to each first choice, a weight of two votes to each second choice, and a weight of one vote to each third choice. The votes thus obtained for each factor were then added and a new order of preference for these factors was obtained by adding the votes for each factor cast by the first group of 100 to the votes cast by the second group of 105. This second order of preference is indicated below by the order in which these factors are listed under the major headings. The figures given in the first column represent the total number of votes. The figures in the second column repre-

sent the number of votes obtained from the group of 105. The figures in the third column represent the number of votes obtained from the first group of 100. The letters in the fourth column represent the original order of preference indicated by the first group of 100.

FACTORS WHICH INCREASE MORALE IN THE PROFESSION OF EDUCATION IN THE
FINAL ORDER OF PREFERENCE

First column represents total number of votes

Second column represents number of votes on second check

Third column represents original numbers of votes

Fourth column represents original order of preference

1. *Factors dependent upon superior officers*

170	157	22	b.	Cooperation from superior officers
144	116	28	a	Appreciation of effort on the part of superior officers
102	92	10	f	Receiving of constructive criticism
61	46	15	d	Human treatment from superior officers
41	33	8	h	Knowledge that superior officer is competent
36	25	11	e	Having a superior officer who is "on the level," a "square shooter"
32	16	16	c	Having a boss who is a "regular guy"
24	15	9	g	Justice from superiors
20	12	8	i	Backing from superior officer
18	9	7	j	Freedom from excessive criticism

2. *Factors dependent upon school organization, administration, and control*

131	117	14	b	Adequate equipment
114	103	11	c	Opportunity for initiative
76	73	3	h	Cooperation in discipline
64	60	4	f	Small classes
55	37	18	a	Quiet and orderly school
49	47	2	i	Working in a progressive system
34	28	6	d	Plenty of work, but not too much
25	23	2	j	Opportunity for discussion of common problems
16	12	4	e	Time for outside activities
12	10	2	l	Opportunity for responsibility
11	9	2	k	Free time during school hours
4	0	4	g	Promptness in furnishing material

3. *Factors dependent upon attitude of coworkers*

289	233	36	a	Coöperation of fellow workers
179	156	21	b.	"Regular fellows" for colleagues
102	100	2	c	Competition of colleagues

4. *Factors dependent upon qualities, capacities, and preparation of the individual teacher*

147	142	5	d	Proper preparation of work
124	112	12	a	Liking for children
51	45	6	c	Work within one's capacity
50	48	2	i.	Having a belief in the worth of one's job
48	40	4	f	Possessing and using sense of humor
47	39	8	b	Ambition to succeed and advance
30	28	2	j	Having faith in the future of education
29	27	2	h	Possessing a knowledge of administrative problems
28	24	4	g	Being able to see the success of one's work
13	9	4	e	Acting as an example to others

5. *Factors dependent upon attitude of present student body*

181	172	9	c	Recognition on the part of pupils of the worth of the work
175	161	14	a	Obtaining the esteem of present students
138	128	10	b	Obtaining a satisfactory response in trying to help the students
48	44	4	d	Having "regular fellows" for students

6. *Factors dependent upon qualities inherent in the job*

260	240	29	a	Having a likeable and interesting job
185	183	2	b.	Lack of monotony in the job

7. *Factors dependent upon use of leisure time*

227	219	8	b	Having enjoyable and helpful avocational pursuits
174	164	10	a	Taking of university courses
120	113	7	c	Social activities sponsored by superiors

8. *Factors dependent upon economic status, advancement, and security*

208	201	7	a	Receiving a fair and satisfactory salary
188	184	4	b.	Honest promotion for faithful service
99	97	2	c	Knowledge of the security of one's position
24	22	2	d	Satisfactory pension provisions

9. *Factors dependent upon attitude of parents and laymen*

220	214	6	b	Obtaining the respect of parents and laymen
215	206	9	a	Being allowed to obtain a sympathetic insight into the home lives of children

10. *Factors dependent upon environment*

257	246	11	a.	Working and living in pleasant surroundings
181	170	2	b	Teaching in environment in which one grew up

11. *Factors dependent upon health and sanitation*

- 244 238 6 a. Possessing and keeping good health
 189 187 2 b. Working in good sanitary conditions

12. *Factors dependent upon attitude of former students*

- 110 102 8 a. Obtaining recognition from former students of the value of
 one's efforts in their behalf

13. *Factors dependent upon attitude of outside agencies*

- 229 227 2 a. Recognition and cooperation from outside agencies
 200 198 2 b. Being allowed to get close to trade conditions

The suggestions given by the first group of 100 concerning factors which tend to break down morale represented in almost every case merely the converse of the statement for the building up of morale and they were so tallied. A few factors, such as "too much criticism" which were volunteered in the group of factors tending to break down morale were suggested in the converse form in the list of factors tending to build up morale. It is interesting to note that only about one fifth as many suggestions were given for factors tending to break down morale as were suggested for the building up of morale.

Those in the second group of 105 teachers and supervisors were asked to indicate on the mimeographed sheets the amount of experience they had had as teachers and supervisors. These sheets were then separated into two groups, the first being the ones submitted by those who had had more than two years of teaching experience; the second group being the ones submitted by those who had had less than two years of teaching experience. It was thought that the results from these groups when compared might show significant differences. As a matter of fact, the results were almost identical. In closing this description of the technique of obtaining the information, it must be stated that no one of the 205 teachers who gave their suggestions was asked to give his name. The results came anonymously and the teachers knew that no attempt would be made to relate the answers given to the one giving them.

In analyzing the results of this study, certain facts should be kept in mind. In the first place, the factors given represent the

consensus of only 100 educators. A more extensive group might suggest other equally important factors. In spite of the fact that the second group of 105 was asked to add under each heading any factors which they thought had been omitted, no significant additions were received. Almost all of the additions represented factors which already appeared on the sheets. In the second place, the thirteen major headings were arbitrarily chosen and the very wording of these headings and the order in which they were given might have influenced the votes of the second group. Furthermore, a varying number of factors appeared under these headings and thus where only two or three or four factors appeared under each heading, there was less choice than would be possible where more factors appeared under a heading. In the third place, the 12th major heading has only one factor listed under it, and hence, there can be but one choice. The figure "102" showing in the second column for this 12th heading is given to indicate that 102 of these 105 in the second group manifested their opinion that this was an important factor. In the fourth place, the order in which the factors appear under the major headings has been determined, in large part, by the total number of votes where three votes were granted to each first choice, two votes to a second choice, and one vote to a third. It may be that the order would change were the order to be determined by the total number of first choice preferences alone.

It will be noted that of the 13 headings, only two, that is, the 4th and 7th, apply to the individual teacher alone. Certain of the factors can be controlled to a certain extent by the individual teacher, as for example, factors dealing with cooperation. If one goes on the assumption that the cooperative individual usually receives cooperation from others and the noncooperative individual usually does not receive cooperation from others, the point of this remark becomes obvious. The majority of the factors suggested, however, are factors which are, for the most part, beyond the individual teacher's control. One might be tempted to draw the conclusion that the individual teacher is more prone to place the bulk of the burden for good morale on others rather than on himself. Such a conclusion, however, is not warranted from the results of this study alone.

From the standpoint of the sociologist as well as from the standpoint of others, good morale is important. Charles R. Richards, when director of Cooper Union, developed a formula as follows: $E \propto M + T + I$, which, translated into words, means that efficiency on the job varies or depends upon the possession of the necessary manipulative skill, the possession of the necessary functioning technical knowledge and the possession of the intelligence which enables the individual to apply that technical knowledge to the problems of the job. This formula has been used in extended and varied form many times. One of the forms is as follows: $E \propto S + K + I + J + P + M$ where S represents skill, K represents knowledge, I represents native intelligence, J represents judgment and common sense, P represents physique and health, and M represents morale. It has often been contended that no matter what the individual possesses in skill, knowledge, and so forth, his efficiency is inevitably lowered if his morale is low. For this reason, it is important that those dealing with human relationships recognize morale as a factor in efficiency. The individual should seek to build up his morale in the ways in which he, as an individual, can do so. The supervisor, however, has a double function in this respect, namely, that of maintaining a high morale for himself as an individual, and also fostering the conditions which under his control as a supervisor will make for a high morale on the part of those in subordinate positions.

In the last analysis, if we agree that the basis of morale is emotional, then it becomes an individual proposition as far as the affective state of the individual is concerned. What one person needs to build up morale is not of necessity the same thing that another person needs. Similarly, it becomes rather presumptuous for an individual to set himself up as the arbiter of the emotional states of another individual. Nevertheless, this study should be of value in indicating to the individual teacher those factors which his coworkers seem to think are important in the building up of their morale. The individual may receive worth-while suggestions which, if followed, may help him to build up and maintain a good morale. Furthermore, the supervisor or administrator who wishes to build up and maintain a healthy tonus in his

group may well scrutinize the suggestions given by teachers concerning the factors which are under his control.

In this connection, a fitting conclusion to this article might be the following. When the results of the votes given by the second group of 105 were discussed with the group that gave these results, mention was made of the fact that two of the group had suggested heading No 7 "Factors dependent upon use of leisure time," a fourth factor, namely, "Social activities *not* sponsored by superiors." This item occasioned a laugh on the part of the group and in the discussion which followed, it was evident that a number of the people resented social activities sponsored by superiors when such sponsoring virtually necessitated their presence at these activities of the teachers. It would appear that the typical American dislike for anything which smacks of paternalism is manifested even by teachers to the extent of their disliking any curb on, or direction to, their social activities. This study merely indicated this attitude on the part of some of the teachers, but did not show definitely how prevalent the attitude is. It might be important for supervisors and administrators to be on the alert to avoid a paternalistic attitude which might be objectionable

AN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE CURRICULUM IN ARTS COLLEGES

STEPHEN G. RICH

I

THE fundamental fact about the arts college is that it is a pre-professional or partly professional school. Such is its origin; such is its place in the social organism; and such is the truth about it that is usually slighted or contradicted. Indeed, the insufficiently informed advocates of the arts college have been among the leading spokesmen of the point of view that denies the essential nature of this late adolescent or early adult organ of education.

That the arts college is historically an institution for the preprofessional training of clergymen is not denied by even the insufficiently informed advocates who now conceive its functions to be "cultural." That it was, from the start, partly a professional school for ministers of religion may not be so obvious, and yet a consideration of the old curricula in force in the early days at Harvard, Yale, or William and Mary reveals a content that is at least one third strictly professional material for that particular calling. Indeed, with the exception of Latin and rhetoric, both of which were preprofessional for the Colonial lawyer, and with a doubt as to what mathematics was taught for, hardly an item in the early arts-college curriculum beyond the first year and a half has any cause for its presence save a traditional or actual value as part of the professional equipment of the ecclesiastic. It is difficult indeed to find any reason, let alone any excuse, for the presence of Greek, or evidences of religion, or natural theology, that were steady constituents of the upper years of the Colonial arts college, save on the basis that this type of college was a professional school for the clergy.

But a doubt assails us at this point, when we think of the prominent men not clergymen, who were educated at the Colonial arts colleges. This becomes the more pungent when we consider the brilliant group of political workers whose maturity came during the period of our separation from British rule and our forming the national government. On a purely static basis, in a social order not changing, we should have a difficult problem indeed in these men. A sociological historian, however, can understand the matter without difficulty. After the first third of the eighteenth century, the era of colonization was substantially ended along the Atlantic coast. The older colonies had evolved into self-sufficient economic units, exporting mainly for the benefit of trade that added luxuries to plenty already existent; the mercantile and landed classes followed the usual trend of those who have come into prosperity. They wanted the best education possible for their children—just as the half-illiterate immigrants from Russia and Poland in our own day are ambitious for their American children to go to college. The age-old social phenomenon of the rising group grasping for education was here for the first time enacted upon American soil.

The rising group, in Colonial days, found no education at hand save the preprofessional education of the clergy. This education had social prestige, it was utilized for those who had neither inclination nor purpose to become clergymen. Indeed, one might, if time and space permitted, trace in detail the effect, in promoting secularization, of the reaction against ecclesiastic training in the minds of certain able men trained in these Colonial arts colleges. The preclerical training was to a sufficient extent identical with that useful to a prospective lawyer to make it seem not entirely a waste of time or effort to the group planning to enter that profession, and the same holds true for the future *medicos* of that time.

The next stage in the social development of the arts college begins in the neighborhood of 1820 with Harvard and Yale, and anywhere from twenty to fifty years later with other colleges. This stage is marked by the incursion of young men, either from socially rising groups or from those already risen in power within society, who had no intention of entering either law, medicine, or

the church. For certain of these, who had engineering proclivities, the foundation of definite "scientific" departments or schools (really technological schools), as portions of existing colleges or as entirely new institutions, begins in this period. For those who later would be engaged in some form of commerce—whether as merchants or as factory owners—no provision was then made. Considering the wide hold that the psychological doctrine of transfer or spread of training then had, and the extent to which commerce was not regarded as a profession with skills and knowledges of its own, this is quite as we should expect. But it must be borne in mind that the small colleges of those days, with their student bodies composed of men who came to know each other well, performed a service not strictly and technically educational, but nevertheless valuable to these future men of commerce. The arts college made the man of commerce a friend of, and "one of the gang" with the lawyers and clergymen of his own generation, whose influence and prestige in the same communities would be of immense value to the merchant.

It is precisely out of the ignored fact of this service, in part, and out of a half-recognition of it coupled with a vague supposition that the arts colleges of today continue to do the same service, that the will and disposition towards claiming a "cultural" function for the arts colleges arose. The extent to which the ministry ceased to be the dominant profession, both as to influence in the communities and as to drawing power among educated young men as a career, gave, from the Civil War onwards, an increasing cause for some protective excuse on the part of the arts colleges for not changing their curricula.

But meanwhile, beginning conspicuously with the Eliot innovations at Harvard, curriculum readjustment was going on. Harvard and Cornell, with their policies of "free electives," seem to have been guided by the correct conception of the nature of the arts college. One need only read the statements and arguments of Andrew Dickson White or the great chemist-educator, Eliot, to see that the basal idea of the arts college as definitely preprofessional and partly professional, but for all possible vocations, underlies the policy of free electives. Yale, on the other hand,

though committed to specific professional training for engineers, would appear to have been fast held in the bonds of the doctrine of spread or transfer of training for all other lines, diluting a preclerical curriculum with enough material pertinent to other interests to make it passably palatable.

Some colleges went with Cornell and Harvard, some went with Yale; some pursued an intermediate course; and nobody was satisfied. From 1905 onwards, one college after another saw that it was not doing all it could for its students, but none were ready or able to make any definite improvement. The extreme partisans of free electives retracted their position a little. Harvard made every freshman write daily themes, Cornell made everyone take some one course in each of four large groups of fields of knowledge; Yale made election of courses somewhat more free in the upper two years . . . and so on, through the roll call of colleges.

Then came the World War, the army showed that college men were desired, postwar prosperity made it possible for an immensely increased number to go to college. The flood of new recruits, largely from groups within the community that had no idea of what a college might be expected to do, forced the troubles of the colleges into prominence. The preprofessional motive was present in a constantly decreasing proportion of the students coming to college, although probably in a greater total number of students. Even before the World War it had become evident that the preprofessional motive could not be relied upon for guiding more than a small proportion of students in the "free election" of courses. Since the war the condition has become so pronounced that "advisers" and other administrative officers are installed to prevent too inept a curriculum being devised for each student by his own whims and lack of definite purpose.

Today, however, the arts college is just as definitely faced with the need of making a curriculum as at any time since it ceased to be a purely preclerical school; and it is the province of the educational sociologist to formulate the criteria and the basal concepts that shall guide such curriculum-making. It is easy enough to criticize destructively any college curriculum, beginning with

that used in the building where this journal is edited, and ending with that at the most distant arts college in Hawaii or Porto Rico. It is with a view to making clear the problems involved in determining such necessary criteria and concepts as have just been mentioned that the historical survey thus far made has been given in such detail.

II

The development of the arts college and its problems, as outlined, immediately allows us to infer the following ideas, which may well serve as the starting points for definite curriculum-making.

(1) We are no longer dealing with small colleges in small communities, which can serve any section by merely bringing it into contact with a dominant group.

(2) An increasing proportion of those students who come to college do not know what vocation they want to enter.

(3) The best art-college practice recognizes, at least to some extent, that professional or preprofessional training is specific.

(4) The arts college is a preprofessional school but appears uniformly to attempt to do work which may contribute to some other purpose of education.

(5) The incoming students come from so great a variety of social groups, with such varied antecedents, that no arts college can take any uniform equipment among its entrants for granted.

This last statement is the more true because even those colleges that insist upon the greatest degree of uniformity in academic credentials for entrance are not able to make this uniformity extend beyond half the entrance requirements.

It is hardly necessary, in a journal devoted to educational sociology, to review the development of the concepts of the purposes of education. For the purposes of this article, it will be as convenient as possible if we use the "seven cardinal aims" as laid out by the National Education Association in 1916. We therefore shall say that educational work contributes either to social communication, health, worthy home membership, vocation,

citizenship, worthy use of leisure time, and ethical character. The term "command of fundamental processes," used by the National Education Association, has been replaced here by "social communication," because the writer is convinced that all such processes hitherto listed serve for social communication. It will be further understood that "ethical character" includes the religious life.¹

It has been set forth as the thesis of this article that the arts college is basally aiming at *vocation* that it is a preprofessional or partly professional school. But a great oversight would be made if no account were taken of the fact that the arts college contributes incidentally—and only incidentally—to the other six educational purposes. The contrary error, of assuming that the contribution to the other purposes, or a few of them, is the important or dominating work of the arts college, is equally to be avoided. It is, as the preceding section shows, an entirely wrong interpretation of the origin and development of the arts college. It is, furthermore, an absurdity in view of the fact that elementary and high schools have, since their very start, devoted their energies mainly to social communication in the form of the "three R's," the languages and mathematics, to health in recent years and constantly increasing volume, to worthy home membership in some cases; to citizenship very earnestly, but not entirely successfully. That not inconsiderable fraction of the college population that has had some of its education in church schools of one or another sort has had training designed—but not necessarily effective—towards building ethical character.

The arts college, then, may legitimately include in its curriculum such nonvocational material as may be taught without damage to its primary purpose. But we are faced with the difficulty of deciding what is nonvocational material. Is English composition vocational, social-communication material, or a contribution to a worthy use of leisure time, for a premedical freshman? Such a typical example at once shows the complexity of the situations to be unraveled. No article can do justice to such detailed situations: it can at best suggest possible lines for detailed investi-

¹ S. G. Rich, "School Discipline in the Light of the Purposes of Education," *Thought*, March, 1927, p. 640.

gation. In fact, it would be decidedly in opposition to the tendencies that are actually making improvements in education for a short article such as this to deal with the specific problems.

It has been the purpose of this article, therefore, to lay a foundation for two further steps that need to be taken in many specific fields of college curriculum-making:

- (1) Detailed analysis of the specific needs of specific groups of students within the college
- (2) Experimental studies to determine how these needs may best be met.

Such work is not likely to be fruitful unless carried on with an understanding of the basal problems involved; nor is it probable that such work will really come to the points at issue in the absence of such understanding.

INQUIRY

Educational gatherings, educational meetings, and social groups everywhere refer to the improvement of schools, to better schools, and to better school systems. But these terms are more or less abstract and are not specifically interpreted. Just what is a good school?

An institution serving fairly well at one time the purpose for which it was organized is not adequate at another except as it has been adjusted to the newer social conditions. The improvement of human institutions is but a part of the onward movement of social progress. An institution, then, should be evaluated in terms of social progress, and before attempting to define a good school the nature of social progress should be analyzed.

Human beings attach real value to certain changed traits, qualities, and achievements of society. Social life is conceived to grow according as there are changes to which individuals can rationally attach value. Professor Ellwood¹ has laid the foundation for our discussion by citing certain of these changes. He states that we attach value to changes which bring increasing control over life and its conditions. Among these he mentions (1) mechanical inventions; (2) economic prosperity, (3) increased skill in combating disease, thus enabling one to adjust himself better to his environment, (4) discoveries in the realm of physical science; (5) changes in social standards making for harmony between individuals and groups and (6) new means of cooperation which reduce human conflict.

Social control valued as social progress, is of two kinds. (1) control over physical nature, called material civilization; and (2) control over human nature and conduct, called moral civilization. Social progress as related to human groups is, then, cultural progress of some sort; it is essentially progress in culture.

¹ Charles A. Ellwood, "The Nature of Social Progress." Davis and Barnes, *Readings in Sociology*, (D. C. Heath & Co., 1927), pp. 811-816.

The term culture is interpreted to mean the double mastery of man over his physical nature and over himself. Progress is control in a certain direction such as control increasing one's efficiency to achieve and control increasing the harmony in human relations. It increases the sum of human values.

Any social institution such as the school must change along with the changing attitudes, ideals, habits, and culture. As it lags behind, society endeavors to whip it into line; if it forges ahead, tradition tries to hold it back. It serves its purpose only in so far as it produces changes to which human beings rationally attach adequate value.

As an agency of social progress it seems evident that the school can at least aid in producing (1) increased skill in combating disease; (2) greater economic prosperity; (3) changes in social standards making for harmony between individuals and groups and (4) new means of cooperation which will tend to reduce human conflict. The school is an institution specifically organized, maintained, and controlled by society to produce as far as possible beneficial behavior changes in childhood and youth.

The school is called an educational institution and it is popularly assumed that such education as the school produces has positive social value. It is also popularly assumed that in the school the pupils are being educated, not "schooled." Dr. Glenn Frank distinguishes education from schooling, and suggests that more attention be given to the educational influence of the community.

But just what is the function of education? Dean Withers² says: "Education's central purpose is to reduce suffering and waste of human life and to promote social and individual well-being, to assist as fully and as economically as possible in meeting life's needs and the realization of life's values. . . ." Professor Bagley³ says that "to transmit worthy ideals from generation to generation is the prime task of education. Professor Horne⁴ says: "Education is the eternal and divinely significant process of superior adjustment to and control of the intellectual,

² Charles E. Skinner, Ira M. Gast, and H. Clay Skinner, *Readings in Educational Psychology*, (D. Appleton & Co., 1926), p. 3.

³ W. C. Bagley, *Educational Values*, (The Macmillan Co., 1911), p. 45.

⁴ *Readings in Educational Psychology*, p. 4.

emotional, and volitional environment by physically and mentally developed free conscious human beings" Education is essentially the adaptation of the individual to his environment to the end that he can survive, can maintain a livelihood, and can as far as possible improve that environment.

The primary purpose of the school⁶ is, then, through the school program "to bring about social changes, or changes in social behavior," and the secondary purpose is "to bring about achievement in the conventional subjects. This reverses the ordinary purpose in which the primary aim is to learn the conventional subject matter in the hope that the learning of this subject matter may affect the social behavior of the learners."

In view of the standards already set up, a good school has a curriculum composed of many and various significant educative situations to which pupils respond, and, by means of those responses, the individual becomes adapted to his environment. The subject matter, the method, the school organization, and measurement all contribute to changes in the behavior of the community and of individuals in their community relations. The capacity of the individual in the various social groups and relationships is increased. The pupil is a more efficient member in the family, the community, the city, the state, the nation, the world. The good school causes him through the acquisition of knowledge and skills, through his improved attitudes and habits, to possess a higher degree of physical fitness, to utilize his leisure time to social advantage, to become more thrifty, and generally more valuable as a member of society.

A good school is an educational institution adjusted to the various needs, conditions, and possibilities of pupils in attendance. Such adjustment makes for the reduction in negative individual and group tendencies such as failure, disappointment, truancy and social offenses, and promotes sympathy, unselfishness, coöperation, school spirit, and loyalty. It is potent in the promotion of culture and social control.

⁶ E. George Payne, and John C. Gebhart, *Method and Measurement in Education*, (New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, 125 East 22d, St., New York, 1926), p. 10

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

EDITORIAL NOTE *It is designed to make this department a clearing house (1) for information about current research projects of interest to educational sociology and (2) for ideas with reference to research methods and techniques in this field.*

Readers are urged to report their own research projects and to submit information regarding other projects of which they have knowledge. Suggestions as to methods of research will be welcomed and will be given publicity in this department. Specimen questionnaires and plans for research in educational sociology will be given careful criticism if desired.

From time to time this department will also make its readers acquainted with research resources in educational sociology. Contributions of this type from readers will also be welcomed.

It is desirable to make the program of research in educational sociology a co-operative one. To this end the names and addresses of those engaged upon research projects will usually be given in order that readers may exchange with them ideas upon related projects.

STUDY OF TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD THE BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS OF CHILDREN¹

The original investigation from which this study of teachers' attitudes emerged as a by-product was designed to secure information on the incidence of behavior and personality problems among "normal" school children and to observe the mental, physical, and educational characteristics of behavior-problem children. The studies were undertaken in two elementary public schools in different cities.

As an aid to the measurement of behavior and personality problems of children, the teachers in these schools were asked (1) to record the kinds of problems which they recognized in children; (2) to indicate their opinion of the seriousness of these problems by means of a prepared rating scale, (3) to rate each of their children with respect to the frequency of occurrence of these problems and the degree of maladjustment indicated thereby. These particular methods of research led to the unanticipated

¹ By E. K. Wickman, Psychologist, Institute for Child Guidance, 145 East 57th St., New York City.

study of teachers' attitudes toward behavior problems of children. In the teachers' ratings of the seriousness of these problems certain well-defined problems were considered extremely serious, others of no consequence. When the study was extended to a large number of teachers in other cities, the same distinctions were made. However, when a group of mental hygienists engaged in the study and treatment of behavior problems in children rated the same list of problems with respect to their significance in affecting the life adjustment of the individual child, the teachers' ratings were reversed. The discrepancies in the ratings of the two groups suggest the nature and significance of prevailing attitudes toward these behavior problems of children.

A STUDY OF COMMUNITY CASE RECORDS

Complete scientific case studies of actual communities representing thorough-going socio-analysis of factors in their modes of behavior and their organization are rare. A manuscript is in preparation⁴ to bring together a number of these studies which are the result of the actual experience and experimentation of the investigator in organizing community forces to meet social needs.

Case records of these communities will be presented in full with an analysis of the methods used in collecting and recording the material. These records are to be prepared from official reports and interviews dealing with the communities in question; from a diary kept by the investigator in which she has set down a picture of each community as she saw it, a description of its group organization and of the personalities and attitudes of its leaders; and from a description of the social agency with which she worked—its history, present program, policies, and board and committee organization.

The investigator will also describe points at which she had a choice of several courses of action and the analytical thinking which lead up to her actual choice in each case. Where conflict

⁴ By Miss Lucy J. Chamberlain, of the community organization faculty of the New York School of Social Work, who was one of the collaborators with Walter W. Pettit in his *Case Studies in Community Organization* (published in December, 1927, by the Century Company).

was met with reference to some particular issue, she has attempted to seek out the origin and development of the situation.

This type of study is interesting to educational sociology because the work of the school is so closely conditioned by the nature and controls of the larger community situation.

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH SCHOOL CHILD

A study⁶ is nearing completion of traditional Jewish *mores*, ceremonies, and rites with reference to the desirability of including them, in whole or in part, in the curriculum of the American Jewish school. An attempt has been made to ascertain what actual life activities and ideals shall properly enter as subject matter in the adjustments of the Jewish child to his social group.

The specific problem of the study has been stated by the investigator as follows: "To what extent do orthodox Jewish young people, who exhibit a greater degree of group loyalty than the average by active affiliation with some organized group agency practice the traditional customs and ceremonies and believe in the traditional beliefs, also, what is their general reaction, positive or negative, to the traditional customs, ceremonies, and beliefs of Jewish life?"

The orthodox group has been selected for study because that group provides more than ninety per cent of the pupils for the Jewish daily school. The most Jewishly interested young people were chosen in order to study Jewish observance at its optimum. The data was obtained largely from children of high-school age.

Answers were obtained to 1845 questionnaires covering the following points. Sabbath observance, observance of festivals and holidays, dietary customs, synagogue attendance, personal and occasional ceremonies, and Jewish affiliation and substitute loyalties. The questionnaires were presented personally to meetings of groups of young people and their filling out was supervised by club supervisors, principals, or teachers. The questionnaires were supplemented by ninety-seven personal interviews, covering

⁶ By Jacob D. Golub, Board of Jewish Education, 1800 Selden Street, Chicago, Illinois

the same points, but in a more thorough manner with supplementary details

The groups studied included pupils in a Hebrew high school, Jewish pupils in general high schools who were affiliated with Jewish Youth Leagues and Habonim groups; members of Menorah Societies, Young People's Leagues, synagogues, and temples; students in adult extension courses; members of clubs at Jewish centers; and members of the following organizations: Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Associations, Junior Hadassah, Young Judea, and young people's charitable societies. The groups were from all parts of greater New York and in part from Chicago

MODERN TRENDS IN EUROPEAN EDUCATION

The United States Bureau of Education has published a bulletin by C. W. Washburne on *Progressive Tendencies in European Education*⁶. These tendencies have been grouped by the author under seven heads: (1) Landerziehungsheime, or "new schools," (2) handwork, (3) self-government, (4) individual instruction, (5) group instruction, (6) freedom, and (7) research schools and classes. Although Europe lacks many of the American advantages for educational experimentation and research, the investigator believes that Europe is educationally alive and that "we in America know far too little of what our colleagues in Europe are doing," when we could profit richly by their experience

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RESEARCH PROJECTS

*A Bibliography of Studies in Secondary Education*⁷ has been published recently by the United States Bureau of Education listing research bulletins and monographs, doctors' and masters' theses, outlines, proceedings of organizations, circulars, reports, books, and magazine articles. In addition to a general list and

⁶ No 37, 1923. May be obtained from U. S. Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

⁷ By Eustace E. Windes, Bulletin No 27, 1927. May be obtained from the U. S. Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

references to other bibliographies, it contains a classified and annotated bibliography dealing with administration, curriculum, examinations, extracurricular activities, instruction, legislation, library, the high-school principal, pupils, relations between secondary and higher schools, and research

It is intended to be a companion publication to mimeographed circular No 14118, March, 1927, *Bibliography of Current Research Undertakings in Secondary Education*, and supplementary to United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, No. 2, 1926, *Bibliography of Research in Secondary Education, 1920-1925*. These publications are sponsored by the National Committee on Research in Secondary Education as one means of contributing to the coordination of research effort

READERS' DISCUSSION

EDITORIAL NOTE *This department is designed to be an open forum wherein full expression will be encouraged upon all questions in the field of THE JOURNAL*

STEPHEN G. RICH's article¹ on "The Urgent Need for Sociology in Educational Measurements" in the October issue of *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY* is a plea for socializing tests and for paying more attention to formation of habits and attitudes which will be of value in the after life of the pupil.

I am intensely interested in this phase of our educational system and feel that this writer deserves a great deal of credit for thus boldly calling attention to the failure of some of our present tests to meet the requirements of the time in which we live. On the other hand his statements are somewhat obscure as to just what should be done in testing. However, as he points out, he has not the time to go into detail in so short a paper.

It is certainly a well-known fact that educators as a whole have been prone to overlook the social side of the pupil and, instead, to test on the basis of subject matter alone.

I like Rich's method of calling attention to the fact that a child should learn for the future as illustrated by the "successful pharmacist." In other words a child should learn in school a standard beyond that needed in the vocation to be followed in order that subsequent forgetting will not lower the standard needed in the work.

He believes that there is no need to go outside the present curriculum for material in sociological testing but that testers can choose such items as deal with material socially justifiable.

The scales of Payne (health) and Chasell and Upson (citizenship) show the start of the battle for sociological tests but are by no means finished products. The testing is in terms of purposes rather than subjects.

¹ Discussion by H. W. Burdick, Montclair, N. J.

I do not like, however, the idea of "bean-spilling" tests as mentioned for, to me, it smacks of the "third degree" and seeks to have the child reveal his inmost soul. I believe in Thorndike's "Laws of Learning" and that the child should so practice his study that to be tested will be a real pleasure and not a hardship. It seems to me that the "bean-spilling" tests are more psychological than sociological.

Miss AGNES CONKLIN's article² on "The School as a New Tool" in the October issue of *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY* is very interesting, and calls to mind something which I read in a New York newspaper recently concerning a difficulty which the Board of Education in New York City is experiencing in trying to dismiss a teacher whom it believes to be mentally incompetent. From the article I judged that it is not an uncommon occurrence for teachers to be so afflicted. If this is so, would it not be quite as important to study the behavior of the individual teacher as to study the behavior of the individual pupil, with a view toward straightening out any mental "kinks" which teachers might exhibit and, in cases where the condition could not be remedied, retiring the teacher on a pension, just as would be done in the case of any other illness?

Idiosyncrasies in behavior occur in any large group and while most of them are harmless in themselves, many of them are worthy of study. For example, a mathematics teacher in one large high school held the reputation for turning out scholars who always made an "A" in College Board Examinations. When she first began teaching, no doubt she was physically and mentally normal but, when I knew her, in her fifteenth year of teaching, she was suffering from what perhaps would be called a phobia. Her one and only thought was to turn out pupils who would make an "A" in the examination. If she thought there was any doubt of a pupil's making an "A," he was put in the "C" group and rendered ineligible to take the examination and either became so discouraged that he dropped mathematics or became reconciled to the grouping and decided to go to a college where mathematics wasn't required. The life of a pupil who said "a" triangle where

² Discussion by A. M. Bartlett, Bayonne, N. J.

the book called for "the" triangle was made so miserable that often he wished that he had said nothing at all. Often the teacher became so incensed by a mistake made by a star pupil that she fell to the floor in a faint and her victim was forced to get spirits of ammonia so that she might be revived and go on with the scolding. The only girl in the class to make an "A" was forced to go West for a year to recover her health. This may or may not have been due to the fact that she was forced to give up most of her outside activities to her mathematics work. On the whole, however, the girls seemed less able to stand the strain occasioned by Miss R.'s tantrums than the boys, and dropped the course in cases where the parents weren't too hopelessly conservative.

Fortunately, Miss R. will cause no more anxiety among high-school pupils, for she is now in an institution for the insane, and has been replaced by a teacher who may not turn out as many students who may make an "A" in their College Board Examinations, but who turns out students who are happy in their work. It seems indeed strange that behavior such as that mentioned above is not as open to criticism and study as is unusual behavior on the part of the student.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Philosophy of Education (revised). By H. H. HORNE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927.

If an educational textbook survives a dozen years and sells fifteen thousand copies it is considered a success, but when a text survives for a quarter of a century, undergoing twenty-six reprintings, and selling more than forty thousand copies, it is a great event. Professor Herman Harrell Horne's *Philosophy of Education* had made just such a record. After a quarter of a century a revised edition is issued with special reference to the educational philosophy of John Dewey, and with bibliographies brought up to date. The new contributions of biology, physiology, psychology, and sociology are passed in review. The author raises the question as to the philosophical meaning of these advances. He asks if idealism must be surrendered, "or, is the universe and all contained within it, including education, still best construed in terms of personality and spirit?" The author answers these questions by contrasting the philosophies known as pragmatism and idealism.

Idealism identifies the field of philosophy with the whole of reality; while the social philosophy of the pragmatist as represented by Dewey is confined to a study of social conflicts, including democracy, industry, and science. Dewey identifies the philosophy of education with a general theory of education, while idealism regards it as an "intellectual interpretation of the meaning of education in relation to the whole of reality." The pragmatist defines education as "continuous growth, as adequacy of life, as the constant reconstruction of experience whereby its present content is enriched and its subsequent course controlled." Idealism accepts the pragmatic view as a "phenomenal account of the nature of education, to which, however, is added the interpretation that such growth in life is man's finite way of approaching the Infinite." However, the idealist recognizes "man's power to control in some manner his environment and the social nature of the process." In the light of the idealist's conception of life and man, Dr. Horne offers the following comprehensive and inclusive definition of education: "Education is the eternal process of superior and partially controllable adjustment of physically and mentally developed, free, conscious human beings to God, as manifested in the intellectual, emotional, and volitional environment of man."

To some, it will appear that idealism in education may be criticized for being so theoretical as not to suggest a practical program of school reform. The book would have been improved greatly by a revision of each chapter in place of including a brief discussion of new contributions in the last chapter. But the revision will be most heartily received by all who are interested in man's origin, nature, and destiny as well as his social efficiency. The author gives these subjects an emphasis which is too little encountered in present philosophical discussions.

New York University

CHARLES E. SKINNER

The Pageant of Civilization: World Romance and Adventure as Told by Postage Stamps By F. B. WARREN, New York: The Century Company, 1927, 482 pages.

When the reviewer graduated from knee breeches to long trousers he graduated from the collecting of cigar bands to the collecting of postage stamps. Perhaps the golden memories of hours spent poring over fascinating catalogues and pasting many colored bits of paper in albums are what attract him to this intriguing volume. Perhaps all that follows is but the rationalization of a hobby.

At any rate, he had always had a sneaking suspicion that more history and civics could be taught through a junior- or senior-high-school stamp club than through the most elaborate social-studies curriculum our indefatigable curriculum makers have yet contrived. At least, Mr. Warren could teach more history and civics that way. And by employing his glamorous book any real collector and leader of boys or girls could.

Mr. Warren has woven a world history about the events depicted on postage stamps. The pageantry of empire, the pangs of slavery, the martyrdoms of faith, the myths of history's beginnings, the sins of cities—we meet them all on stamps. We read in them the furor caused by the first White House bathtub, of when a Confederate soldier became Duke of Sonora and of when a priest quit a mass to start a revolution, of how a printer's error created Napoleon III, of how an Austrian painted King Edward's portrait over a stable, of how a Chicago lawyer became premier of a Soviet State and of how a stonemason, a hostler in a stable, and a coachman's son each became ruler of a nation. We witness a duel in Washington over an invitation to a Panama conference, follow savage Negro tribesmen a thousand miles through African jungles as they carry the body of a beloved explorer back to civilization, and watch a cabin boy found an empire. The pages of Mr. Warren's book teem with stories of ambition, sacrifice, courage, adventure, and treachery—all reflected in more than one thousand beautiful half-tone engravings of postage stamps.

The book is no unorganized collection of anecdotes. There are chapters on the history of each of the world's great nations—each chapter leading back into many aspects of political, social, and economic life. Any collector and teacher with Mr. Warren's book under his arm and a group of boys and girls about him, each with his album of postage stamps, will need to inquire no farther into the meaning of "creative education."

New York University

HARVEY W. ZORBAUGH

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

The National Society of College Teachers of Education, which meets in conjunction with the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association, is organizing sections on educational psychology, history and the philosophy of education, and educational sociology for the Boston meeting in February. This is another step indicative of the growing recognition of educational sociology as basic to the interpretation of educational procedure.

The following students received the Ph D. degree from New York University at the October session of the Council of the University

Mr John J Loftus, Principal of Public School 80, Brooklyn, New York

Mr. George Dunkelberger, Professor of Education, Susquehanna University

Rabbi Maxwell Sacks, Brooklyn, New York

Mr Richard Aspinall, Ph D. New York University 1925, was recently made president of the Western Colorado State College, Gunnison, Colorado

Dr Ira W Howerth of the department of sociology of the Colorado State Teachers College, Greeley, Colorado, has been on a leave of absence during the fall quarter making a tour around the world. He reports interesting experiences in the Philippine Islands, and will spend at least a month in Germany and England before returning to his work in January. During his absence, Professor W. Binnewies is acting head of the department.

Dr Carol D Champlin, formerly of the University of Pittsburgh, is now professor of education at Pennsylvania State Teachers' College. Dr. Champlin is giving the courses in educational sociology in the above institution.

Miss Edith Everett, assistant director of the White-Williams Foundation, a welfare organization in Philadelphia, reports a very interesting course on the social welfare agencies of Philadelphia. The course is on the plan of having the students visit these agencies with lectures before the group by the directors of the various organizations. The new course is in the Philadelphia Normal School. The course is proving highly successful and ought to mark a very definite departure from the present lecture method of instruction, for that of the survey-participatory type of sociological study and research.

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

Professor Rudolph M. Binder, of the department of sociology of New York University is a native of Hungary. His A. B. degree was received at Harvard, his B. D. at the University of Chicago, and his Ph. D. at Columbia. Professor Binder has had a wide experience as pastor, teacher, and lecturer for many years. He came to his present position in 1903. He is the author of several books, among them *Major Social Problems*.

Dr. John J. Loftus, principal of Public School 80, Brooklyn, New York, received his A. B. from St. Francis College, and his A. M. and Ph. D. from New York University. Dr. Loftus is an active member in several of the New York City teachers' associations.

Professor Ralph Edgar Pickett of the School of Education, New York University, received his bachelor's degree in engineering at Columbia University, his doctorate at New York University. Professor Pickett has had considerable experience of a highly practical character in immigrant education, instructor in the United States Army, and as construction superintendent and engineer in large industrial concerns over a period of several years. Professor Pickett has been in his present position, the vocational education department, since 1925. He is secretary of the School of Education, New York University.

The reader is directed to the previous issues for sketches of Mr. Rich of Verona, New Jersey, Dr. Snedden of Teachers College, and Professor Thrasher of New York University.

 FORTHCOMING ARTICLES

Personality and Social Adjustment—Harvey W. Zorbaugh.

The Place of Educational Sociology in the Training of the Secondary-School Principal—William C. Reavis.

A Study of the Effects of Neighborhood Backgrounds—Mary Goodyear Earle.

A Study of the Opinions of a Group of Ministers Concerning Certain Phases of School Work—A. T. Stanforth.

Some Problems of Community Organization—R. Ray Scott.

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WIDESPREAD interest in the curriculum and the relation of sociology to the curriculum led the editor to write the editorial on Professor Boyd H. Bode's book, *Modern Educational Theories*, and send it to Professor Bode for his reply. The editorial and the reply from Professor Bode have been sent to Professor Snedden, whose reply will be given in a later number. The editor believes that the issues may be clarified by such discussion and is, therefore, printing the editorial with Professor Bode's response on the editorial pages of this number.

EDITORIAL

Probably the most outstanding and most valuable educational treatise of the year 1927 was Professor Bode's contribution under the title *Modern Educational Theories*. In the opinion of this writer, it is the best book of the year and, for that matter, the best book written in a series of years. It is a book that no one concerned with education can afford to pass over lightly. It should be read, studied, and marked, it should find a place in the library for ready reference and consultation. Such use will guarantee that the student of its pages will keep an open mind and an intelligent attitude on the fundamental problems which are in the forefront of educational discussion at present.

This rather sweeping statement, without justification, might be taken as the expression of an enthusiast and therefore some reasons for the view should be given. First, the author's style is noteworthy. Perhaps no one since William James has written so clearly, so forcefully, and so concretely as has Professor Bode. This is particularly important because educational philosophers are not in the habit of writing with such force and clearness. Second, the author attacks the points of view of a number of writers who have developed a more or less blind following who have come to accept their educational pronouncements as a sort of creed. No one who reads this book will longer accept their emphases without question. Third, there is implied in the whole book an educational philosophy that undoubtedly will start us upon a saner program of educational reconstruction. The author has seen so penetratingly and pointed out so concisely the weaknesses of the proposed programs of educational reconstruction that they will in their extreme form be abandoned. Moreover, their merit has been recognized, and their worth will no doubt be preserved. The editors of *THE JOURNAL* are grateful to Professor Bode and are thankful for his book.

From the foregoing statement it would seem that nothing else should be said. However, the sociologist, at least a good number of sociologists who are seeking to interpret education scientifically and base educational procedures in so far as possible upon principles drawn from exact observation and experiment, feel that some of Professor Bode's implications need to be critically examined. In the chapter on "Determining Objectives Sociologically" the author seems to find a conflict between sociology and philosophy, or rather between his philosophy and the sociology which he chooses to criticize. In the view of the writer no such conflict is possible.

Bode seems to imply that the sociologist is seeking to determine scientifically and objectively the aim of education. The aims of education, just as all fundamental aims, cannot be determined scientifically and the discussion of aims must remain in the realm of the philosophy of education, at least so far as we can see at present. Perhaps at some time in the future sufficient data will be gathered to warrant a conclusion as to aims, but at present the

aims are a matter of speculation, and we shall have to go to philosophy for our guide. This does not mean that the immediate objectives cannot be sociologically considered. Scientific research has displayed a body of data concerning food and diet for example. The sociologist may carefully examine social patterns that do not conform to the results of these researches and suggest changes to bring the social patterns into harmony with scientific discovery. There is a wide field for the activity of the sociologist along many such lines, but the underlying aims of education remain to him a sealed book.

A recent article in *THE JOURNAL*¹ states the point of view of the educational sociologist who is seeking to keep his feet on the ground and deal with principles drawn from observation and experiment. The statement is as follows: "The more important functions of education as outlined may be enumerated as follows: (1) assimilation of traditions, (2) the development of new social patterns, and (3) the creative rôle of education." The educational sociologist is concerned primarily with the first two functions, the third is more or less a matter of guess. The first two admit of research, experiment, and scientific conclusions, and therefore the procedure may be scientifically determined. If the author meant merely in his chapter on "The Sociological Determination of Objectives" to criticize the point of view of Professor Snedden, then that is a matter for Professor Snedden to answer, and the present writer is not concerned.

There is another matter in which the present writer would like to have light from the author of this remarkable book. He has chosen, as indicated above, to call that aspect of education in which we must train for situations which we cannot now anticipate and which are certain to arise in the future, "the creative rôle of education." Professor Bode rightly seems to regard this as one of the important functions of education. His method of dealing with this aspect of education seems to be to develop logical mindedness by the logical mastery of subject matter. This point of view smacks of formal discipline. This conclusion as to procedure may be the best that the philosopher of education, and such

¹ See I, 3, 138-139

an astute philosopher of education as Professor Bode, has to offer, but it hardly satisfies the scientific-minded sociologist. This point of view gives one no clew as to selection of subject matter. So far as this writer can see, learning Greek or Euclid would be as good a program as any to meet this requirement. We are entitled to a fuller explanation, and we sincerely hope that we are to have another book in which the author of *Modern Educational Theories* will give us a constructive program of his own.

REPLY TO EDITORIAL

The editorial comment by Dr. Payne on my recent book is so discriminating and at the same time so generous that any remarks on my part may be a matter of indiscretion. It is often good policy to let well enough alone. However, the occasion provides an opportunity to obviate a possible misapprehension and at the same time to offer a brief elaboration of a point which is not adequately covered in the book.

As a reader of the book can scarcely fail to note, the purpose of the book is in part to protest against the notion that every educational problem is a scientific problem in the sense that it can and must be solved through the application of the technique which science has devised for the gathering and manipulation of its data. Dr. Payne's editorial confirms me in the belief that this unlimited faith in science as applied to education is the creed of a small but noisy minority. When a writer starts out with this point of view it is only a question of how long it will be before he takes refuge in a questionnaire. To make "an unusually obstinate attempt to think clearly" about fundamental problems is condemned as "armchair stuff"; on the other hand, to go about consulting a lot of people who have never thought enough about these problems to become emancipated from the bondage of tradition is assumed to be quite in keeping with the dignity of the scientific investigator. The fact that the resort to a questionnaire is an abandonment of the original pretension seems to escape notice. Perhaps this is because the replies thus gathered can be tabulated and counted and averaged and perhaps represented by a curve, thus giving the whole performance a pleasing appearance of "objectivity" and scientific rigor.

In my discussion of Dr. Snedden's "Sociological Determination of Objectives in Education," my whole concern was with the contention that "from sociology must come answers to the question, what shall be the aims of education?" This proposition, taken in its context, *i. e.*, interpreted in the light of Dr. Snedden's whole theory of education, means indubitably that science is Dr. Snedden's religion. He is what the eighteenth century would have called an enthusiast. It is true that Dr. Snedden, like others of his faith, has to fall back eventually on a questionnaire in order to determine the objectives which science is supposed to furnish, but this is done so unobtrusively that the casual eye detects no flaw in the architectural scheme. Science is the alpha and the omega of the city not made with hands.

This is the conception of educational objectives which I undertook to attack. Unfortunately, the heat of battle is not conducive to reflection on more remote considerations, and it did not occur to me that my onslaught might have the appearance of being directed against any sort of sociological determination of objectives in education. Even so judicious and fair-minded a critic as Dr. Payne is apparently disturbed by this possibility. Sociology surely has something to contribute on what shall be the aims of education. We must look to sociology for the determination of certain "immediate objectives," even though we grant that the larger aims or purposes must be determined in some other way, and this view is justified. Sociology determines these immediate objectives in the sense that it specifies the conditions which must be taken into account if the general aim is to be promoted. In order to realize this aim, it is necessary to tie up the school with the home, with the industrial order, and with various other social agencies and institutions, and for this end the contribution which sociology can make is obviously indispensable. But this is clearly different from the assumption that if we pursue sociological investigations or inquiries long enough and hard enough the appropriate educational ideals will emerge of themselves. This is like telling a sculptor that if he will only keep on cutting into a block of marble he will discover the form or outline for his statue. It must be in there somewhere.

With Dr. Payne's complaint that the book in question does not furnish a very enlightening principle or program for curriculum construction, I must confess a considerable measure of sympathy. The results to be aimed at are designated by the terms "logical organization" and "social insight." There is valid ground for the criticism that the latter of these aims in particular is not presented in as clear-cut and unambiguous a fashion as the case requires. The social insight that is intended is of a specific kind. It means the realization that society is essentially an experiment in associated living and that our standards or codes of conduct should consequently be of a mundane or empirical kind, in the sense that our judgments should be based on the consequences of behavior as measured by democratic ideals. To put it differently, the common integrating principle of education in general, and of curriculum construction in particular should be the purpose to produce a certain type of outlook or attitude, which for want of a better term may be called the pragmatic attitude. Broadly speaking, the traditional ideal of liberal education has been the acquisition of a certain specified racial heritage. The newer ideal sets as its goal a certain community of attitude. "Gentlemen agree in everything except opinion."

There is no room here, of course, to do more than to indicate in the sketchiest sort of way the bearing of this view on curriculum construction. Why teach history, for example? The average textbook does not seem to have any easily recognizable principle for the selection of subject matter. Such a principle would be furnished if our dominating purpose were to trace out the conditions, influences, and events which have contributed to the transformation of man's outlook on life in the direction of what I have just now called the pragmatic attitude. The same thing may be said with regard to curriculum construction in the field of the sciences. Given such a common purpose, the different subjects in the curriculum would integrate in what may be called a practical philosophy of life. But if a program of this sort is to function effectively, it is necessary to make provision for "logical organization" as a final outcome of our teaching. This is necessary in order to foster the scientific type of thinking and to

secure the power of transfer which springs from the enrichment of our concepts.

What education needs at the present time more than anything else is a reasonably clear program. As long as we refuse to recognize that we cannot solve every educational problem by the technique of scientific fact finding, our progress in education will consist simply in doing old things more effectively. If a new civilization is on the way, if the human mind is still in the making, then a program based on this fact constitutes education's greatest obligation and greatest opportunity.

BOYD H. BODE

. . .

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY has indicated on various occasions its desire to cooperate with the National Society of Educational Sociology. One of the ways of assisting the organization is to publish the sociological contributions of its members, to publish notes of their activities of interest to other members, to publish news of the activities of the Society itself, and finally, and most important of all, to comment frankly upon the policy of the organization. In line with this conception we wish to urge all members of the Society to be present at the Boston meeting in February where matters of first importance will be discussed. The following proposals will be considered:

"At the meetings of the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology recently held in Washington, D. C., several plans were agreed upon to carry forward the work to which the Society is committed. These plans include the proposed publication in the immediate future of the first yearbook of the Society containing bibliographies on educational sociology as described in the December issue of THE JOURNAL. In order to make this financially possible, and also provide for issuing other materials to members of the Society, it was decided to increase the membership fees from \$1.00 to \$2.50 and at the same time to seek an increased membership.

"Since more members of the Society find it possible to attend its December meetings than those held in February, it was pro-

posed to change the annual meeting from February to December, but that the present officers continue to act until December, 1928.

"Much pleasure and interest were expressed in THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY and it was voted to extend to it a hearty welcome and to assure its editors of the cordial cooperation of the Society."

PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

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I

ORIGINAL NATURE

A FEW seasons ago a play was written around a fantastic creature called the Robot. The Robot was a mechanical man created by an inventive engineer to solve the labor problem. When turned out of the laboratory the Robot had a full behavior equipment adapted to the tasks expected of him. *The New York Times* recently carried a feature article entitled "Televox the Electrical Man" Televox, the invention of an engineer of the General Electric Company, sits at a telephone receiver and performs such tasks as are requested of it. The club woman with Televox in her home may call up at five o'clock, inquire of Televox what the temperature in the living room is, have Televox turn up the furnace, light the oven in which she has left the roast, light the lamp in the living room, and do whatever else she may wish. Televox comes near to being a scientist's realization of a dramatist's fantasy. There is a psychological theory, which has enjoyed a tremendous popular vogue, that conceives of man as being a sort of Televox or Robot; as coming into the world equipped with a set of elaborate ready-made and stereotyped behavior patterns which run off in perfectly automatic fashion in response to appropriate environmental situations. These innate behavior patterns the psychologist terms instincts. Certain psychologists have maintained that man's instincts determine all his behavior, motives, and forms of social life—that man's personality is to be explained in terms of his instinctive traits.¹

Interestingly enough, the notion of instinct originated with students of animal behavior. They observed that there are complex, unlearned modes of behavior with which all the members of a species respond to a given type of situation

¹ Of course, all the behavior man shows at birth is instinctive in that it is unlearned. But psychological language has broken up man's unlearned responses into reflexes, relatively segmental responses like the knee jerk or the contraction of the pupil to light, and instincts, elaborate responses involving the whole body, such as flight or fighting

Certain species of wasp, for example, invariably lay their eggs in spiders, beetles, or caterpillars, which, after having first been subjected by the wasp to a skillful surgical operation, will go on living motionless a certain number of days, and thus provide the larvae with fresh meat. The *Scolia*, which attacks a larva of the rose beetle, stings it at one point only, but at this point the motor ganglia are concentrated, and these ganglia alone; the stinging of other ganglia would cause death and decay of the food supply of *Scolia's* larva. The yellow-winged *Sphex* attacks a cricket which has three nerve centers serving its three pairs of legs. It stings the cricket at these three nerve centers, and at them only. The *Ammophila Hirsuta* gives nine successive strokes of its sting upon nine nerve centers of its caterpillar, and then seizes the head and squeezes it in its mandibles enough to cause paralysis without death.²

These complex but relatively stereotyped and invariable forms of behavior run off automatically in response to a highly specialized type of situation, without the insect's having had experience in similar situations. They are clearly unlearned. Every *Scolia* may be expected to behave in the same way in a similar situation. And *Scolia* will respond to other types of situation with other equally complex and unlearned forms of behavior. Without learning or experience, *Scolia* seems adequately equipped to meet all the situations of life.

The classic illustrations of instinct have always been taken from the behavior of insects. The higher animals, however, are held to exhibit equally interesting if less nice examples of instinctive behavior. Young birds, mated for the first time and without previous experience, build a nest of the same material and after the same general pattern as do their parents. Puppies six months old, dropped into the water for the first time, swim as though they had been taught. Young beavers do not have to learn to cut trees so they will fall toward the water, nor to build dams of the branches and store away the twigs for winter food. Many illustrations of instinct can be found in the behavior of every species. Indeed, like the *Scolia*, every animal species seems to possess enough ready-made mechanisms of behavior to take it through life. It eats, sleeps, fights, mates, nests, and migrates as a result of unlearned, inborn modes of behavior.

We cannot leave the discussion of instinctive behavior in animals without noting another characteristic of instinct, its "drive." It has been observed both by naturalists and experimental students

² Adapted from H. L. Bergson, *Creative Evolution* (translated by A. Mitchell, Henry Holt, New York, 1913), p. 172.

of animal behavior that once an instinct is set off, it tends to run through to the end, and that if the instinctive activity is interrupted the animal will display restlessness and often a remarkable striving to overcome the obstacle which caused the interruption. This aspect of instinctive activity has been termed "drive." Instincts have sometimes been described as animal drives, as giving animal behavior not only its form but its energy.

Psychologists recognized the rôle of instinct in animal behavior long before it occurred to some of their number that instinct might play a similar rôle in the behavior of man. The old academic psychology had been interested in "mind"—something animals were not supposed to have. Since you could not observe other peoples' "minds"—they being tucked away somewhere inside them—you observed your own "mind." Psychology consisted of generalizations about "mind" and its vagaries, which were based upon introspection. *Bouvard and Pecuchet*, in the novel by Flaubert, resolved to take up psychology. They read that the goal of psychology was the study of the things that go on "in the bosom of the self." "And for a fortnight, after breakfast regularly, they hunted about at random in their minds, hoping to make notable discoveries, and made none and were much surprised." The old introspective psychology discovered little about human behavior.

The enthusiasm for "evolution" that swept the world of thought in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, had a profound influence on psychology. Darwin had demonstrated man's relationship to the ape—something newspaper columnists had suspected long before learned doctors of biology proved it. Evolution showed man to be an animal like other animals. Moreover, man eats, sleeps, fights, mates, and does many other things that animals do. These must be inborn action patterns in man also. Man, like other animals, must have instincts. Certainly the a priori ground was strong. Psychologists began to vie with one another in discovering instincts in man. William James maintained that no other mammal had such a repertory of instincts as man, and after looking over the behavior of adults and young children he listed some thirty types of human behavior as instinctive. Among them were climbing, imitation, emula-

tion, rivalry, pugnacity, anger, resentment, sympathy, hunting, fear, appropriation, acquisitiveness, kleptomania, constructiveness, play, curiosity, sociability (gregariousness), shyness, cleanliness, modesty, shame, love, jealousy, parental love.

The extreme proponents of the theory, of whom McDougall may be taken as an example, had soon demonstrated to their own satisfaction that all man's actions, feelings, thoughts, secrets, motives, ambitions, from the cradle to the grave, are but the operation of his instincts. In his *Social Psychology* McDougall wrote:

The instincts are the prime movers of all human activity, by the conative or impulsive force of some instinct, every train of thought, however cold and passionless it may seem, is borne along toward its end, and every bodily activity is initiated and sustained. The instinctive impulses determine the ends of all activity and supply the driving power by which all mental activities are sustained; and all the complex intellectual apparatus of the most highly developed mind is but the instrument by which these impulses seek their satisfactions, while pleasure and pain do but serve to guide them in their choice of the means. Take away these instinctive dispositions, with their powerful impulses, and the organism would become incapable of activity of any kind, it would be inert and motionless, like a wonderful clockwork whose mainspring had been removed or a steam engine whose fires had been drawn.³

If all man's actions are a product of instinctive activity, of course the forms of his social life are—the home is the joint product of the reproductive and maternal instincts, the city is the product of gregariousness, industry is the result of the instincts of curiosity and workmanship; war is a result of the fighting instinct; styles are the product of the instincts of self-display and imitation. National differences turn out to be the result of racial differences in the strength of certain instincts. The difference between the voluble café-and-boulevard-loving Italian and the taciturn Englishman whose home is his castle is a difference in strength in the gregarious instinct as between the Mediterranean and Nordic races. Similarly, individual differences in behavior and temperament are reducible to differences in the strength of various instincts. Or so the instinctivists have claimed.

The instinct theory has enjoyed a tremendous vogue, both popular and scientific. Indeed, McDougall's *Social Psychology* has achieved the distinction of being a best seller. It has been one of the most influential books of our generation. It has been

³ McDougall, *Outline of Psychology*, p. 218

cited in debate from women's clubs to the floor of the British Parliament. It has influenced current thought on all industrial, political, and social problems. No more interesting example of this influence could be found than that afforded by the writings of Carlton Parker, an economist, who a few years ago wrote a brilliant interpretation of labor unrest as an "innate revulsion against confinement!"⁴ More significant, however, because more far-reaching in their effects, are the examples afforded by the pages of many of our educational psychologies and our philosophies of education. The instinct theory profoundly influenced educational theory. There have been too many schoolrooms in which have sat, at straight rows of identical desks, children of the same age, supposedly endowed with the same instincts, and so to be treated alike. Classroom organization has been arranged in such manner as to allow the child's unfolding instincts free play. Elaborate curricula have been devised to provide materials for the instincts of play, construction, collecting, and the like. The child has been regarded as a mosaic of instincts reflecting primitive man's experiences with his environment. Patrick, for instance, sees in the child's love of baseball the caveman throwing rocks and brandishing his club; while "the former dependence of man upon the horse is shown in the instinct of the child of today to play horse, to ride a rocking-horse, or a stick, or anything." An examination of the implications and validity of the instinct theory is, for educators, no mere tilting at windmills!

All might have gone well with this attempt to interpret human behavior and social life in terms of instinct had psychologists been able to agree upon the number of human instincts. But while James found some thirty (including the instinct of licking sugar!), Warren found but twenty-six (including "clothing"!), Angell some sixteen (rejecting "cleanliness"—perhaps he had lived in a settlement), McDougall about the same number (the number varying with the editions of his book), Trotter four, and Freud only one. Thorndike, more ambitious, enumerated in his *Original Nature* some forty instincts. Other psychologists professed to have observed sixty or more. No two psychologists could

⁴ Carlton Parker *The Casual Laborer and Other Essays*

quite agree on the number of human instincts nor on the forms of human behavior which are instinctive.

Now, *an instinct is a specific, relatively stereotyped, and unlearned act.* We can observe these acts in animals, describe them, classify them, completely catalogue them. Yet when psychologists attempt to do the same with man's instincts they are unable to come to any agreement. When a group of scientists and doctors of philosophy, observing the same data, vary between one and sixty in their estimates of its elements, it is evident that there is a joker somewhere in the pack. It would be an entirely analogous situation if chemists could not agree upon the number of chemical elements, some maintaining that half the recognized elements be thrown out, while others insisted upon the addition of salt, crushed stone, sawdust, gunpowder, and the like, to bring the number up to a respectable two hundred or so. The source of this confusion is not far to seek. It lies in the procedure by which the instinctivists have arrived at their lists, a procedure which has been philosophical rather than experimental.

Man's instincts have been generalized from common-sense observations, not from systematic experiments. This generalization has taken place in the study rather than in the laboratory. It has been based upon observations of adult behavior (none of the instinctivists have been students of infant behavior). Yet original nature begins to be modified by learned responses so early in the child's experience (a matter of hours after birth) that it may fairly be said that adult behavior offers no significant evidence as to instincts.⁵ Generalizations as to man's instincts have been bolstered by anecdotes of animal behavior. Drever, in his book, *Instinct in Man*, demonstrates human gregariousness by a dis-

⁵ "If no record of the first two years of infancy has been kept, scientific observation is impossible. Every biologist knows how impossible it was to make accurate observations upon Burbank's plant material—too many things had been done to it which were not accurately recorded. Trying to observe a human child two years of age whose daily record was not kept is like trying to figure out the family history of a new variety of primrose by looking merely at the flower. By the end of the second year the child's temper is well organized, his vocational slants, his character, his fears, his positive bent toward things—toward pencil, paper, chalk, carpentry, water, social relations—has been so slanted that only a divine being could unmake him and give him over to the biologist as new material fit to watch for the unfolding of original nature traits." (J. B. Watson, "The Behaviorist Looks at Instincts," *Harper's*, July, 1927.) How much more futile it is to attempt to analyze original nature traits out of the behavior of adults

cussion of the habits of the wild ox of Damaraland! Yet it is a recognized principle of science that generalizations from one field of data must not be assumed a priori to be valid in another field of data, and the instincts of the ox of Damaraland tell us as little about man's instincts as the behavior of cats in puzzle boxes and rats in mazes tell us about the learning of children in classrooms.

The actual procedure by which lists of man's instincts have been drawn up has usually consisted either in the uncritical cataloguing of social customs or in the philosophical simplification of the minimum essentials of life. The psychologists who have found many instincts in man have fallen into the error of assuming that because most men exhibit a given type of behavior, that behavior must be instinctive. Most small boys fight, so far as they know, perhaps, all small boys fight; most peoples war, so far as they know all peoples war: therefore fighting and war must be instinctive. But all small boys do not fight, and all peoples do not war. More careful observations of social behavior and a wider knowledge of ethnological data would have made it clear that fighting and war are social customs, group patterns, not instincts. And so with maternal love, supposed to be one of the strongest instincts. Whereas the mother robin instinctively feeds and cares for her fledgling in the proper way, the human mother learns laboriously, with the aid of visiting nurses, pediatricians, baby clinics, and the *Ladies Home Journal*. Every doctor knows that there are mothers who have to be taught even to love their children. Many women do their utmost to avoid bearing children, and if unlucky turn the child over to a nurse. Many individual mothers practise infanticide, and many peoples have practised it. The so-called maternal instinct would also seem to be an individual attitude reflecting a social custom. The similarities which the psychologist observes in the behavior of adults inevitably involve social attitudes and customs. Cataloguing them tells us little about original nature.⁶

⁶ When we come to analyze any one of man's so-called instincts we find nothing remotely resembling the complex, stereotyped, unlearned behavior shown by the wasp. The "hunting" instinct, for example, is as illusory as the "fighting" instinct or the "maternal" instinct. In a moment of enthusiasm, Thorndike (*Original Nature*, p. 52) gives a picturesque account of the hunting instinct: "To a small escaping object, man, especially if hungry, responds, apart from

The psychologists who have arrived at short lists of instincts, on the other hand, have arrived at their instincts by an artificial and philosophical simplification of the minimum essentials of life. What types of behavior are necessary to the survival of the individual and the preservation of the race? Man must eat if he is to survive, and reproduce if the race is to go on. Then man must have two instincts, hunger and sex. Or perhaps it is felt man must be protected from the elements, and he is endowed with an instinct to seek shelter. Obviously such hortatory psychologizing tells us nothing about man's unlearned behavior.

The confusion concerning the rôle of instinct in original nature and human behavior is due, then, to the uncritical method of those students who profess to have discovered human instincts—to their having studied adult behavior which has resulted in their cataloguing social customs rather than original nature traits, to their having fallen back on anecdotes of animal behavior, to their having relied on logic rather than experiment.⁷ Their fellow

training, by pursuit, being satisfied when he draws nearer to it. When within pouncing distance, he pounces upon it, grasping at it. If it is not seized he is annoyed. If it is seized, he examines, manipulates, and dismembers it, unless some contrary tendency is brought into action by its slowness, sting, or the like. To an object of moderate size and not offensive mien when moving away from or past him, man originally responds much as noted above, save that in seizing the object chased, he is likely to throw himself upon it, bear it to the ground, choke and maul it until it is completely subdued, giving then a cry of triumph." But as Faris ("Are Instincts Data or Hypotheses?"—*American Journal of Sociology*, XXVII, pp. 184-196) remarks, "the description is hardly convincing—it smacks of the armchair. How many children in the city parks may be observed pouncing on the small animals and dismembering them? The chickens, cats, and small dogs are 'of moderate size and not offensive mien' and often may be seen 'moving away from or past' the children, but the number of times the children can be observed 'choking and mauling them till completely subdued, giving then a cry of triumph' is perhaps decidedly limited. Certainly, if the above is the hunting instinct, then by me the hunting instinct has never been seen. Perhaps this happens only when the human being is 'apart from training,' but the trouble is that the hypothetical baby who, on a desert island, had no training at all, died at the tender age of two days, and only the writers of books have ever seen a man 'apart from training.'" There is as little evidence for a collecting instinct, a gregarious instinct, or a play instinct as there is for a hunting instinct. As we shall see later, even in man's sex behavior there is little resembling animal instinct.

⁷ It is interesting to note that students of animal behavior have sometimes been as uncritical as students of human behavior on the subject of instinct. Many forms of animal behavior that formerly were held to be instinctive have recently been shown to be learned. The "homing" of racing pigeons was long regarded as instinctive. But Carr and Watson demonstrated that if young pigeons were brought to maturity, outside the cot and apart from older pigeons, confined in a small yard so that they could not fly about, they could easily be lost by taking them a few hundred yards from "home." A recent book, *Animal Mind*, by Frances Pitt, contains further interesting observations on "homing." Racing pigeons are useless without long and careful training, which consists in taking the

psychologists were not long in pointing this out. But the debate remained an academic one until the advent of "behaviorism," an extension of the methods of animal psychology into the field of human psychology. Obviously the animal could not help the psychologist by introspecting. So the animal psychologist had to be content with putting the animal into various sorts of situations and observing its responses, in experimenting in building up and breaking down new likes, aversions, fears, motor habits, and other forms of behavior. The method of animal psychology was the method of controlled observation and experiment of the natural sciences. About 1912, John Watson, then director of the psychological laboratories of Johns Hopkins University, pointed out that the method of animal psychology gave more valid and significant data than the introspective, anecdotal method of most human psychology. He pointed out, further, that such experimental human psychology as existed was confined to the study of isolated sensory and motor phenomena—of the knee jerk, or pupil reflexes, or pitch discrimination—and that no combination of the results of such experiments could give an adequate conception of how a person might be expected to behave in actual life situations. He proposed that the method of animal psychology be extended to the study of the total behavior of human beings. He dubbed this approach to the study of human activity "behaviorism." In 1918, he set out to apply it to the study of human infants, with particular reference to the problem of instinct and original nature.

pigeon gradually farther and farther from home as it learns the lay of the land. In the two years' training required for 500-mile racing, more than ninety per cent of the pigeons are lost and never recovered. The pigeon quite clearly flies by recognized landmarks, as it is quite hopelessly lost in the fog or the dark. Pigeons are, further, always taught to "home" from a given direction, so that a "north road" bird would not be expected to make good its return if sent south over a course it did not know. Through always "homing" from the same point of the compass, they gradually learn to orient themselves with respect to direction. A trained bird released over strange country circles about until oriented, flies till he picks up landmarks over familiar country, and then heads "home." Quite evidently "homing" is dependent on experience, memory, eyesight—is learned rather than instinctive. Bousfield (*Pleasure and Pain*), cites observations of naturalists which quite clearly show that supposedly instinctive fears of animals are learned. Some animal groups even have folkways, analogous to human customs. The "chimney" swallow, for instance, formerly nested invariably in the banks of rivers. But with the growth of towns and the coming of chimneys it gave up nesting in river banks and now as invariably nests in chimneys. As we study animal behavior more carefully, our conception of the rôle of instinct in animal life is likely to change.

THE PLACE OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY IN THE TRAINING OF THE SECONDARY-SCHOOL PRINCIPAL

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THE high-school principal of a generation ago received his professional training very largely through apprenticeship service: (1) as a classroom teacher, (2) as a minor subordinate officer, and (3) as a principal of a small school. Many of his administrative practices were no doubt carried over from the experiences acquired in the apprenticeship period. Some were developed through trial and error experience in meeting new situations. Very few were the result of a conscious attempt to apply administrative knowledge and theory. As a result, principals were often slow to sense the need for administrative readjustments occasioned by the rapid growth of their schools and the changes in the social and economic conditions of community life. They failed to understand the changes in their schools and often entered into conflict with impending changes and offered determined resistance to the inevitable. Some lost their positions, others were demoted, and some remained stranded in schools that offered no professional future. The fittest studied their schools and made the institutional readjustments which the conditions required. They regulated their practices by administrative theory and utilized knowledge acquired in academic fields, such as psychology, philosophy, political science, economics, and sociology.

The principal of today has supplemented his apprenticeship experience, at least, with some professional study of a special character, if not with a sequence of courses definitely planned to fit him for the particular type of professional service he has elected to enter. Job analysis of the work performed by high-school principals has enabled him to see his duties and responsibilities in a broader way. Analytical study of his own work may have led him to evaluate his various duties and to organize them for more effective performance. Visitation of other prin-

cipals at work has probably given him new vantage points from which to view his own work. Professional reading, professional associations, and study in academic fields related to education have no doubt made him sentient to social conditions in his school and have enabled him to appraise the forces which have to be directed and controlled in its efficient administration.

The modern principal must understand the numerous demands which will be made on his intelligence by his pupils, teachers, and community. If through training he is able to anticipate most of the major demands and is prepared to meet them efficiently when they arise, his success as a principal is virtually assured, providing that he is able to meet the minor demands of an executive nature with wisdom and dispatch.

Professional training will aid the principal in service and the would-be principal in the development of a comprehensive theory and technique of administration, but it will not give him the specific knowledge and understanding of institutions, ideals, and forces which will be encountered in school and community life apart from the conventional work of the school. The principal must go therefore to other fields for supplementary training which will fit him to meet certain demands of his position. One of the fields is educational sociology. It is the purpose of this article briefly to indicate some of the types of sociological problems which a principal will have to meet in the administration of a secondary school and to show that training in educational sociology will equip him to deal understandingly with the problems in question.

PROBLEMS OF THE PUPIL POPULATION

The pupil personnel of the secondary school is rapidly becoming cosmopolitan, and with the change new problems in administration constantly arise. When the high-school population was relatively homogeneous and the chief purpose was preparation for admission to college, administrative problems pertaining to curriculum, failure, elimination, and guidance largely took care of themselves. The pupil bore the responsibility for adjustment. If he failed to profit from the offering of the school, it was his hard luck. Today the situation is changed. The administrator

is compelled to modify both curriculum and administrative practices to meet the needs of the pupil. The high school is maintained for adolescents and it must accept responsibility for seeing that they profit to the extent of their capabilities. If an individual becomes maladjusted, the administration cannot automatically apply the former remedy of failure. The maladjustment must be diagnosed and remedial measures applied. The administrator is compelled to set up an organization that will enable him to know the conditioning facts in the lives of his pupils in order to render the type of personal service which the school now requires.

If difficulties arise among the pupils as a result of intermingling of different races and nationalities, or if conflicts develop over differences in religious or political beliefs, the principal must inform himself regarding the status of the problem and must know how to make the adjustments required. Questions pertaining to social and economic status likewise require both knowledge and insight. They cannot be administered on an intuitive basis. The principal must know the pupils and parents, if he would administer the education of the pupils successfully.

Educational sociology deals with the kind of problems detailed in the two preceding paragraphs. It directs attention to the accumulation of social facts, and to the analytical treatment and interpretation of the data found.¹ It will stimulate the principal through its study to collect and to give attention to information pertaining to the birthplace of pupils; nationality, religion, and vocation of parents, the language background of the family; personal, pedagogical, and family history of the pupil, and the social and economic status of parents. In the light of the knowledge which an intelligent handling of such facts will give, effective adjustment of school to pupil and pupil to school may be made. Without such factual knowledge for his guidance, a principal can be only a make-believe administrator.

¹ For a treatment of the sociological data pertaining to secondary-school pupils see George S. Counts, *The Selective Character of American Secondary Education*, Supplementary Educational Monographs, No. 19, Department of Education, University of Chicago.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF ORGANIZATIONS

The modern high school is honeycombed with social groups. On admission an individual will likely recognize among his fellows remnants of various groups with which he has formerly associated to claim his loyalty. Typical of such groups are the gangs, teams, clubs, and neighborhood groups. The pupil promptly becomes a member of the new school group; then, a class, a home room, and frequently a section of the class. The extracurricular activities of the school will soon weave the individual into a new pattern of recreational, civic, and special interest groups, all of which will adhere more or less closely. New out-of-school groups may be entered to complicate the individual's loyalty and to create conditions which may require the attention of teachers, sponsors, and administrative officers. As a result, the web of groups may entangle the individual and cause him to lose sight of the major purposes of the school.

To deal competently with the school situation described in the foregoing paragraph requires a knowledge and understanding on the part of the principal of the nature of groups and the methods of utilizing group organizations in the proper education of adolescents. Principals a generation ago very generally ignored the desire of their pupils to carry on activities under conditions similar to the group life of adult society. Consequently, the intimate primary group organizations were usually forbidden in school. If the principals retained their positions, they perhaps later realized the error and in time may have encouraged the formation of extracurricular groups. The conflict between curricular and extracurricular activities for the interest and allegiance of pupils in our high schools of today is in no small measure due to the lack of sociological knowledge and insight on the part of the principals who ignored the desire of adolescents to work together in groups for the realization of common ends, and who caused the pupils to look upon the activities of the classroom and the extraclassroom as opposite in purpose instead of correlative. The high-school fraternity and sorority which flourished for a time as out-of-school groups with harmful in-school influences developed primarily as a result of the willful failure of prin-

cipals to provide adequately in school for the social life of the pupils.

The tendency of well-trained principals at present is to incorporate the spirit of group effort found in extracurricular activities into the activities of the classroom and to regard both as vital factors in the total education of the pupil. Grouping is not forbidden but encouraged, guided, and employed in the normal and efficient education of youth.

To claim that sociology has brought about the change in attitude on the part of high-school principals would be extravagant. No doubt some of the social wisdom of the modern principals has come as an inheritance from the costly trial-and-error experiences of the principals of a generation ago. The modern principal, however, cannot afford to depend solely upon the *mores* for his methods of administering his school. He must turn to educational sociology for an understanding of individual and social behavior and the nature of adolescent group life.

COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR

Although the social organization of most American high schools is a network of small primary groups, the entire student body or school group constitutes a potential primary formation of much importance in the proper civic training of pupils as well as in the effective organization and administration of the school. When the school group can be characterized as possessing social unity it has become essentially primary. The manifestation of the desirable characteristic is referred to usually as "school spirit," the first-line objective of both worthy pupil leaders and school administrator. Lack of school spirit is a stigma and a reproach to those who have subordinated selfish interests to the welfare of the school. Without school spirit in the school group, it is difficult to develop many of the civic ideals and social attitudes fundamental to the training of a good citizen. With school spirit the school becomes a civic laboratory in which the theory of desirable citizenship can be easily incorporated into right civic habits and practices.

In the school group there is inherent the possibility of collective behavior of both wholesome and retrograde character. "In these

relations," says Cooley, "mankind realizes itself, gratifies its primary needs in a fairly satisfactory manner, and from the experiences forms standards of what it is to expect from more elaborate association"² On the other hand, the undirected school group may easily become an unruly crowd and under unworthy leadership stage a school "walk-out" or strike. The frequency with which such action occurs and the consequences to pupil welfare and administrative prestige should convince principals of the importance of developing responsible leadership among their pupils and of training the school group in the orderly processes of pupil assembly, even if they do not understand the positive values of desirable collective behavior.

The high-school assembly and the occasional all-school mass meeting presided over and controlled by pupil leaders habituates the pupils to orderly assembly and renders difficult irresponsible crowd action. At the same time such meetings provide an ideal occasion for training in the processes of collective thinking on a high moral level and the formation of sound public opinion.

The principal who has been trained in educational sociology will direct the collective behavior of his school group in such a way that he not only will realize for his individual pupils satisfactions and larger applications of their better impulses which would be denied to most members individually, but also will be able probably to avoid the undesirable consequences of irresponsible collective behavior described in the foregoing paragraphs of this section. On the contrary, the principal who deals with such problems blindly has always with him the potential possibilities of a riot, panic, or strike without knowing how to take command of the situation, and at the same time he cannot definitely know whether or not the desirable experiences of larger primary-group associations are being realized in his school.

SOCIOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE CURRICULUM

The curriculum is probably the most static and antiquated element of the whole secondary-school organization. If the word of Professor Briggs³ is to be accepted, it is also the one phase

² C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, p. 32

³ T. H. Briggs, *Curriculum Problems*, p. 1

of secondary education about which educators know least. It presents numerous problems which must be made the subject of extensive study and research before adequate improvement can be effected. In this connection it is interesting to note that of the twenty-seven problems for curriculum investigation proposed by Briggs,⁴ at least three-fourths are so closely and vitally related to sociology that sociological data will be essential to their solution.

It is scarcely conceivable how curriculum makers can settle intelligently, without a knowledge of educational sociology, such problems as the objectives of secondary education; the emotionalized attitudes which should characterize a good citizen, the changes which education should undertake to make in the *mores*, the nature of the contribution specific subject matter can make to the desired ends of education; what subject matter shall be elected or required; what kind of education is best for pupils of varying degrees of capabilities; the part to be played by laymen in the making of the curriculum; and many other like problems. Unless the principal of the secondary school equips himself to appraise the sociological factors involved both in the larger and local aspects of the curriculum, it is difficult to see how he can function very effectively as a leader of educational thought in his school and community. His power of initiative in curriculum revision and his ability to coordinate the work of different departments and interested agencies in accordance with the fundamental aims of secondary education would be greatly diminished without sound sociological training.

PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL MALADJUSTMENT

In virtually every high school the principal is certain to encounter problems of social maladjustment which exercise causative influence on the work of individual pupils and often on the work of the school as a whole. The problems may be the direct result of industrial conditions, environmental conditions, traditions, or unwise leadership in the community. Crime, poverty, disease, and social degeneration which follow pathological conditions in a community may cause serious maladjustment in the home and out-of-school life of pupils and in the work of the pupils in school.

⁴ T. H. Briggs, *Curriculum Problems*, pp. 6-49

Retardations, failure, and elimination follow with waste for individuals, complications for the parents and community, and loss of morale for the school.

It is probably true that a principal single-handed cannot do a great deal to overcome the handicap of an array of pathological conditions, such as has been described. On the other hand, it is certainly true that little can be expected from the principal who is blind to the social factors involved in the complex situation under consideration. Training in educational sociology would, at least, make the principal aware of the forces operating and would enable him, if he desired, to find the causative factors and to outline a constructive program through the leadership of the school for school and community improvement.

In the case of maladjusted individual pupils he would be able to diagnose the social influences which affect the pupil, to interpret their potency, and to advise regarding the treatment which the individual should receive. Not having the time to look after such details personally, the principal would be able, as a result of his knowledge and understanding of the facts, to provide for the service needed through the proper organization of his staff.

CONCLUSION

Understanding of the problems considered in the foregoing paragraphs is by no means the only contribution to better administration which educational sociology is able to make. The high-school principal will find numerous other problems which he will constantly meet in the administration of his school treated specifically in educational sociology. It is therefore both practicable and essential in the training for the secondary-school principalship to give a definite place to the science which will familiarize the administrator with the social facts of his school and community, and which will provide the social insight necessary to the intelligent and efficient organization and administration of many of his important responsibilities.

A STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF NEIGHBORHOOD BACKGROUNDS

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THE EFFECT OF URBAN NEIGHBORHOOD IDEALS AS OPPOSED TO THOSE OF HOME AND SCHOOL ON THE LIFE AND IDEALS OF A GIRL OF NINE

IF it be the fundamental duty of parents to mediate the child to the neighborhood and thus to eject him gradually into the world via the neighborhood, then the neighborhood should be socially, morally, and physically a safe place for the child; above all the social and moral controls should be adequate. Ideals and attitudes, habits and customs should not be too diverse, else the situation developed may be for the child not totally unlike that of the immigrant who finds himself in what may appear to him an environment subversive of that of his parent village.

The hypothesis on which this paper is based is that urban neighborhood attitudes and ideals may adversely affect attitudes and ideals of the home and school, thereby setting up conflict in the child and enormously weakening parental control. This weakening of control may occur in spite of all efforts of the parents to combat it. In the first place the neighborhood is ever present to the child as the school is not, and in a curious way it is a larger home, a thing familiar in its geographical and physical aspects. The child, if permitted to mingle in the neighborhood play with other children, seems both consciously and unconsciously to wish to become a part of it—in speech, in voice tone, in manners, as well as in attitudes and ideals.

Starting with the theory that a child attending an excellent private school, living in a home which is constantly indoctrinating certain ideals both social and ethical, spending all of her early childhood under excellent and constant supervision was sufficiently protected against undesirable influences, it was assumed that from the age of eight and a half years the child could gradually be ejected into the neighborhood, it being distinctly understood

that she was to go to "nobody's house." This was the basis of the tryout. And so on Saturday mornings, Sunday afternoons, and at occasional other times this child was allowed to go down into the street to play. The assumption was that a larger measure of liberty would be given as the evidence seemed to warrant it. The following case study is the rehearsal of the tryout; the hypothesis is the result of the trial.

By the term neighborhood, the author means that first grouping beyond the family and intimate family friends which has social significance for the child, although "like-mindedness in a place group as a fundamental basis of neighborhood" is decidedly absent. Primarily, by neighborhood is meant not necessarily intimate face-to-face contact, but a peopled locality, a geographic area with some degree of stability in its population.

In the neighborhood we are about to discuss one family has lived in the apartment of X child's family for over twenty years, another for over ten, and a doctor has lived down the block for more than fifteen years. Other instances could be found. Except for some face-to-face contact among its members, it is an extremely loosely organized and heterogeneous social grouping, practically without neighborhood feeling and yet it is essentially a children's area from the influence of which the child does not and cannot escape. School is a vital and ever present factor in the life of the child but neighborhood is more than this, it is omnipresent, a larger home, but without protective influences in its urban variety. It is ever moulding and shaping the child into its own peculiar shape; not to be of it is to be outcast from it, "stuck-up," "high-brow," "too good for us."

Y neighborhood is on the "West Side" above 72d Street in New York City. The section under discussion is two blocks of a certain street bounded at one end by the park, at the other end by Broadway. It is crossed by a busy commercial avenue with much heavy traffic—trolley cars, taxicabs, and private automobiles. Decidedly it is a noisy, dangerous thoroughfare. The park is separated from the street by another avenue with a trolley line, but this avenue is not so throbbing with the hurry and bustle of automobile traffic, although it is still busy enough to make it an event to the children to be allowed to go to the park alone

On either side of Amsterdam Avenue are a continuous row of shops with apartment houses of four or more stories above them. These shops are all of a local character supplying the apartment house dwellers, roomers, and private-house occupants of the locality with the necessities of life. They are kept by their owners, some of whom live with their families in the quarters behind the stores, others live upstairs. These people seem to spend their daily lives in and around the stores. The mothers, for instance, bring their small children to let them play before the door; the baby carriage with a sleeping infant in it stands before a shop window as the mother tends the customers inside; another woman sits knitting in the sun while she gossips with a neighboring storekeeper. This small shopkeeper existence affords neighborliness and face-to-face contact in its understood sense, but is a life socially apart from that of surrounding locality contacts, except for the services rendered.

There is a large grade public school on the avenue, a block from Z street and so at noon and at three o'clock the avenue neighborhood changes visibly in its atmosphere. At noon the luncheon activities of the public-school children possess the neighborhood, for the vender with his hot dogs and sauerkraut appears at the corner beside the drug store, another with his lemonade and ice-cream sandwiches near him, while the candy man takes up his stand opposite to him in the gutter; the nearby delicatessens do a rushing business, for the boys are swarming in the street with slices of bread and bologna.

Z street itself is lined on either side from the park to Amsterdam Avenue with private houses of the type built about forty years ago in New York City, except for the apartment houses on three of the four corners and for a group of the semi-tenement type directly across from the apartment house where X child lives. These are a blot upon the general tidiness of the street. While the street from the park to Broadway may well be called a "good neighborhood," the adjective would seem to apply to its orderly appearance, its rows of small houses, which limit quite decidedly the number of people to the block as well as the number of children.

The private houses were originally built to accommodate a single family in the days when servants could be had for \$16 a

month, when coal was \$5.50 a ton, and coke \$.50, when lamb chops of the first quality were 20 cents a pound and kerosene was eleven cents a quart; in the days when families lived together in this city—aunts and uncles and grandfathers and grandmothers—and when it was not unusual for a family to have four or five children. The so-called well-to-do lived in these houses, sometimes renting them, sometimes buying them. They knew some of their neighbors on the block and their children played in the street, all more or less knowing each other. The street in those days made a safe and pleasant playground, for there was little, almost no traffic, except that from an occasional horse delivery wagon to leave dry goods or provisions for the occupants. These people were not wealthy enough to have their own horses and carriages; before the days of trolley cars only the very wealthy had these.

"Private families" still occupy a few of these brownstone houses but times and economic status and the servant problem have changed. Rents have risen enormously, so that now most of these dwellings are rooming or boarding houses, sometimes kept by a landlady, but occasionally by a family living in the basement. Consequently the social components of this neighborhood have been radically altered.

Y neighborhood is adjacent to the Amsterdam Avenue locality but the children of the small shopkeepers upon the avenue do not associate with those living upon the street and those living upon the street rarely even among themselves play upon the avenue. It is probably a parental prohibition to do so. Of course there is more or less continual going back and forth to the candy store, the grocer, or the dairy, but no playing together between street and avenue children.

There are comparatively few children in Y neighborhood or even on Z street, for that matter, twenty on one block (meaning both sides of the street with the road between) from the park to the Amsterdam Avenue trolley lines would be a large number almost any afternoon after school is closed. These seem to congregate at the avenue end rather than toward the park.

The children who play on this street are those of the janitors' families, those of the rooming-house mistresses and a few living

in apartments, especially those living across the street from X child's home. On the whole they might be called decidedly of the lower middle class and many of them are evidently marginal in economic status, although none, one would judge, is dependent. In appearance these children are mostly rather dirty, somewhat untidy, and many of them are inclined to look anæmic and under-nourished. There is nothing attractive about them. Their manners are atrocious; their voices especially are totally lacking in a pleasing speaking quality, they are raucous and nasal in tone. The most striking thing perhaps, and that which marks these children as belonging to the lower class is their careless, improper, slangy, slurring use of their mother tongue.

The children of the janitor in the house of X child have made enough of a problem in her bringing up in the neighborhood to warrant some description of the family. These people are thoroughly worthy and self-respecting members of the English working class but somewhat spoiled with faulty and overbearing ideals of American freedom and equality; the just-as-good-as-you-are air is very apparent. They are, however, honest, hard-working, and well-fed, and they have aspirations. F—, for instance, the pretty fourteen-year-old daughter, takes "music lessons" on the piano. All three children do well in public school. They are not interested in charming manners nor the amenities of life, in speaking the "King's English," nor in the use of the cultivated voice. In fact they are rough-cut diamonds and entirely satisfied to stay so. Their ideals differ materially from those of X child's family. The experiment of daily association with these children produced the expected result on X child. The effects were largely superficial, perhaps, and yet she very quickly lost the earmarks of her kind. Presently, the children of her mother's and father's friends would have avoided her, would have called her "common." Her manners, her voice, her English, were showing the effects of habituation to a differing type of social environment.

X child lives in the top-floor rear apartment of a scrupulously clean old-fashioned walk-up, on the corner of Amsterdam Avenue. The rear signifies, in this instance, nothing in the way of un-attractiveness or dinginess, but it does mean that the only front windows are not "front," but face the business avenue side of

the block, where X child could not possibly be allowed to play, and so it is not practicable to know what she may be doing on the street at any given moment. Living up in the air adds a substantial problem to the care of children and one entirely absent when living on the street level.

X child's parents are "nice people" of the professional class, of American ancestry on both sides for more than two hundred and fifty years. Both parents as well as three of the grandparents were born and brought up in New York City, in the days of a simpler environment when the children of "nice people" who lived in "private houses" (there were no apartments but tenements, boarding houses, and a few hotels) could safely play upon the street after they were nine or ten, provided they were in at five o'clock. "Nice people's children" were never out after dark. Economically X child's family belongs to the marginal class, although oft inherited family possessions give the home an air of semi-luxury even if it be a bit shabby. The pictures on the walls, the books on the shelves, a volume of Beethoven's sonatas on the piano might lead those of another ilk to call them "highbrow."

These people are without neighborhood, except in so far as this geographic locality may be called so, they are in it, but not of it. There is face-to-face contact, but no intimacy and practically no visiting, except for a single accident in the case of the family living on the same floor, where it was discovered that there were mutually intimate and life-long friends. Here there is like-mindedness. These neighbors speak their language (in the subtler sense) and there is a common intellectual interest. Now—if these people only had children!

Another family in the house, with whose little girl X child sometimes plays on rainy days, would be bored to extinction by X child's parents—they would have so little in common except the weather. Besides this, the brilliantly artificial complexion of the former's mother and the extreme vermilion of her lips bespeak so wide a difference in ideals that the mere attempt to know the neighbor's family is too discouraging; then again, the grown daughter is a vaudeville actress and an intimacy here might not prove wise for X child.

The aim in the training of X child has been in the first place to preserve a certain type of culture, but for all this, to train her to be socially minded, not snobbish, and to be fond of people; to inculcate sufficient class distinction, so that she will not want to marry out of her class—neither the son of the adjacent neighborhood barber nor butcher, because the child's family believes that like, rather than unlike, social as well as intellectual ideals and attitudes tend to make for greater stability and happiness in married life. They believe that mates in modern civilization cannot be chosen on the strictly biological plane, any more than they can be wisely picked on a basis of monetary superiority alone, and yet neighborhood boys become neighborhood men, if they stay in the locality long enough.

It is desired to make of X child a person of fine ethical values with a sense of social responsibility, to engender good taste in cultural matters by teaching her to know good pictures, good books, and good music; to have her acquire through her social training some knowledge of "good form," which will lead a natural adaptability in the direction of courtesy and thoughtfulness for others.

That X's mother's way of bringing up a child was not quite approved by some of the neighbors is hinted at in a tiff which X child had with the little girl whose sister was a vaudeville actress. The neighbor's child wishing to be very disagreeable called X "highbrow," and she, stung by the ugly sounding epithet, and not having the least idea what it meant, snapped out, "And what are you?" "I'm a girl with a tail!" came the answer. That night at the dinner table, X said "Mother, what does 'highbrow' mean?" evidently feeling quite sure that opprobrium had been cast upon her.

In pursuance of the plan to try X out in the neighborhood she was of necessity unsupervised in her play activities. It happened that on one afternoon when she was supposed to be playing in front of the house, a neighbor's maid rang the bell to say that X was on the roof of the apartment house across the street leaning over the parapet with a little boy, brandishing a broom in the air. Surely a new and interesting experience! On another occasion, although the importance of staying in plain sight

in the street, so that she could be seen at any moment was impressed upon her, she was found climbing the dangerous perpendicular ladder between the fire escapes of her house, again with a little boy, and had almost reached the roof! More new and interesting experience. The tempting possibilities of neighborhood liberty were more than she could withstand.

One of the chief amusements of the neighborhood children is the spending of pennies at the nearby candy store and these children are to be seen at almost any hour of the day munching candy or sucking lollipops. A child often passes a pop around among her friends giving each one a "suck." Now, why need we ask how measles and colds are spread or why there is no appetite for a wholesome meal? This eating of candy at all times became a crucial matter for the mother of X child in the loss of that small person's desire for food at the proper times. Constant example was too much for X. The other children all did it. Why should not she?

Another amusement of these children was going to the movies along Broadway and to the neighborhood vaudeville on Sunday afternoons. Why couldn't she go too? Once more those odious words "not allowed."

Not allowed to dress up on Thanksgiving and beg for pennies the way the other children do, only allowed to walk along Broadway with mother in your usual clothes and wear a mask—some compensation to be sure, for then everybody looked at you and that was fun. Not allowed to stay up until ten on lovely summer evenings when other children were having such a beautiful time, because you had circles under your eyes and needed your sleep. "Not allowed, not allowed!"

From the point of view of X, in those days before removal from the neighborhood and for a long time thereafter, the freedom enjoyed by the children there, the movies, the vaudeville, the candy and goodies at all times, made their lives golden dreams compared with the regular hygienic routine and drab existence which she led, which was prosy indeed by comparison. The very difference of her life seemed to make her as one apart.

It was evident that the plan for the neighborhood contacts was not working. The neighborhood was not supplying the need for

a larger life with satisfactions. Attitudes and ideals varied too greatly. Neighborhood and family spoke not the same but a different language. If the aims in the bringing up of X child were to be achieved, then the neighborhood must help towards that end. If it were to help, it must within wide limits, of course, have similar aims both social and intellectual. It must to some extent speak the same language in that other sense; it must stand for the same values. Above all, it must not set these values at naught; it must not sneer, it must not scoff at them.

And yet, in effect, that is just what the neighborhood was doing. It was setting values at naught. It was producing conflict within the child as well as with parental authority and school judgments.

Some substitute for neighborhood must be found in the satisfaction of normal wishes. Neighborhood parents and children must not be offended. Snobbish and unsocial attitudes must not be developed. Other child associates in an organized play group meeting daily in the park was one possibility for a wise and kindly woman to give her daily care in park outings away from neighborhood children. It would seem that both ways are being used by parents with definite ideals for their children.

In the case of X child supervision by a motherly person was the means chosen by the parents, with afternoons in the park. It is interesting to notice how a radical change of this sort in policy will gradually though surely effect an alteration in a child's attitudes. As Thomas in the *Polish Peasant* remarks, "There are many possible ways in which an attitude can be developed out of another attitude, a value out of another value. All depends on the nature of the intermediate data."

A STUDY OF THE OPINIONS OF A GROUP OF MINISTERS CONCERNING CERTAIN PHASES OF SCHOOL WORK

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INTRODUCTION

IN this study an attempt was made to discover how a selected group of ministers felt toward certain questions dealing with the functions and duties of the schools. Eighteen questions dealing with certain phases of school work were sent to two hundred ministers in different parts of the country. Replies were received from one hundred and thirty-five, representing twenty-five states.

This study is related to school publicity and may throw some light on the difficult task of interpreting the schools to the public. It is readily admitted at the outset that the questions listed in this study are broad and difficult to answer by "yes" or "no."

A personal letter was sent to each minister along with the questionnaire. The questions were to be checked by marking "yes," "no," or "doubtful."

These questions asked whether or not the schools should perform certain functions, such as the teaching of religion, morals, vocations, right use of leisure time, health, citizenship, respect for law and order, etc.

RESULTS

The table below shows the results of answers obtained from one hundred thirty-five ministers on the questions listed in the table.

	Yes	No	Doubtful
1. Should the public schools teach religion?	45	80	10
2. Should the public schools teach morals?	128	7	
3. Are the public schools responsible for teaching the right use of leisure time?	98	11	26
4. Should the schools give each pupil before he leaves school a mastery of some vocation?	53	68	14
5. Should the public schools be responsible for seeing that all pupils have an adequate knowledge for the fundamental processes?	80	12	34
6. Do pupils learn dishonesty in the public schools, either			

	directly or indirectly from the school or its associations?	58	46	31
7	Are the schools doing as much as they should in conserving the health of pupils?..	54	54	27
8.	Are the public schools doing what they should in teaching citizenship?	59	60	16
9	Are the public schools doing what they should to teach worthy home membership?	26	67	42
10.	Are the public schools responsible to any extent for the so-called crime wave in the country?	47	79	9
11.	Are the public schools doing what they should in teaching a proper respect for law and order?	36	77	22
12	Are the public schools too lax in methods of discipline?	81	8	46
13	Are the public schools too strict in methods of discipline?	8	84	43
14.	Are the public schools doing all that they should to teach habits of accuracy and promptness?	76	43	16
15	Are the public schools doing all they should for the children of the community?	52	59	24
16.	Should the public schools attempt to teach any college work?	27	101	7
17	Should the public schools teach two years of work beyond the high school?	36	92	8
	Should the public schools teach four years of work beyond the high school?	13	115	7
18	Do the public schools cost too much?	12	117	6

The ministers were opposed two to one to the schools' teaching religion, but they were nearly unanimous in their belief that morals should be taught.

According to the opinions expressed, the schools are responsible for the teaching of the right use of leisure time but not for the mastery of some vocation

A large majority thought that the schools should see that all pupils knew the fundamental processes, and a surprisingly large number felt that pupils learned dishonesty in the schools. Fifty-four thought that the schools were doing all they should to conserve the health of pupils, while fifty-four did not. Twenty-seven were doubtful.

Only twenty-six ministers out of a total of one hundred thirty-five felt that the schools were doing what they should to teach worthy home membership.

Seventy-six of these men (more than half) were either doubtful or positive that the schools were not doing all that they should in teaching citizenship, while a still larger number (99) felt that there was some doubt as to whether the schools were teaching a proper respect for law and order.

Fifty-eight per cent of the ministers felt that the public schools were responsible, to some extent at least, for the so-called crime wave in this country.

Sixty per cent of these ministers felt that the schools were too lax in their methods of discipline. More than half of them felt that the schools were doing a good job of teaching habits of accuracy and promptness.

Thirty-nine per cent thought that the schools were not doing all that they should for the children of the community.

A large majority felt that the public schools should not attempt to teach any college work, although twenty-seven out of a total of one hundred thirty-five favored the extension of the public school field into that of the junior college. Only twelve of the total number felt that the public schools cost too much. These twelve answers came from Southern states.

SUMMARY

The results of this study lead one to the conclusion that the majority of the ministers questioned felt that the schools were not doing as complete a job as they should. The ministers, however, felt that the schools were not costing too much; they also felt that the public schools should not teach any college work, that they were not doing all they should to teach habits of accuracy and to some extent were responsible for the so-called crime wave; that they might do a better job of teaching citizenship and of conserving the health of pupils. A majority felt that the schools should not teach religion.

SOME PROBLEMS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION¹

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IV

COMMUNITY LOYALTY

COMMUNITY spirit or loyalty is a frame of mind and, like most frames of mind, its overt expression is desirable or otherwise according to the nature of the ideas which get linked up with it. In the first place this frame of mind is characterized by sentiments such as love of one's home community, willingness to sacrifice personal interest on occasion for what one conceives to be the welfare of the community, resentment of any kind of attack on the home town, and a "we feeling" when the community as a whole is in contact, hostile or friendly, with other communities—especially other communities having a similar brand of loyalty.

Being fundamentally a feeling, then, the important consideration is the channels into which this energy is directed. These assume widely divergent forms in different communities for reasons historical, geographical, and otherwise. Since there can be loyalty without what has come to be called "community spirit" (implying progressiveness), you get such extreme manifestations as Babbitt bragging that his city had the worst dives and brothels that could be found anywhere. You get loyalty which means suspicion and inhospitality toward strangers, hostility to change. This type is noncritical loyalty, it might be explained as loyalty to the principle of loyalty, which is a primordial impulse. It is usually associated with some form of the aristocratic tradition.

At the opposite extreme is the condition of no loyalty at all, which may occur where the community is divided into two sharply distinguished classes, one a controlling class residing there for industrial gain, and the other a more or less transient class of workers who live more like campers than citizens. Some mining communities are like that.

¹ Continued from the December JOURNAL.

Between these two extremes we have various manifestations of community loyalty and spirit. Where it is linked with the idea of progress narrowly interpreted you get the booming brand of loyalty which Sinclair Lewis associates with chambers of commerce in industrial and commercial cities, and which all of us east of the Rockies associate with Californians. Much is made of statistics, pay rolls, and signs of aggressive enterprise. Communities afflicted with this kind of loyalty would not brag about having a welfare work, but would brag about its being the biggest welfare work in the "whole gosh darn county"—or world for that matter. Often an intense feeling of rivalry with some neighboring community accompanies the affliction. While this special manifestation of the community spirit has the semblance of worthwhileness, the question is open to serious doubt. One is tempted to think that its leading exponents frequently love their city for what she can do for them rather than for what they can do for her. Prosperity is their loadstone. The idea system that can connect itself with loyalty is wonderfully variable. Some reasonably progressive communities enjoy a high degree of loyalty which is nevertheless unthinking loyalty, a kind that assumes that the home place is all right and to be approved under any circumstance.

The type of community spirit which promises most for the real progress of any social unit is the reflective type which knows what things it favors and is not afraid to denounce those things it does not favor. We are assuming of course that approval is reserved for institutions and tendencies in the community which make for the all-round enrichment of life. A loyalty of this kind cannot suffer from a pardonable love of the home place and just pride in its excellencies. The highest community spirit visions the community as it should be rather than contents itself with existing conditions. It provides an incentive to support, in ways most feasible for the individuals concerned, of all efforts being made to realize better conditions.

This interpretation of community spirit doesn't preclude inter-group friendliness and the enlargement of the loyalty sphere, for it must be recognized that the task of enriching life is much the same everywhere. This kind of community spirit when organ-

ized is social control, if by control is meant the intelligent guiding of social change. If control means the preservation of the *status quo*, this civic spirit is its most implacable foe. Conservatism thrives best where loyalty is of the folk-ways variety. A community worker going into a center where there are many progressive people who have civic spirit of the best kind needs only to be skillful as an organizer. One going into a community where loyalty is strong but conservative and nonreflective needs to be an educational leader

V

THE PROBLEM OF BIOLOGICAL *versus* CULTURAL CHANGE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Justice Holmes of the United States Supreme Court said that social reform cannot come by "tinkering with the institution of property, but must come through building a race" Since Herbert Spencer and the Darwinian school injected a strong biological note into social thinking, many people have been dazzled by the idea of building a new human race through eugenic methods. The idea finds its extreme expression in Mr. J. B. S. Haldane's book *Daedalus* which suggests an abandonment of the usual method of procreation and the adoption of a sort of selection of procreative germs similar to methods used in plant eugenics. The biological strain in sociology finds many expressions. The conception of natural selection has advanced from the "individual conflict" interpretation to the broader interpretation of competition of any kind having effect on birth and death rates of different hereditary types. This has set sociologists to studying social factors which operate to change hereditary characteristics of different groups. Much is made of the population pressure which threatens to lower the standard of life, and the disproportionate birthrates as between the superior and inferior classes. Professor Cattell shows that the average number of children per family among a large number of American scientists is 2.2, while the parents of these scientists had families averaging 4.6 children. Francis Galton and his followers in England have appealed to the enlightened part of society to adopt measures which will encourage the superior classes to bear more than their share of

children rather than less. This school of eugenisists is doing a conspicuous work, though some of the sociologists take issue with their methods of investigation. However much we might disparage the methodology of the biological school, which has nothing in common any longer with Spencer's organic unity, we cannot escape the fact that studies in heredity, such as the studies of "degenerate families," have produced a great mass of material which must be taken into account by those who would reform society. It must not be thought that the eugenists have everything their own way. Many sociologists are unwilling to concede to heredity more than about five per cent of the influences playing upon an individual, though they admit that that five per cent is important. Professor Alfred Tenney states that "progress in the higher values of life may occur in spite of considerable deterioration on the biological side." He continues, "If Professor Thorndike's hypothesis (that animals do not imitate) is verified, we might even admit that there may have been continual biological deterioration ever since the ability to imitate appeared, without thereby denying the fact of progress."

The theory that progress takes place through selective cultural change is not necessarily in opposition to the eugenic theory. Even supposing the racial stock was not improvable, it cannot be gainsaid that social change will be more virile in a healthy population. Dr. Dexter several years ago made a study which tended to show that crime was more prevalent during good weather. He accounted for it on the grounds that people had a surplus of energy during favorable weather, and this surplus, of course, could be directed into bad action quite as easily as into good action. It needs no argument to convince that a healthy population has more energy for constructive work.

Health work is the irreducible minimum for community organization. That assures two things: (1) more energy and optimism, (2) guarantee of good stock at least on the purely physical side. The next step which, it seems to me, should be included in the community organization program is the prevention of marriage or procreation among feeble-minded. Further than that it would be possible to encourage an educational campaign to set forth the best eugenic teachings, though I doubt whether much can be hoped

for in that direction. Aside from health I should say the chief concern of community organization is with social change.

VI

WIDE DIVERGENCIES IN THE THEORY OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Wide divergencies in the theory of community organization is not a unique thing in the realm of social thinking. On the contrary it is the normal thing. The science of sociology presents no solid front anywhere. From its very emergence from the matrix of the older social sciences it has tended to assume widely divergent forms. Sociology, especially in its applied aspects, defines the ends of community organization. If these ends cannot be stated concisely and authoritatively, it is not to be wondered at that community organization will exhibit confusion.

Theoretically, community organization theorizes only about the kind of administrative machinery and technique best adapted to meet certain ends; but in actual practice the community organizer can hardly escape becoming somewhat of a sociologist—which perhaps only serves to augment the vagaries into which he falls.

A second explanation for the lack of unanimity is found in the nature of the ends served. All social work deals in processes. Organization must be developed to function in a medium in which the different factors are constantly changing, and that at variable rates. With so many variables it is not surprising that community organization should take diversified forms.

A third explanation is supplied by the principle that any mode of control to be successful must adapt itself to the prevailing conditions and conceptions where it functions. Workers who have met with success under a certain type of organization are prone to become protagonists for that type, overlooking the factor of adaptability which was the real source of success.

It is my belief that certain general conceptions in the field of community organization are making headway, and that one of these is the conception that centralization makes for greater efficiency. I presume I am inclined to this opinion mainly because it seems plausible in the light of the general movement toward

centralization in the industrial, commercial, political, educational, and even religious fields. Moreover, I could cite one or two instances where the centralizing tendency has been at work. This is inadequate personal knowledge for a generalization. The concentration of authority and activities which was observed everywhere during the war showed people what could be done along this line and it is reasonable to suppose that the momentum gained has not all been dissipated. We have something tangible in the spread of the community chest over the country, a device calling for at least some centralization of authority. Similar movements are other forms of financial federation, councils of social agencies, and amalgamation. Dr. Stewart A. Queen, in discussing correlation of social agencies, concludes: "No doubt for some people interest in amalgamation and consolidation has become a sort of fad or craze. But for all that, no one can deny the very great need for correlation, and no careful observer would be likely to deny that it is actually coming to pass, whether he desires it or not."²

VII

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Mankind has not yet advanced far beyond a bread line. To use a phrase of Professor Small's the order of advancement is "first live, then live toward the higher levels." Huge masses have never gotten beyond the first injunction, while many of those who have a foothold on the higher levels are constantly menaced by the danger of slipping back. Even culture, then, rests upon an economic base. The whole economic structure of modern civilization is the most persistent, the most fundamental thing the social reformer has to deal with. This truth has led many to assert that it is the only thing to be dealt with. Improve the economic life and everything else will take care of itself. That is a false philosophy. Many things would improve, but having an ample sufficiency above the bare demands of physical existence does not guarantee that man will indulge a higher type

² *Social Work in the Light of History*, (Lippincott Company, 1922)

of desire. Recognizing this latter fact, a certain interpretation of Christianity adopts the philosophy of the opposite extreme. Save the man's soul, give him a change of heart, and disregard the economic factors altogether. This idea might work if worked, but it has never been worked, and in the meantime our problems are with us.

The social reformer wants to improve human life, he does not simply want perpetually to relieve the suffering caused by preventable social ills. He knows that he must work ceaselessly to improve the economic conditions of the masses. I do not see how he can do otherwise than take the side of labor in its struggle to secure its reasonable objectives. I take it that the chief goal of community organization is neither relief nor the bettering of economic conditions, but rather the "higher levels." To reach these it must first travel the lower levels. All social work in the long run aims at the enrichment of life. Now the economic activities of people constitute a large part of their life. They are a mode of expression. If these activities are carried on under degrading conditions, the individual is just so far robbed of his chance for an enriched life. There are exceptional cases of men who slave through hated drudgery for several hours a day in order to be able to give expression to a higher type of life during their remaining hours, but a whole social order based on such a precarious foundation is unthinkable.

America is a land of business and industry. Changes take place so rapidly in these realms that new social problems appear faster than we can readjust for them. One day Hollywood is an inconspicuous suburb; the next it is a great city, a producing center for one of the world's largest industries. This sudden transformation brings with it the problem of assimilating thousands of screen-struck youths who flock from all parts of the country only to meet disappointment. If anything justifies pessimism, it would be very easy to become pessimistic in contemplating the chances of success for community organization in the face of the economic factors. We have to remind ourselves that success is relative, anyway, and that life without struggle and problems and the unexpected is hardly to be dignified by that term.

VIII

FIVE PRINCIPLES OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION WHICH ARE WELL ESTABLISHED

1. Community organization should become a movement of the local people rather than an imposition from without. Use as many citizens in the work as possible.
2. The object of the work should be constructive working in all social fields rather than simply relief work.
3. The form of organization should be plastic, ready to adapt itself to changing conditions.
4. The administrative machinery should be centralized enough to do good work without overlapping. This means tendency toward amalgamation where many agencies exist.
5. The nature, purposes, and progress of the work should be constantly kept before the people for educational reasons.

INQUIRY

1. *What are some of the sources of social waste in classroom procedure?*

The editor in a recent article pointed out that education is the result of the learning process, but not equivalent to learning. Education as promoted by the school should be "the consciously controlled learning process in which the situations are definitely manipulated for purposes of producing behavior changes"¹ The school should not lose sight of the fact that there is much accidental experience which modifies behavior; and that there is much formal learning where behavior changes are not effected. Much of the learning required in school has such a remote possibility of improving social behavior that it can scarcely be regarded as possessing value. Some specific illustrations of such school exercises follow:

- (a) Sitting in "rest position" doing nothing
- (b) Toothbrush drills with dry brushes
- (c) Memorizing nonsense material for punishment
- (d) Memorizing variable facts
- (e) Formal teaching of subject matter for which pupils have no immediate use
- (f) Fractions seldom used in commercial practice, such as 7ths, 11ths, and 13ths
- (g) Teaching subject matter no longer conforming to social practice
- (h) Memorizing poetry not worthy of permanent retention
- (i) Memorizing corridor or school rules
- (j) Memorizing areas and populations of states and countries
- (k) Teaching of formal grammar for which the need has not arisen
- (l) Oral spelling as a review exercise

¹ E. George Payne, "Education and Social Control," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, I, 3, 137.

(m) Undirected activity while the teacher is doing clerical work

(n) Absence of the regular teacher for a day or two at a time

Amid all the social waste which may be noted in the classroom, for which every teacher is responsible to a greater or less extent, we hear about "lack of time" and "the crowded curriculum."

2. *To what extent should school activities aim to relieve poverty in a community?*

This question is worthy of real consideration in most schools at certain seasons of the year when families are reminded that food, clothing, and the like may be procured more easily and with less embarrassment from the school than from other sources. A distinction, however, must be made between those who are poor and those who are destitute. Poverty is a menace which generates social ills. These in turn may be classified as contagious. Poverty is essentially an attitude of mind, causing individuals to be in apparent need. It is often difficult to determine where to classify certain cases.

First of all, school authorities should agree as to whether the school is an institution for education or for social service. If the former, then the problem presents itself as to what social service of the kind indicated by the question is educational and does involve positive education both on the part of those serving and those being served. So-called outdoor charity unquestionably is education of a negative sort for all concerned, in that it opposes community organization and embraces wrong education of the masses.² The training for community service of our boys and girls should guide them in the direction of social control.

The school being an institution for education is not in position to direct social service. It is not equipped to investigate needy cases nor to determine the extent of need. These are the functions of organized charity; and in situations where independent agencies are more or less effective, "any step toward

² R. Ray Scott, "Some Principles of Community Organization," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, I, 4, 197-199

coordination . . . which will enable them to think in terms of the community as a whole will probably make for improvement"³ School activities should aim to cooperate with and assist existing community organizations, especially those serving the community as a whole. Individuals appealing to the school for aid should be referred to social service agencies with which the school may have occasion to cooperate.

³ *Op cit.*, p. 199

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

COOPERATION AND THE INTEGRATION OF RESEARCH

Cooperation in social research is a cardinal principle too long neglected in practical programs. Students in the social sciences have shown many indications, however, that they are about to throw off the incubus of exclusiveness and that they are willing to exchange ideas and join forces with others working in the same or similar fields. To the extent to which cooperation is perfected and integration is achieved, duplication of effort will be avoided, mutual stimulation will inevitably result, and both persons and groups will be able to profit by the discoveries in knowledge and method made by others—a consummation devoutly to be wished in the interest of scientific progress in the social field.

Within the Individual College Course or Class

Progress towards this goal among individual students has been initiated in the classes of many colleges and universities. First steps have taken the form of committee term investigations, often under the direction of a chairman who is a more experienced student. This procedure should be extended to include the other members of the class whose discussion of the plan of an individual student or committee for a project will be found helpful and whose advice and suggestions presented at various stages in the development of the project will be valuable. Where the committee method is not desirable, each individual project may be presented to the class group for criticism and each member may contribute something in the way of suggestion and information as the plan is developed. The student or committee may in this way come into possession of valuable leads to observational material and to the literature dealing with the subject. Furthermore, all members of the group may be encouraged to bring to the attention of those interested additional clues encountered in their reading or field work.

The responsibility for selecting topics for student investigation in courses should not be entirely the responsibility of the instructor. The superimposing of topics upon the students from above is fraught with the dangers of the overstandardization and stereotyping of research projects, with the resultant stifling of the student's originality and killing of his initiative and enthusiasm. Before the instructor makes any suggestions as to term investigations he should have each student prepare a statement of his interests, his experience, and his present vocation and avocations; this will give the instructor a knowledge of the social backgrounds of the student indispensable in directing him to undertake a fruitful research project. With these statements before him, the instructor will find it desirable to have each student state a problem which he would be interested in pursuing. Then the instructor may give advice as to the appropriateness and practicability of pursuing each plan. In the final selection of topics four primary criteria should be borne in mind by student and instructor alike:

- (1) Does the topic engage the student's interest?
- (2) Does it promise to contribute something to the student's own preparation for his job?
- (3) Is the student's capacity and experience of the type which will make it possible for him profitably to make this kind of study?
- (4) Is the student's strategic position to get information and make an investigation being utilized to the full?

Within the College Department

Integration of research within a department among both students and instructors is no less important than cooperation within individual courses. Knowledge of the research projects being undertaken by faculty members and both graduate and undergraduate students needs to be made available to all members of a department in order that economy of effort may be achieved, that mutually helpful suggestions may be made, that significant topics may be suggested for investigation, and that interest and enthusiasm may be generated by mutual interstimulation. This should not involve a standardization of types of projects and

methods of study and presentation, however, for one of the most important functions of research is to stimulate originality and neither to repress individual initiative and experiment nor to stifle new ideas. The function of cooperation is rather to encourage what is new and not stereotyped both in the way of topics for investigation and of methods as well as to make available the knowledge, suggestions, and practical assistance of others who may be able to contribute something of value.

Cooperation within a department may be promoted by frequent meetings of the faculty personnel where research projects all the way from term papers to doctors' theses may be discussed in all their phases. Students in one class may be made acquainted with all projects under way in other classes and mutually profitable methods of exchanging information and ideas may be worked out.

Class time spent in this way will probably be far more profitably expended than is the case when students are required to listen to a formal lecture, which could be read in half the time, or to relate what they have read in some textbook, a procedure which is usually quite sterile and unproductive.

Between the College and the Community

This type of intradepartmental cooperation comes out even more clearly in discussing the relation of research within the college or university to investigations being carried on by the official and private social agencies of the local community, the state, and the nation. The research resources of the colleges should be at the command of the community in solving its problems and it is quite as important to point out that the research resources of the community in the way of records and other raw data should be available to the schools in carrying on their research projects. Perhaps this reciprocity depends somewhat upon the ability of the agencies of the community and the research investigators in colleges and universities to agree upon problems that are mutually interesting. And there may have to be some give and take in the avoidance of the ultra-academic type of problem as well as the ultra-opportunistic; neither of these types of project is likely to yield valuable results from a scientific point of view. The danger is that the school people are likely to be too much aloof

from community needs, whereas the practical workers are just as likely to be unfamiliar with the requisites of scientific procedure and with the more fundamental points of view in approaching their problems.

The colleges and universities have been slow to seize the opportunities presented by practical research projects in their immediate environments to put their students in touch with real problems and to train them to participate in the study and solution of questions of community interest. In New York it has developed that many agencies, private and public, are anxious to have the cooperation of the colleges in carrying on a variety of research projects whose outcomes are of vital importance in determining their future activities. Some of these current projects are a study of 250 truants by the New York State Crime Commission, a complete survey of the work of the eighteen branches of the Young Men's Christian Association in Brooklyn and Queens, a study of the social settlements of New York under the auspices of the Welfare Council, studies of races, nationalities, prosperity, and recreation facilities in the Lower West Side under the auspices of the Lower West Side Council of Social Agencies, a study of community leadership in Greenwich Village under the Charity Organization Society, a study of boys' work by the Welfare Council, a three years' study of the new boys' club at 111th Street and Second Avenue, a vocational study of Public School No. 3, and so on.

The department of sociology of the School of Education of New York University has worked out methods of cooperating with all these agencies which promise to be of mutual benefit. The research projects have been presented to every class in the department by the instructors, and their students have been encouraged to select projects for term investigations and theses for higher degrees in fields related to these practical projects, so that their work may contribute to the specific studies which the community is interested in. A large number of students have voluntarily selected projects which will enable them to participate directly in the local studies. A number of them will busy themselves in summarizing case records of various agencies bearing upon the 250 truants being studied by the Crime Commission and will

ultimately choose topics for term papers which they can work up from the Crime Commission records. To facilitate this co-operation the research director of the Crime Commission has transferred his records to the University, where he has been provided with a room, and he will be available at certain periods each week to supervise field study and for consultation on the working out of projects. The editor of this department is a member of the commission appointed to study the boys' work of the Young Men's Christian Association in Brooklyn and Queens. A number of students have elected to undertake local community studies in districts served by Y. M. C. A. boys' work in these areas and they will participate in making some leisure time and background studies in these communities where control groups are desired to check similar studies of Y. M. C. A. boys. Similar methods of cooperation have been worked out with the other agencies.

All of these projects, beside giving the social agencies an opportunity to utilize University research resources to solve their problems, may be made to contribute directly or indirectly to the studies which the department of educational sociology is interested in promoting. One of its problems, for example, is the definition and study of the local communities which serve as social backgrounds (*Gestalts*) for educational institutions. Greenwich Village and the Lower West Side have been selected as laboratories in which to work out techniques for studying the local community in relation to education. Public School No. 3 lies within this area, and the vocational study in which a group of students with vocational interests has been enlisted will contribute a good deal of information that will be valuable in the more general study of the community. Residence lists of all the pupils in the school, for example, showing the birthplace of both parents, will be valuable in providing an index of nationality distribution in part of the larger area. Other data from this school will be available for the study of cultural and nationality backgrounds and mobility of population. The study of leadership in Greenwich Village has interested another group of students and one graduate student will take advantage of this opportunity to work out a master's thesis. It has been discovered that 22 of the Crime Commission cases lie within the Lower West Side area, and a

group of students from various courses will concentrate upon these cases to see what they can be made to yield in the way of data for the community study. The studies carried on by the Lower West Side Council of Social Agencies are directly in line with the general project. The director of the settlement study for the Welfare Council will use a number of students and especially a group to study one of the leading settlements in the Greenwich Village area, with the idea of working out methods which may prove useful in the wider study of settlements in New York. The editor of this department is actively engaged in a study of street and roof life among the boys of the district and he acts as a sort of coordinator among the various studies. In this way it will be possible to build up a complete case study of the local community which will be invaluable in considering the problems of education within the area. Similar methods can be applied to the study of other local communities in New York and other areas, both urban and rural.

Among the Agencies of the Community

Coöperation among the social agencies of the community themselves is another important problem. In the contacts involved in working out contacts with these various groups, it has developed that in many cases they are not familiar with each other's research projects in the general field and that they could profit greatly by some clearing-house method of information upon all the investigations under way at a given time. The editor of this department, in the process of acquainting himself with the various projects, has been able to make useful suggestions to various agencies with regard to utilizing the methods of other groups or profiting by the information being obtained. A great deal more could be done along this line to the advantage of all research projects by working out some procedure for mutual information, suggestion, and assistance. Much of the basic information being obtained in one investigation can be used with profit by others. The need for a complete survey of research resources in any community is apparent. The Russell Sage Foundation in New York has done important work along this line in its map studies and its reports on welfare problems studied in New York; and the

Welfare Council is engaged upon the preparation of data along some of these lines. In general, however, many research resources have never been described or even discovered and remain in a vast uncharted sea.¹

Among the Departments of a College

The question of interdepartmental cooperation in colleges in the integration of research among the social sciences is perhaps least worked out. Important beginnings along this line have been made at the University of Chicago under the Local Community Research Committee. Here the various departments of the University interested in social research have cooperated in a series of studies of local community problems. Much of the work has been carried on in a social research laboratory, housed in a special building, the first to be established in the United States. The study of local communities in Chicago has been coordinated by a research expert employed for that purpose; and this plan has made possible the wide participation of students in building up local community studies.

The question arises as to how such integration may be effected among the various departments in a school of education. It seems apparent that the first steps in this direction should be experimental and that progress should be made gradually, rather than by attempting to superimpose an ambitious scheme without preliminary experimental work. It seems highly desirable that there should be specialists in research to whom the various departments might turn for advice on technical questions such as case studies, the preparation of statistics, field work, interviewing, and other research methods as well as research resources available in the various fields of investigation. The question as to the initiation and coordination of research projects, however, cannot be answered without very careful and extended consideration. Oslund, it seems desirable that the matter of the initiation and direction of research projects should be left to the different departments who are in a position to discover and visualize problems growing out of their own special knowledge. This would avoid the danger of

¹ One student in educational sociology in New York University is engaged in preparing a master's thesis upon the subject, "Maps of Manhattan as Research Resources for Educational Sociology."

overstandardization which might result in the dampening of departmental initiative and the stifling of individual or original ideas and methods. Yet it also seems apparent that it would be very desirable to establish a special department of research which could render technical service to the other departments in the ways mentioned above and in the supervision of field work, map making, statistical tabulation, etc. Such a department would also be in a position to act as a clearing house for information on all research projects and to suggest significant methods of co-operation and ways of preventing the duplication of effort. Its usefulness in making suggestions on specific projects to the departments can hardly be doubted. It could also point out fruitful methods of procedure and promising topics for investigation when such assistance is desired.

Among Institutions and Scholars

The question of the integration of research among institutions and scholars as yet has had very little consideration. This involves increasing the means of intercommunication among scientific bodies such as foundations, learned societies, research councils, and social agencies which are interested in scientific investigation; among the universities which have departments engaged in social research; and among individual scholars who are undertaking research projects in this and in other countries. No national clearing house for the specific purpose of exchanging research information now exists; and such a clearing house might be impracticable because of its very cumbersomeness. If each scientific and professional journal, however, would establish a department given to research projects and methods within its own field, these could be linked together in such a way as to make the information at their command useful in other fields than their own, as well as to widely separated groups and individuals within each journal's own province of knowledge. To achieve this aim for the field of educational sociology is the ambition of this department of *THE JOURNAL*.²

² To this end students and scholars are urged to exchange information through the medium offered by this department, to send in accounts of methods of research which they find interesting or useful, and to report various research projects which they themselves are undertaking or with which they have come into contact in the general field of educational sociology.

READERS' DISCUSSION

EDITORIAL NOTE *This department is designed to be an open forum wherein free expression will be encouraged upon all questions in the field of THE JOURNAL*

The article by Edwin B. Evans on "The Measure of a Community" (in the December issue of *THE JOURNAL*),¹ comparing the two types of community organization practised and published by the Bureau of Education at Washington, D. C., and the Extension Division, The University of West Virginia, has aroused my curiosity as to the nature of the two plans, the Bureau plan and the West Virginia plan, to the extent that I have sent for copies of the two pamphlets describing the plans. The skeletal outline presented in the comparison sounds interesting.

What should the measure of a community be? Shall the emphasis be placed on any particular phase as the political organization, or shall all elements, including the cultural and educational aspects, be treated as of equal importance? It seems to me that all the elements present and entering into the community should be considered and perhaps some elements that are not present; for example, æsthetic appreciations—these latter with a view to cultivating tastes and appreciations that will bring to the community and the "masses" the best that society has to offer.

A good deal is being said and written about internationalism and its importance. Likewise students of government continually deplore our ignorance in the use of the vote. Citizenship ranks high among many educators as one of the objectives of education. How shall it be achieved? It seems that if the aim of community organization is "the conscious attempt to secure for society as a whole the real values which have been secured by the more enlightened portion of society," then certainly good government and an appreciation and understanding of the problems of internationalism are important. So important are they that separate headings should be allotted to them in the measure of a community. This heading might be entitled "Community Government." An interpretation must be placed on the phrase to

¹ Discussion by Mabel E. Rugen, New York City

include the status of voting intelligence, the interests in and knowledge of international, national, state, as well as local affairs as revealed through a study of community intelligence, community organizations, and community government. Perhaps "Community Patriotism" might be a good name. With the new interpretation placed on patriotism something might be done to develop a patriotism that was grounded on an intelligent understanding of world, national, and local problems rather than continuing to flaunt the sentimental, empty patriotism practised in daily salutes to the flag and "reciting sections of the Constitution by rote without even knowing what they mean."

I will await with interest the arrival of the Bureau and West Virginia plans. My special concern will be in whether or not internationalism, government, and the æsthetic appreciations are given a conspicuous place. I like to think of the ideals of education as the attainment of health, citizenship, and æsthetic appreciations. The measure of a community, if it is to be a reliable tool for community organization in achieving education for the "masses," must take into consideration these ideals.

BOOK REVIEWS

What's Wrong with American Education? by DAVID SNEDDEN.
Philadelphia: Lippincott Company, 1927, ix + 379 pages.

The reviewer is always faced with the problem when handed a book for criticism. Is this merely "another book" or is it a contribution to the subject matter in the field in which it is written. The answer in this case is, we have something more than another book. We have a book that will stimulate discussion. The book is not a scientific contribution, it does not add to the sum total of human knowledge, it does set down in decisive and provocative terms the problems that are agitating that part of the American public concerned with its schools. This is evidently what the author intended for he says the book is designed for two classes of readers. First are educators who are true "policy makers." These include superintendents, principals, chairmen of teachers' committees, and often inconspicuous teachers who are genuinely interested, on the one hand, in the actual purposes now served by any particular type of education, and, on the other, in possible improvements in educational processes. Next are those laymen who are dissatisfied with existing conditions in any department of school and nonschool education.

For purposes of brevity, the author raises questions and analyzes them. He does not answer the questions raised. The result is likely to be to make the reader more dissatisfied and uncertain about the correctness of present procedures, or for that matter any proposed educational procedure, including even that proposed by the author in his other prolific writings.

The reviewer believes that the greatest advance in education may now be made by scientific research and constructive programs in terms of that research, and it is more or less futile to employ our time in further agitation. However, he may be wrong and this book may be the best thing that could be done for stimulating the research needed. Anyway if you want a sleepless night and unpleasant dreams, spend an evening in reading this book. The next morning you may rub your eyes and say "Well, something must be done." If so the book will have served a valuable purpose.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

The Challenge of Youth, by ALFRED E. STEARNS. Boston: W. A. Wilde Company, 1923, ix + 180 pages.

How quickly and how radically the *mores* are changing. A half decade ago it was still interesting—even challenging, perhaps—to read the scoldings of middle age addressing itself to youth and to society in general. Until so recent a day, we were shocked to discover that wealth and leisure and social aspirations and the mechanical inventions were affecting the amusements, the dress, and the behaviors of youths and adults. Today we are still interested in these matters, but we no longer throw up our hands exclaiming "Terrible! Terrible! This ought

to be stopped!" We are seeking constructive and feasible suggestions—and the book under review has not a single constructive, feasible suggestion to offer. Like the White Queen the good Doctor seems always to be directing that heads be chopped off—and this does not seem to the reviewer to be feasible nor particularly educative.

Here is the jeremiad supreme! Nothing in this modern world is right. Youth is occasionally and naively called "the hope of the world" when the author is berating the parents and other selfish and wicked adults. Many pages are, however, taken up in telling horrendous tales of boys who tell lies, who no longer say their prayers, who go to the movies, who dance late into the night. Stories are told to illustrate how the disillusioned soldier boys returned from Europe to find the younger generation petting and dancing and drinking—such things as had never happened before the men had gone to fight in France. So one finishes the book not quite sure whether youth is about to destroy all the morals of the race or still remains "the hope of the world."

This is not a recent book. Probably it would not have seemed so futile, such a helpless scolding, four or five years ago. The author presents no practical program for reform or for redirection of youth's energies—except the implied recommendation that family prayers and grace before meals be reinstituted. He lectures the parents, movie actors and scenario writers, magazine editors and novelists.

Perhaps Dr. Stearns feels a certain helplessness because he cannot dismiss selfish and radical people from the world just as he seems to dismiss boys and Andover. Part Two, entitled "The Home in Civilization," is a recital of parental behaviors at interviews with the author after he had expelled boys from school for the following causes. One was dismissed for signing his mother's name to a telegram; another was sent away because he misused an excuse granted him to visit a supposedly dying grandfather—attending a football game when his grandfather's death was postponed, a third was expelled for telling a lie to a proctor and staying out of his dormitory after hours, and two others were dismissed for leading a student protest. As a justification of such drastic punishment, the author assures us that the boys come to feel that the shock had been helpful to them. Nowhere in this book is there any word of constructive measures, of cooperative efforts to set school standards of conduct, or of help to the erring one before he is "fired." The reviewer cannot believe that the book does justice either to Dr. Stearns or to Andover. Every example and every expression in the book seems to be directed to one of two beliefs: (1) Old *mores* are breaking down and the world is going to the dogs, and (2) boys who don't play the game should be dismissed from school; this makes men of them.

Surely such drastic and unresourceful discipline is a curious response to the challenge of youth. It is too obviously false and artificial. It could succeed nowhere. It may seem to succeed in an exclusive preparatory school with a long waiting list. But no parent could drive his child out of his home because he had told a lie or revolted or misused a privilege. And the public school administrator who tried it would find himself in hot water—and would deserve so to find himself.

The reviewer knows something of Andover because the sons of his friends are students there. He knows that there is a splendid school spirit, he feels certain that such excellent educational practices are far more typical of normal Andover

life than those cited in this volume, and he is sure that they are known to and probably inspired by Dr. Stearns himself. It is regrettable, therefore, that the schoolmaster as guide, philosopher, and friend to his youthful associates—the true response to the challenge of youth—finds only one minor and passive illustration in this book.

The world—and this includes Dr. Stearns—has grown more used to the behavior of young folks in the last five years. Probably Dr. Stearns would not write the same book now. We have gained somewhat better perspective. We are willing to let the new world find a religion of its own to express its own aspirations and its ethics. And while we are not very sure that "God's in his heaven, all's right with the world," we do know that the youth in our secondary schools are far more earnest, far steadier, far more competent in executive and artistic and mechanical activities than were the youths of a quarter century ago.

It is not a Pollyanna philosophy that makes those of us who know youth intimately bid Dr. Stearns to take heart. It is perhaps a surer memory of school conditions in our own youths, and a habit of looking at the accomplishments rather than at the mistakes and excesses of the youths of today.

PHILIP W. L. COX

Our Health Habits, by CHARLOTTE TOWNSEND WHITCOMB and JOHN H. BEVERIDGE. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1926, 607 pages.

Our Health Habits is a combination of manual and sourcebook. From the outline one expects more of source material than appears; the outline is frequently the typical course of study.

Miss Whitcomb addresses the book to teachers, nurses, and others as "notes to teachers" but not "necessary subject matter for teaching," rather a guide that will "inspire" and suggest health teaching for living rather than as a subject.

Mr. Beveridge offers the book that children may "know the laws of health," "obey them and put them into practice." He calls the book a course of study and is consistent. In organization grades one to eight are covered. The basis of treatment is by school months, the months being subdivided into lessons, usually eight in number. Bibliography usually appears at the beginning of the lessons.

A tabulation of the material indicates that food dominates as a topic. Sanitation, personal cleanliness, mouth hygiene, rest and cheerfulness each receive about half the treatment of food. Lesser treatment is given vacation, first aid, eyes, ears, nose, and throat; and review. Insects, safety first, and pageant are briefly touched.

As to grade placement of the material, cleanliness and food dominate the first four grades, sanitation the upper grades. "Practice demonstration" appears as drill. Repetition of topics is consistently presented by month rather than grade, the authors have aimed at continuity and the scheme avoids monotony. There are frequent lists of rules in which "never" and "do not" recur. Specifically, under "safety first" there are fifteen "don'ts" with regard to home, street, wires, fires, railroads, school. Otherwise the logical arrangement has psychological adaptation.

The authors allow one fifth of the book for a supplement comprising information that is professional, technical, dramatization, graphic and calisthenic, with some verse. The viewpoint of the school nurse is reflected throughout. Weight-height-age tables appear as sacrosanct; though qualifications are now justifiable. In a brief chapter to teachers, "future manhood and womanhood," "future citizens," "noble," "cherished memory" are used. In these platitudes there appears a talking down and one wishes for more straightforward, professional frankness of approach.

The book is concluded with a great sheet, diagrammatically showing a "general plan." The mechanical set-up is excellent, as are the type, cuts, paper, graphs, and tables. There is a brief general bibliography.

D. H. PIERCE

The Organization and Administration of Playgrounds and Recreation, by JAY B. NASH. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1927, xii + 547 pages.

Out of a long and practical experience as worker, administrator, and educator, Mr. Nash has given us a volume that will surely achieve an enviable place in the growing literature that deals with play and recreation. It is an intensely practical book, dealing with every detail of this relatively new development in modern life, but treats the administrative and technical problems from a sound educational and sociological angle.

The approach to his subject from the point of view of the city planner is especially to be commended, for we must soon come to recognize that we will never make adequate provision for human needs until we learn, as the planners seem at last to have learned, that a city is a place where people live as well as travel about and conduct their business.

The educational psychology in Chapter IV—"Play and Recreation Objectives," is sound and modern. Avoiding the all too prevalent plan of arranging a category of drives, urges, or instincts as the basis for individual development, the author suggests that with a fundamental instinctive urge to activity, man determines the form of his activities by his social habits. Physical activities considered educationally then demand a "replacement of mere *subject matter* with life-giving *activities* in which children have abundant opportunities to react in *stimulative situations*" (Italics are the author's).

The reviewer for this JOURNAL need not concern himself with a lengthy discussion of the value of the volume as a worker's manual. It is interesting to note, however, that the chapter on "Powers and Liabilities of Cities and City Officials" is perhaps the first complete presentation of this subject that has been attempted and is one which, amid the technicalities of modern legal practice, has been long needed as a guide and safeguard.

In a recent "Short Course for Workers with Boys" at Teachers College, Columbia University, the writer asked a group of twenty-two professionals in the field of boy leadership to select the most useful book in a working library of sixty volumes to which they had access during the sixty-hour course. By unanimous vote, first place went to this book by Mr. Nash.

R. K. ATKINSON

Educational Psychology, by E. H. CAMERON. New York. The Century Company, 1927, 467 pages. (The Century Education Series.)

This addition to the list of numerous textbooks in this field is, in part, an expansion and revision of an earlier text, *Psychology of the School*, by the same author. The book is one of the texts, too few in number, which combines the general theory with the treatment of the psychology of the more important school subjects. One third of the space (pages 293-348) is devoted to an analysis of reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, English, foreign language, history, science, and mathematics.

It is evident that an attempt to cover this whole ground involves definite limitations in its presentation. Many topics which might be looked for in a modern text are consequently neglected, such as motor learning, emotion and motivation, imagination, diagnostic analysis, and remedial instruction. The topics dealt with in the general treatment are those usually found in texts of educational psychology. The author's point of view, which is apparently that of a modified behaviorist, is soundly conservative. The stress is placed on normal learning processes and little attention is given to problems of mental hygiene. More emphasis might have been placed upon social adaptations, although the stress on language is most commendable.

The treatise is clearly written and well planned with sufficient illustrative material to give it practical value. The book needs an instructor and the instructor who uses the text will find it necessary to provide appropriate references, supplementary readings, and practical exercises. Organized bibliographies covering recent as well as the older research on each of the topics, and problems for student report and discussion would have added materially to the value of the work. The text is well bound and printed in clear, pleasing type. The appendix is reserved for a presentation of certain typical standard test forms.

PAUL V. WEST

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

Dean John R. Turner of the Washington Square College of New York University has been elected to the chancellorship of the University of West Virginia, Morgantown, West Virginia.

The National Society of Educational Sociology and the National Society of College Teachers of Education will hold a joint session on February 28 with the Department of Superintendence. The subject for discussion will be "What shall be the basic courses, together with their content in the field of educational sociology?" On Wednesday, February 29, Professor C. C. Peters of Pennsylvania State College is to discuss the topic "Where does one go for fundamental assumptions in education, to educational sociology?"

It would appear that sociology is coming in for its proper consideration in the determination of educational policies.

E. Everett Cortright, formerly of the School of Education of New York University, has organized under the laws of Connecticut, a junior college at Bridgeport, Connecticut. He becomes the president of this new institution, which is the first of its kind in Connecticut, if not in the New England states. The school will open its first session in February, 1928. Mr. Cortright has been active in the educational affairs of Bridgeport for a long time, having been the superintendent of the city schools for a number of years.

Professor Read Bain of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, has a very illuminating article on the "Study of Sociology" in high schools in the December issue of *Historical Outlook*. Professor Bain contends that if sociology were placed upon the "same, constructive introduction to the normal life of the immediate community in which the pupils of the high school live," much of the objection would disappear. A most excellent outline of an introductory course is offered in this same issue by Professor Bain.

The annual meeting of the National Council of Social Studies is held in connection with the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association at Boston, February 28 to March 2. A constructive program for history, civic, and the other social studies teachers is being arranged.

Professor Ross Finney, president of the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology and professor of educational sociology in the University of Minnesota, will teach in the Harvard Summer School for 1928. Professor Finney is one of the active men in the field of educational sociology.

The growing consciousness among rural folk and the interest of the students of sociology are strikingly manifest as represented in the meetings first of the American Country Life Association at East Lansing, Michigan, in cooperation with the American Economic Association, August 1 to 4. Over six hundred delegates from 32 states attended this meeting. On the three days following this meeting the International Country Life Council was held at East Lansing, representatives of 25 foreign countries being present. The programs would be too lengthy to be reported here but they covered the fundamental problems of rural life as well as the problem of international relations. At East Lansing, July 27 to August 3, there was held the National School of Leadership for Rural Life, in which more than forty students were enrolled in the study of rural-life leadership. These movements are all significant in marking the advent of a newer and brighter day for the understanding of rural life.

The Fairfield experiment is the report of "A Study of the Causes of Friction Between Religious Groups at Fairfield, Connecticut" by *The Inquiry* of 129 East 52d Street, New York City. *The Inquiry* is a group of allied organizations interested in practical and constructive application of sociological theory to concrete conflict situations, with the hope of bringing about better group and community understanding. *The Inquiry* is conducted by a staff of trained workers.

The problem of the moral and religious interest of college and university students has attracted wide attention in recent years and disturbed considerably the thought of many persons in college and university life. An attempt was made to encompass this problem on the part of interested faculty members from the colleges and universities of the Middle Atlantic states at a meeting which was held under the auspices of the National Council of Religion in Higher Education, at Happy Valley Inn, Lisle, New York, November 18, 19, and 20, 1927. The meeting proceeded under the chairmanship of Dean Herbert E. Hawkes of Columbia University. A number of committees were appointed and several sessions were held during the three days. The conference reduced its findings to a series of statements which seem worthy of publication.

1. In institutions of higher education, instruction should be primary and made so attractive that it will take the first place in the students' attention so that extracurricular activities will naturally fall into secondary place.

2. Education should have for its purpose the integration of the whole field of life and therefore religion should be taught objectively and scientifically as other subjects are taught.

3. The subject of religion should be approached through three channels:

- (a) Curricular courses of study, whether in departments of religion or in other appropriate departments. One method for the organization of such instruction might be in a survey course to be followed, if practicable, by more specific courses in various aspects of the subject. While also to be treated as incidental in the presentation of other subjects, it should be given a distinct place of its own.
- (b) Attention should be given to the development of other provisions such as worship, voluntary discussion groups, and service activities made available by local churches, college or university pastors, Christian Associations and other religious agencies. These agencies may be looked upon as the laboratory accompaniment of curricular work.
- (c) The entire staff of the institution should be looked upon as available for helpful individual contacts whenever pertinent to the needs of the student.

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

Mrs Mary Goodyear Earle, psychologist of Manhattan State Hospital, received her training at Columbia University. She holds the A B and A M. degrees from that institution.

Dr William C. Reavis is associate professor of education, School of Education, University of Chicago. Professor Reavis was born in Indiana. He received his bachelor's degree from the University of Chicago in 1908, A M in 1911, and Ph D. in 1925. He served as grammar school principal and professor of educational sociology, Harris Teachers College, St Louis, Missouri, from 1912-1918; as superintendent of schools, Alton, Illinois, 1918-1921; and as principal, University of Chicago High School, 1921-1927. His special field is educational administration. He has contributed many articles to educational periodicals and year books. He is the author of a recent book, *Pupil Adjustment in Junior and Senior High Schools*.

Superintendent Alva T. Stanforth of Floral Park, New York, received his A B degree from Muskingum College, and his A.M. from New York University.

For sketches of Professors Zorbaugh and Scott, the reader is referred to previous issues of this JOURNAL.

FORTHCOMING ARTICLES

A Practical Revision of an Elementary-School Curriculum—
John J. Loftus

The Need of a Consensus in the Field of Educational Sociology—Walter R. Smith

Curriculum Emergent—Philip W. L. Cox

Science, Sociology, and Education—Robert Cooley Angell

Some Applications of the Principles of Social Psychology to Educational Practices—A. O. Bowden

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No. 7

THE reply of Professor Snedden came too late to include with the discussion of the papers of Professor Bode and the editor in the February number. We are glad to include Professor Snedden's reply as the leading editorial in the March issue of THE JOURNAL. Professor Snedden discusses the previous papers under the title, "Educational Philosophy *versus* Educational Sociology."

EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY VS EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

The editor of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY has asked the present writer to join in the discussion initiated by the editor's comments on Professor Bode's *Modern Educational Theories* (JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY, February, 1928).

Like Editor Payne, the writer has found Dr. Bode's book not only interesting but tantalizing. The style is alluring and many of his criticisms are shrewd and valid. But do Dr. Bode's own proposals, usually only vaguely implied, lead us east or west? It is hard to determine. Hence the writer joins with Dr. Payne in urging that Dr. Bode give us soon another book in which he will give us a host of tangible constructive proposals.

Many of us, for example, are very sympathetic with the general aspirations suggested in chapters x and xi. But how meager are Dr. Bode's elucidations of what democracy "is"! "In terms of social organization democracy means capacity for change, for

growth, for the progressive cultivation of common interests." But, by that standard, are not Italy and Russia far more "democratic" today than are England and Switzerland? The "weasel word" "progressive," of course, begs the entire question. Will Dr. Bode point out one phase of American education which, tested by experience over a score of years, seems to have proved *more* democratic than another, or *more* democratic than the corresponding developments of Prussian or Japanese education?

The present writer is especially desirous to obtain enlightenment on cultural education as that may prove effective under the fairly democratic conditions—political, religious, commercial, and sumptuary, at least—which now prevail in these United States. But can he extract anything that is not centuries old from this: "Whether a subject is cultural or not is determined, not by any trait inherent in the subject itself, but by the contribution it makes to the development of the individual"? Is not this equivalent to saying: "Whether a drug is medical or not is determined not by any trait inherent in the drug itself, but by the contribution it makes to the cure of the individual"? Have any of the traditionalists ever claimed anything else than that their favorite subjects *do* so contribute to the development (what kind?) of the individual?

Dr. Bode's method of dealing only with generalizations unsupported by inductive evidence leaves us quite in the dark as to certain of his criticisms of the present writer's positions. In chapter vi he especially takes issues with proposals more clearly to differentiate objectives of vocational and of cultural (preferably liberal) education. "The whole spirit of the democratic movement in education, on the contrary, has been toward an integration of vocation and culture." "This separation of vocation from culture is the fundamental issue between aristocracy and democracy."

Do these contentions take account of the specializations of vocations that have been proceeding in geometrical progression for two centuries? Nothing in the text indicates such recognition. Yet the grounds for my proposals are found in the necessity of getting rid of artistocratic (that is, exclusive, oligarchic) culture, and of accepting the vocational specializations forced upon civil-

ized men by machinery, desires for maximum production and leisure, and regional distribution of natural resources

If only Dr. Bode would name one or a few vocational pursuits for illustrative purposes! The city schools of Cincinnati or Toledo or Dayton or Xenia have today some hundreds of boys in their seventh grades—bright boys and dull boys, well-circumstanced boys and poorly circumstanced boys. Twenty years from now it is safely predictable—nay, it is inevitable—that a few of these boys will have found desirable vocations in shoe repairing, and a few will have become truck drivers. Probably some will have become carpenters, others compositors, still others, shoe sellers. But others—not many, but a percentage certainly—will have become lawyers or dentists or high-school teachers or retail merchants

But all these men will have the right to vote. All will be reading newspapers and magazines. All will be potential users of public libraries, music halls, and photodrama. All will have much leisure and habitual ways of using it. All will be capable of buying foods wisely or unwisely, of being thrifty or spendthrift, of holding liberal or reactionary views towards political or other kinds of democracy.

Now my democratic aspiration is that *all* the above mentioned men shall have much culture, much social sympathy, much liberalism of political outlook, much flexibility of spirit, quite apart, or rather irrespective of, their vocations. Should only lawyers read Browning's "Ring and the Book," or should we expect it to be read with delight and added insight by *men* of powers equal to that feat, whether they be shoe repairers, dentists, or college professors of physics?

Perhaps Dr. Bode agrees with me—but I cannot decide from his book. Yet I read his book for light and guidance towards curriculum making—which, after all, is only so documenting our plans and specifications for educational procedures that intelligent men and women shall be able to find out whither we educators *think* we are bound

Dr. Payne is right. We *are* entitled to a fuller explanation. Dr. Bode *must* give us another book with his own constructive programs. Dr. Bode recognizes that "what educators need at the

present time more than anything else is a reasonably clear program." Exactly But such a program cannot be of service if stated in abstract generalizations only Philosophy is, indeed, not expected to bake bread. But philosophers ought to try to show occasionally where their proposals have occasionally led to better bread making. Can they not, in education, whilst disparaging present bread making, give at least some concrete exemplifications of what they mean by better bread making?

THE JOURNAL is particularly pleased in this issue to present several of the papers presented at the Washington meeting of the American Sociological Society in the section on educational sociology. These articles are particularly pertinent since they help to define the field of educational sociology We shall include from time to time other papers of this meeting and the meeting that is to take place at Boston.

One of the major problems of educational sociology, as has been frequently pointed out, is research in the field. We have had from time to time articles dealing with one aspect of research or another and have maintained a vigorous department of research reports In line with this outline we are presenting a plan of research which is being carried out by Professor Thrasher in New York University The editors would be pleased to have comments upon the plan here in operation for the different types of research and also to hear from persons in the field who have research projects in this field. Cooperation in this respect will result undoubtedly in definite progress in the development of the science.

THE JOURNAL is particularly pleased in this issue to announce the forthcoming conference on junior-high-school problems held in the department of secondary education of New York University. The whole program consists of an application of the principles of educational sociology to the field of secondary education and, therefore, should be of first importance to educators and sociologists alike.

THE JOURNAL has received assurance from many sources that it has met a decided need among the numerous educational magazines appearing at the present time. The subscription list is being rapidly extended and satisfaction is universally expressed with its nature and contents. The editors would welcome criticisms of THE JOURNAL and its policy and would appreciate a word from its readers at any time. They also would be happy to have its readers extend its influence by passing on copies to others and by calling the attention of others to its merits. THE JOURNAL's success depends upon its readers

A PRACTICAL REVISION OF AN ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL CURRICULUM

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THE first article of this series on the reorganization of the curriculum of a typical public elementary school explained the philosophy underlying the project curriculum of Public School 80, Brooklyn, N. Y., and described the procedure by which the revised curriculum was put in operation¹. The outcome is not a final permanent curriculum or one that is applicable in every respect to all the public elementary schools of the City of New York. On the contrary, the outcome to date is a revised curriculum that has "emerged" from the local situation. If the local situation changes, the curriculum will change. It is a curriculum that is based largely on the "present needs" of the children and the community. It takes into account individual differences, home environment, prospective changes in the community, and the growing experience of the children.

A curriculum of this type is never finally established. It must adapt itself to the children for whom it provides vital and typical experiences. It is subject to change at any time; otherwise, the children would have to adjust themselves to the curriculum. A static curriculum implies indoctrination, repetition, hearing lessons, drills, conformity, remoteness from life. An activity curriculum provides things to do rather than things to memorize. It provides experiences rather than recitations, growth rather than information.

The change from the traditional curriculum to a project or activity curriculum is revolutionary. The point of view and the procedure are entirely different. The situation is radically changed for teacher as well as for pupil. Instead of taking a curriculum ready made, the teacher must constantly participate in the continuous necessary revision to meet new situations and new personnel.

On the other hand, there must be in city systems a certain amount of uniformity, a certain body of minimum essentials of information and skill. There should be also certain minimum

¹ Vol 1, No. 5, p. 255

evidences of desirable attitudes and habits. In order to provide for the constant turnover of children through transfers, admissions, and discharges, this minimum information, these minimum skills, habits, and attitudes should be specified in the course of study and should be taught in all schools at approximately the same time. A child transferring from one school to another in the middle of the term should find no great difficulty in adjusting himself to the new environment. The practical problem is how to permit the necessary flexibility, latitude, and variety within the necessary limitations of a fixed course of study.

The method adopted at Public School 80 was a cooperative study of the needs and interests of the children and the community, an analysis of the activities of the school, and the selection of a practical group of specific objectives under each of the major objectives of education. These specific objectives served as a basis for the selection of experiences and exercises from the course of study and the daily lives and environment of the children. It also served as a basis for evaluating the work noted in the plan books and observed in the classrooms or in the larger activities of the school. It served further as a basis for the type of self-government, the character and scope of the special activities and clubs, the nature of the assembly exercises, dramatics and visual education, the objectives and methods of the school paper, the conduct of school and community athletics, and the extent and purpose of the participation of the school in the activities of the community.

The specific objectives selected under each of the major objectives² are the following:

HEALTH

1. To broadcast among pupils and parents essential information about health and hygiene
2. To set up and follow up proper health attitudes and habits
3. To ascertain the most common and the most serious physical defects among the pupils.

² For the basis of selection of the seven major objectives of education, see report of the Committee on Reorganization of Secondary Education, National Education Association, U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 35, 1918, "Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education." In the experiment at Public School 80, Brooklyn, it was found desirable to isolate and add two more objectives: (a) accident and fire prevention, and (b) thrift, because of their special local importance.

4. To secure necessary medical attention and to aid in the case of pupils with serious physical defects
5. To enlist all the community aids for preventive and corrective work, especially among the children of the poor
6. To prevent the spread of children's communicable diseases
7. To improve sanitation and hygienic living in the homes and in the community.
8. To set up wholesome recreational activities that will provide relaxation, invigoration, and pleasure
9. To develop through wholesome recreation and controlled games desirable moral habits
10. To establish and maintain desirable standards of posture, marching, and setting-up exercises
11. To secure the usual benefits of formal physical training, squad work, and athletic competition
12. To set up ideals and standards of manly and womanly perfection
13. To give training in intelligent leadership and followership

ACCIDENT AND FIRE PREVENTION

1. To create ideals of caution and prevention
2. To familiarize children and community with local sources of greatest danger
3. To organize school traffic and other school business so as to ensure maximum protection
4. To demonstrate and dramatize various forms of first aid and the best procedure in emergencies
5. To familiarize children with measures taken for school, community, and industrial safety
6. To cultivate a sense of responsibility for individual and public safety
7. To coöperate with local and municipal authorities in providing maximum protection
8. To secure in the homes and the community the removal of hazards likely to cause fires or accidents

HOME MEMBERSHIP

1. To cultivate love and respect for parents
2. To dispose and induce children to help at home
3. To give to the girls skill in home making
4. To make boys handy and useful
5. To give to girls some skill in garment making and repairing and an appreciation of values, appearances, and costs
6. To lead pupils to beautify their homes
7. To urge children to assume responsibilities in the home
8. To give official school credit for home help
9. To strengthen the bond between home and the school
10. To lead parents to give children an increasing share in the problems of the home
11. To enable children to entertain the family and friends
12. To cultivate tact in dealing with parents and brothers and sisters

- 13 To dispose children to make other less fortunate homes more happy and cheerful
- 14 To cultivate the ideal of "Home, Sweet Home "

VOCATIONAL INSIGHT AND GUIDANCE

- 1 To give children desirable attitudes towards work and workmanship
- 2 To familiarize children with the work of the world and to give insight into various types of work.
- 3 To set children thinking along the lines of work they seem naturally adapted to do best
- 4 To give some proficiency and practice along lines for which children seem to have natural or acquired ability.
- 5 To interest parents in advising wise choice of future schooling or occupation for their children
- 6 To give aid and guidance to parents in the selection of high school or other type of future school work or other occupation after graduation
- 7 To familiarize children with the lives of great men and women, in order to show how they took advantage of their natural gifts or opportunities in choosing and following their life work, and in order to inspire children to imitate such examples
- 8 To provide some exposure to such vocational activities as have elements that can be provided normally within the school

CITIZENSHIP

1. To create and foster ideals of intelligent and useful citizenship
2. To provide within the class and the school the maximum opportunity for children to participate in setting the policies, solving the problems, and assuming the responsibility for the welfare of the class and the school
3. To bring pupils into active contact with the civic problems of the community and to share in their solution
4. To develop ideals and habits of intelligent leadership and followership
5. To organize the children in the work of inducing parents, relatives, and neighbors to become citizens and to participate in elections and other civic responsibilities and activities
- 6 To bring about an active cooperation between the school and local civic bodies
7. To familiarize children with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States which pertain to their rights and duties as citizens
8. To familiarize children with the machinery of government
- 9 To set up the ideal of the well-informed citizen, particularly in matters pertaining to the history, geography, economics, and culture of his country
- 10 To foster respect and reverence for God and country
11. To familiarize children with significant current events
- 12 To have children assist in keeping the neighborhood and the school attractive
13. To cultivate class, school, and community pride and self-respect

14. To give civic activities and service sufficient official recognition in the regular monthly report-card ratings
15. To expose children to the civic ideals of famous men and women through a study of biographies.

THRIFT

1. To create in children the ideal of saving regularly a substantial part of their allowances, gratuities, and earnings.
2. To encourage and direct the habit of saving for a purpose
3. To acquaint children with available methods of earning and saving
4. To extend the idea of thrift to conservation of time, material, property, health, and energy
5. To create ideals and desirable attitudes towards the conservation of natural resources and public property
6. To acquaint the community with local opportunities and safeguards for savings
7. To familiarize children and community with the need and advantage of various kinds of insurance
8. To create the attitude of looking ahead and investing savings wisely

USE OF LEISURE TIME

1. To set the ideal of using leisure time to advantage and avoiding idleness and undesirable companions and occupations
2. To give children desirable interests and hobbies to fill in most of their free time
3. To acquaint children with interesting places to go to and worth-while things to see or do.
4. To set up within the school a number of clubs and other activities in which children will be intensely and profitably interested.
5. To discover to children some of their special abilities and talents.
6. To induce the community to set up social and recreational activities which will absorb the interests of the community and counteract the attraction of bad companionships and undesirable amusements
7. To familiarize children through the study of biographies of famous men and women with their tastes and hobbies

CHARACTER TRAINING

1. To set up standards and goals of conduct.
2. To capitalize the force and influence of public opinion and public expectation
3. To give children some disposition and practice in self-analysis
4. To induce children to overcome ascertained weaknesses
5. To induce children to assume responsibility for growth of character
6. To find a basis of intelligent progress in character building each term
7. To capitalize a pupil's "word" and promise
8. To make discipline dynamic, carrying over into the street and the home
9. To make pupils realize the force and the responsibility of setting a good example.

- 10 To aid and induce parents to cooperate intelligently with the school in character building
- 11 To set up activities and responsibilities that will divert tendencies to disorder
- 12 To provide a report card that will enlighten the child as to his character needs and progress.
- 13 To secure the cooperation of the local churches, newspapers, civic organizations, and police and social workers

FUNDAMENTAL TOOLS OF
KNOWLEDGE AND SOCIAL INTERCOMMUNICATION

- 1 To give the amounts of knowledge and skill indicated
 - a By the course of study and syllabuses
 - b By the best standardized achievement tests and scales for the various subjects
- 2 To motivate learning by setting up normal needs for information and skill in the various school subjects and activities.
- 3 To effect economies by natural correlation in various projects that deal with these subject matters and skills as they are met with in life outside the school
- 4 To effect further economies of learning through organization of teacher ability, courses of study, and building equipment
- 5 To utilize the abilities of the brighter children through regular systematic coaching of the less able by these bright pupils
- 6 To supplement the work of the classroom by special activities, visual education, assemblies, the school and the public libraries, extracurricular and intracurricular clubs and activities, socialized activities, and individual help for the weak pupil
- 8 To get as many advantages as possible out of homogeneous grouping and a flexible course of study
- 9 To supervise instruction so that the office of the principal is a clearing house for the best ideas, and that the work of supervision becomes the guidance, control, and encouragement of teacher and pupil initiative
- 10 To organize school program and classroom management so that the *bright pupils* get additional opportunities for development along the lines of their talents and the *slow pupils* get additional help
- 11 To utilize community interests and happenings as the basis of instruction and application of knowledge and skill
- 12 To make intelligent use of the school library and the public library and to train in the technique of study and the use of reference material
- 13 To utilize the educational advantages of the local banks, newspapers, and other institutions

Copies of these specific objectives are in the hands of every teacher. Some or all of them are discussed at every teachers' meeting. Ways of realizing them in various school subjects and school situations are pointed out. Examples of successful projects

and significant problems are presented. Exhibits are frequently held. Teachers observe each other's classes according to schedule or on their own initiative. At each grade conference definite constructive suggestions are made by teachers assigned to study the various objectives. The present plan for each grade group is to assign one or more specific objectives to each teacher in the group. It is her task to study opportunities for worth-while activities and to suggest projects within the field of the objectives assigned to her. These are discussed and some of them adopted. Teachers are urged but not required to abide by the opinion of the majority. Individual initiative and experiment are permitted but all teachers are expected to be alert to present their grade work from the point of view of the general point of view of the activity curriculum and to be able to justify their plans and their lessons in terms of the specific objectives.

The next article will discuss the type of activities that have been effective in carrying out the program of Public School 80, Brooklyn.

THE NEED OF A CONSENSUS IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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LESTER F. WARD long ago pointed out the sympodial nature of the growth of science. In so far as that explanation of the evolution of a science is true, we may never expect a complete consensus of opinion concerning the exact metes and bounds of any particular science. This is increasingly evident as we reach the upper levels in the scientific hierarchy and face the complexities of such disciplines as biology, psychology, and sociology. More especially is this true in sociology, whose wide ramifications penetrate every field of human endeavor. Yet while an exact consensus is not to be anticipated, a reasonable agreement regarding the nature, extent, and limitations of the phenomena to be dealt with is an essential of progress. It has taken more than a quarter of a century of discussion, wide teaching, and research, to arrive at the amount of agreement concerning the aims, materials, and techniques of investigation discoverable in the still inchoate field of general sociology. It should be quite clear, therefore, that one of its subsciences, still newer in its origins, should be in particular need of careful orientation.

Aside from its purely scientific aspects there are practical difficulties in the organization of educational sociology. Closely allied to every science is a series of practical arts and social organizations. These arts and organizations grow as science grows by a succession of offshoots from the central stem, or of incremental additions to the knowledge and skills current at any one time. In the main, the advancement of a practical art is brought about by a more effective application of the principles of its associated science or sciences. Like its fellow discipline, educational psychology, educational sociology is intimately allied not only with its parent science but with one of the most complicated and vital of social arts, that of education. Historically considered, education as an institution must be classified as an art, but, in recent years we have been attempting to reduce many of its phases to the exactness of a science. In doing so educators have had to appeal to the established sciences for principles by which daily

activities may be regulated. Biology, more particularly psychology, and latterly sociology, have supplied the organized data by which this increased exactness, approaching a new science of education, has been brought about. It must be admitted, however, that about all we now have of a science of education is an indefinite synthesis of the principles of a youthful educational psychology and an infantile educational sociology. Both educational psychology and educational sociology are applied sciences—which means that they are dependent upon psychology and sociology on the one hand and education on the other. Likewise it suggests that their development be the joint work of scientists, psychologists, and sociologists, and of educators. Thus before we can get very far in the field of educational sociology we must be able to convince and convict both sociologists and school men. In order to do this we must know just where we are going and why, what problems we expect to make our own, and how we hope to deal with them in a scientific and helpful way. This is a question of orientation and organization, and constitutes the first great task of educational sociologists.

The absence of a consensus among teachers and investigators in educational sociology is too obvious to require much elaboration. Some of us who assume the name have entered the field from the ranks of sociologists, some from education, and some from other fields. Our training and experiences have been diverse and our points of view and emphases are naturally different. We are rather intense individualists in our thinking or we should not have entered so new a field of endeavor. Being pioneers we have no beaten pathways to follow and must perforce blaze our own trails. All of these variations in training, habit of thought, and personality are reflected in our teaching and writing. So multifarious are these differences that not one of us would know just the nature of the training one of our students would have had if he came to us with three or six hours' credit in educational sociology. Nor should we be able to estimate the amount of duplication that would occur if he should take the elementary course we were offering.

I should not wish to exaggerate the importance of these divergencies because the same thing has taken place in the early stages

of every science. Our field is so broad and touches education in so many vital ways that differentiation and experimentation are as necessary as they are inevitable. There is sufficient wealth of material to provide valuable training in more than one course, even though handled in a somewhat elementary way. Yet it should be evident that we cannot continue indefinitely in this state of uncertainty. Other departments will make perfectly legitimate calls for an accounting. They have a right to expect us to justify not only our own work but that of our fellows. Credits must be standardized—which means that we must find ourselves as a group and establish a reasonable agreement regarding the content of, at least, a general course and some of the specialized fields of advanced work.

To illustrate the uncertain nature of the initial course now given in educational sociology it may be worth while to review briefly the several texts which serve as guides. Leaving out Professor Chancellor's book, which devotes less space to education and has less claim as a text in educational sociology than most treatises in general sociology, there are five books available. In the order of publication these are, Smith, Robbins, Clow, Snedden, and Peters. To any one who is familiar with these volumes, and most of us doubtless are, the differences in point of view and subject matter are evident. Leaving out the writer's *Introduction to Educational Sociology*, published in 1917, the first book is Robbins's *The School as a Social Institution*. It is properly named and does well what it attempts to do. Its recognition of the social foundations of education is as definite and its method of handling materials is as sociological as that of the others, but it makes no claim to an organization of the subject matter of a general course in educational sociology. Professor Clow has also rightly named his book *Principles of Sociology with Educational Applications*. Again we find a recognition of the social nature of education and the application of sociological principles to the study of school work; but this volume has little resemblance to the one just discussed and Professor Clow frankly disclaims any effort to organize a body of materials into a scientific educational sociology. Next off the press was Dr. Snedden's *Educational Sociology*. It is a mine of information and stimulating discussion, both sociological

and educational, but so distinct are the two factors in treatment that they have rightly been reissued in separate volumes. Further, the second volume, which makes the real contribution to educational sociology as distinct from general sociology, is concerned almost wholly with educational objectives. While this volume provides a detailed treatment abundantly valuable in itself, it is far removed in subject matter from either of the texts mentioned and does not attempt an organization of the whole field in the way most teachers desire to cover it in an introductory course. Lastly, comes the *Foundations of Educational Sociology* by Professor Peters. This volume comes nearer to a treatment of all phases of the subject than any that has appeared since the writer's *Introduction*. Professor Peters has utilized the work of previous authors and added a scientific touch too frequently lacking in the others. Such problems as association, social control, social progress, democracy, the family, and the church are treated with specific reference to their educational implications; but other subjects given equal importance by other writers, such as the community and the state, are entirely omitted. Likewise in the more specifically professional aspects, the determination of objectives and curricula are dealt with to the almost total exclusion of administration, discipline, and method.

The object of giving this bird's-eye view of the literature of educational sociology is not one of criticism but to point out its varied character and the lack of a recognized compendium of materials for an elementary course, or any standardized method of treatment. It may readily be admitted that the spirit of each of these books is social and that a course based upon any one of them, if liberally supplemented as the members of this group would do it, would provide a stimulating course for teachers and that it would render the very desirable service of improving teaching practice. In the long run, however, and it is our business to make that run as short as possible, it will be necessary for us to reach a reasonable consensus concerning a core of subjects and a body of materials for a first course with which every student will be made familiar.

If we may judge by the older sciences, an introductory course is not the place for extended treatment of any one phase of the

subject. The physicist does not give an elaborate course in electricity or mechanics to a beginning student. Rather he tries to introduce the student to each of the larger divisions of his subject, to give him a rounded view of the whole science, reserving for advanced courses the detailed treatment of its special aspects. The same is true in psychology and chemistry. Nor are we without one science, biology, which forsook this path of wisdom. Many of us remember a general course in biology as one of the formative influences in our scientific thinking. But a generation of specialists came on who cast aside this inspiring review of life and began to insist that students take special courses in zoology and botany or be consigned to the limbo of biological ignorance. They thereby not only multiplied the audiences of W. J. Bryan in his diatribes against evolution but buried themselves in a collegiate cul-de-sac. In recent years they have discovered a pillar of cloud in the scholastic sky which they are following back into the fold of scientific breadth and vision by restoring the general course in biology to our college catalogues.

In educational sociology we are now not far from the parting of the ways. We can concentrate our main efforts upon the development of a standard general course as most of the other sciences have done and make it so effective that practical educators will insist upon its requirement, along with educational psychology, as a basis for a certificate to teach. Or, we may scatter our energies upon a varied series of experiments, exploiting our students to bring about our own education, or to accumulate materials for a book, and thus wander about in the sociological wilderness for another decade or so. In taking this stand I trust no one will read into what I am saying any lack of respect for research work or any failure to appreciate its necessity. Without painstaking investigation and experimentation, research and more research, there can be no scientific educational sociology. But underlying this research must be rationalization and hypothesis, accompanying it must be coordination, synthesis, and organization. And it is the application of these more elementary processes to the assembling, simplifying, and elaborating of a body of teaching materials which can be conveyed to the average teacher that will form the best foundation for the advancement of research.

Even at the expense of repeating what some of you may have often heard, I should like to suggest that the growth of educational sociology must depend upon two things: first, the acquainting of practically the whole body of teachers with the elements of a general course which will give them the social point of view in educational thinking, and enough knowledge of the applications of sociological principles to school situations, to change their practices for the better; second, the development of a series of advanced courses which will attract groups of graduate students who will be able to do original work. It would be a fundamental error to overlook either of these assets. Before we can accomplish either of these purposes, however, we must have something demonstrably worth while to give. But I submit that in our individualistic land and age, in the field of education where the individualistic approach of educational psychology has been dominant, the inculcation of a social point of view, a reasonable amount of practice in sociological analysis of educational groups, and the habit of accepting efficient social participation as one of the tests of the effectiveness of school work constitute a valuable contribution to the average teacher. No general course in any science ever gets much beyond the cultivation of a few attitudes and appreciations, based upon a more or less hazy knowledge of a few principles and facts. Why delude ourselves by hoping for more?

I emphasize these points particularly because it seems to me that the parallel with educational psychology is frequently misinterpreted. We are sometimes made oversensitive by the implied taunts of the quantitative educational psychologists. They ask what we have in the way of scientifically authenticated principles to offer the prospective teacher or administrator. Our reply is quite naturally that we have very little, and the aforesaid educational psychologist points with pride to their achievements in mental and subject-matter testing. But the difficulty with the parallel thus used comes from a failure to recognize the time element. Educational psychology was taught for a third of a century, and filled a splendid mission in reconstructing school work in the elementary grades, before any of the widely heralded quantitative achievements were made. Today every large school of education has a whole staff of educational psychologists and a large

number of differentiated courses filled with graduate students. Back of these is an army of teachers who have been required to take a general course which established a professional level of psychological insight upon which research could be builded. If we hope to compete on even terms with a science so intrenched we expect what never was and never will be. Likewise if we allow ourselves to be driven from offering to large numbers of students the things we can actually give by a super-ambitious effort to introduce researches, many of which in our present state of development will necessarily be half-baked, we shall forfeit both the opportunity to universalize a superior social insight among teachers and the fellowship of genuinely scientific students.

One other aspect of the situation warrants emphasis. No building is constructed by beginning at the top, and no science is formulated by beginning with great discoveries. Instead, minute accretions of information are assembled and classified as a basis for a series of reasoned hypotheses, which are gradually substantiated and then reformulated into principles. In general, it is only from plateaus of knowledge distributed through a group of workers that we may expect the great discoveries of science to emerge. Hence if we wait until the small group of workers now teaching our subject can conduct the elaborate series of researches necessary to found a genuinely scientific educational sociology, we shall be caught on the day of judgment with well-nigh empty hands. Before Thorndike began his great work in educational psychology a generation of penetrating thinkers, scarcely less able than himself had spent their best efforts in hypotheating a body of principles, organizing them into a system, and teaching them to an ever enlarging band of followers. Thus a level of psychological understanding was built up from which now achievements could be made by mere incremental additions to existing knowledge. We should be untrue to the social thinking for which our subject stands if we failed to realize and teach this evolutionary nature of achievement, and we shall postpone considerably the development of a true science if we attempt to erect an inverted scientific pyramid by starting with an apex of investigations and ending with our broad foundation at the top.

The burden of this paper is, then, a plea for coordinated efforts to orient a core of subjects and a body of professionally stimulating data concerning which we can reach a better consensus than now exists; that such subjects and such teaching materials constitute the nucleus of a first course, reserving the work beyond these fundamentals to be varied according to the ability and judgment of the individual instructor; that this course be kept within the range of interest and comprehension of beginning students in education, a companion course, and comparable in its appeal, to the universally required course in educational psychology; that, recognizing the present lack of demonstrable principles, we accept as our chief mission in this introductory course the building up of social attitudes, training students to think in social terms, and inspiring them to search for socially functioning activities as criteria for testing the effectiveness of their instruction; and, finally, that we must recognize this general course, given to as wide a clientele of students as we can attract to our classes, as the only solid foundation upon which intensive specialized courses may be constructed.

It would scarcely be fair, or at least as constructive as I wish to be, to conclude this paper without some effort to contribute toward the consensus which has been shown to be lacking at present and very much needed. Therefore, without dogmatism or too much assurance that what I say will not need modification before the discussion ends, I shall point out certain features which I think should characterize this introductory course

As the heart of a course in educational psychology is a study of the learning process, so the heart of a course in educational sociology should be a study of the socializing process. Each of these processes is as completely and specifically a phase of the development of personality, and as necessary a part of education, as the other. Consequently educators need to know as much about the one as they do the other, and, ultimately, the phenomena and principles underlying the socializing process must be as definitely defined, as demonstrable, and as concretely applied to school work as those of the learning process. Accepting the socializing process, then, as the central feature of our study, just how shall we proceed? Again let us compare the less known with the better known.

As the study of the learning processes of the individual involves a wide range of investigations, using both animal and human subjects, so the study of the socializing process involves a wide range of investigations into group life. There are two approaches to this study of the educational aspects of the socializing process. In the first place, there is the sociological approach which includes a general study of socialization as it is conducted by various human and animal societies. In the second place, there is the educational approach which includes a study of socialization as it is, and might be, brought about in school societies. The first approach is general, consisting of an abstraction from the field of general sociology of those facts, principles, and theories concerned with the socializing process and dealing with them from a purely educational standpoint. The second approach is more specific, consisting of a treatment of every phase of education from the sociological standpoint. More detailed analysis will make this clear.

General sociology is occupied mainly with a study of social evolution, social organization, social control, and social progress. With these the educational sociologist is concerned only in so far as they throw light on the process of socialization. However, just as the educational psychologist uses any of the developments of general psychology, so the educational sociologist must use any development of general sociology which illuminates the process by which groups act upon and mold individuals to type, that is, educates them socially. We must rigidly eliminate any scattering of energy over such institutions as the family, the church, the neighborhood, the state, or such problems as communication, social forces, social control, democracy, etc., except in so far as they can be used to aid in socializing school work. We are just now in that dangerous stage of expansion in which everything in the whole realm of sociology, and in education as well, is, by some person or another, being called educational sociology. In spite of this danger, however, it seems to me that no introductory course should fail to review the leading fields of general sociology, extracting from each whatever may be found to bear directly upon the regimen of a socializing education.

A similar analysis may be applied to education. It is generally treated under four major heads—aims or objectives, curriculum,

administration, and method. Each of these divisions has both individual and group aspects, and its scientific treatment is equally a psychological and a sociological problem. The determination of objectives is no more important a phase of educational sociology than is the determination of administrative policies and programs. Likewise the making of curricula is no more dependent upon social activities and social needs than is the determination of teaching and disciplinary methods upon the ways in which our knowledge, skills, and virtues are to be used in social living. All four of these major divisions of education are equally concerned with the learning process and the socializing process and hence need both psychological and sociological treatment. If these things be true, it seems to me quite evident that no general course in educational sociology could be considered reasonably complete which fails to throw the searchlight of social analysis and vision upon the outstanding problems of objectives, curricula, administration, and method. I am well aware that some of you will consider such a course entirely too general and will fear that I am advocating shotgun methods and the use of unsubstantiated opinion, but glittering generalities are not necessary if the materials are well organized and the problems reduced to their lowest social terms. And the essence of my theme is that we must get together in the orientation of the aims, the materials and problems, and a few of the conclusions that must constitute this introductory course in order to prevent the scattering of energy which is too prevalent in all of our classrooms.

CURRICULUM EMERGENT

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NO MORE stupendous and significant a development can be cited in the whole history of education than that which is now taking place in secondary education in the United States. Economic prosperity, increasing leisure, social aspirations, conveniences, comforts, and luxuries formerly undreamed of even by the economically most favored people are controlled by great numbers of the American people. In turn, this prosperity and leisure, these aspirations and mechanical improvements now control the habits and attitudes of the great mass of our population. And one very important outcome of the resulting nascent activity throughout American society is a desire for broader and more satisfying opportunities for ourselves and for our children. Hence, in education we seek for those traits that are characteristic of the élite, and we look to the school to promote them.

Secondary education, that education which for over two thousand years has been concerned with adolescent boys—and indirectly, at least, has affected the activities of adolescent girls—finds itself required by social pressure to reorganize itself completely. In size, in scope, in organization, in administration, in curriculum, in teaching methods, in guidance and advisement, in relation to the leisure time, the civic aspirations, the domestic life and the economic-vocational activities of the community, the secondary school finds itself radically changed.

Indeed, it sometimes seems that the whole community goes to high school, purposefully or inadvertently caught up in the movement of the crowd. Concerts in the high-school auditorium, football on the field, from the bleachers, or on the sports page of the daily paper, scouts, Hi-Y and Girl Reserves, graduations, pageants, publications, societies—all of these activities and many more reach not only the pupils now in school, but many persons of all ages not in high school. Children still in the elementary school, young alumni and alumnae of the high school, fathers and mothers, and many other youths and adults all participate, directly or vicariously, in these social activities.

How can the secondary school save itself from being completely swamped out by the new *mores*, the new crowd pressures? How can it recreate itself a new, purposeful, telic institution to seize this most magnificent opportunity to stimulate, direct, and reward the aspirations and behaviors of the whole American people?

Perhaps it cannot do anything of the sort. Perhaps its sponsors will just let things happen to it. It is not easy to change radically so venerable an institution as the secondary school. Secondary education has a thoroughly respectable ancestry. Its purposes, the linguistic emphasis of its curriculum—grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics—even its methods of teaching are social inheritances two thousand years old or more. It is uncomfortable to change them now; many would prefer not to change. But inevitably the social revolution now in progress makes it impossible to follow our old charts and course. A new school is emerging.

WHAT FORCES UNDERLIE THE HIGH SCHOOL EMERGENT?

Our educational philosophers and sociologists and psychologists have explained to us for some years that children and adults are affected educationally by their entire range of experiences. In its formal program, however, the school has till today continued to act as though its pupils took up their education at nine a. m. and at two or three p. m. put education aside, except for their lesson getting in their own homes.

But the developments of industry and the close organization of economic distribution during the last quarter century have ameliorated the living conditions and made possible luxuries and leisure for a great economic class which formerly knew such privileges only vicariously. In these new social *milieux*, the formal "education" of young citizens has gone on apace. And one result of this modification of behavior and attitude has been the insistent challenge by youth of all conventional *mores*.

In the last two decades has come the demand on the part of the community that all mentally normal children continue in school just as long as they and their parents believe it to be advantageous for them to do so. Indeed, legislatures have so far increased the compulsory school requirements that secondary education seems likely to become an upward extension of elementary

education. This is causing a violent dislocation of concepts and practices, and impatient tax-paying parents are frequently harsh in their criticisms of teachers and administrators whose pupils are failing or unhappy. Very frequently such criticisms are not wholly justified. But generally they have an element of reason in them. High-school faculties which go forward without waiting for community sentiment to drive them or push them into reasonable modifications frequently avoid the unpleasant disruption.

The school has been questioned; it is now being challenged; and where it has not changed in practice, it is being put into hands that will make the needed modifications. These changes have been realistically and empirically made. They have been sometimes affected by educational philosophy, psychology, and sociology. But more often the revolutionary practices have spread by imitation and adaptation of those that have seemed successful in progressive schools. Hence, reform is made piecemeal, and each change is judged in terms of its immediate effects on pupils and parents rather than on the basis of a broad educational philosophy. It is this uneven evolution of present-day progressive secondary education that constitutes the "*curriculum emergent*." If its significance is to be appreciated, its lack of finish and its obvious inconsistencies must be recognized as characteristic of an emerging social institution.

WHAT IS A GRADUATE OF THE HIGH SCHOOL EMERGENT?

The school continues to grant its diploma on the basis of units or semester points, and colleges use these counters in accepting high-school graduates. But frequently the college authorities are more interested in the personal characteristics and the future promise of candidates than they are in the subject units which they have successfully "*completed*"—or survived. Thus, here in the East, Harvard, Yale, Pennsylvania, Cornell, Swarthmore, Dartmouth, Williams, Columbia, and doubtless many other colleges utilize ratings of personal characteristics as well as, perhaps more than, scholarship records. And it is the frank opinion of high-school men that those colleges are getting the best students which use the certificate plan and discriminate in favor of the boys of proved social worth. It is interesting to note that this

enlightened attitude of college admittance committees has been, in the case of Harvard, at least, a frank surrender of the academic viewpoint to the persistent demands of the alumni—it is a realistic modification made only when social pressure has become irresistible.

Within the secondary schools' faculties there is frequently a curious academic assent to the eternal rightness of the diploma based on sixteen units of formal subject matter. For many teachers, academic requirements for a diploma are a folkway; they are not to be questioned. But practically all alert principals and teachers are also ready to dispense the most approved "patter" regarding the "seven objectives" as stated by the National Education Association Commission in 1918. Many high-school teachers have established two compartments of concepts, attitudes, judgments, and habits regarding the educative process. The one compartment is dominated by custom, the other by intellect. Frequently the insulation between the two compartments has been perfect.

Nevertheless, there is everywhere evident a great change going on in this regard among those of us who are closely engaged in trying to harmonize the two aspects of the problem of secondary education. We are at last keenly aware that a diploma based on four units of English, four units of Latin, three of mathematics, and five more of history, science, or a second foreign language is not valuable testimony that the pupil is actually in better health, has command of the fundamental educational or social tools, is a better home member, a better citizen, a better economic unit, uses his leisure more worthily, or has better character than if he had not graduated from high school.

WHAT ARE THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE HIGH SCHOOL EMERGENT?

In a word, we find ourselves embarrassed by our academic traditions because they are largely unconnected with the process of education to which we give intellectual assent. There is, therefore, a marked restlessness among secondary-school people today. We are conscious that much is expected of us. The city fathers lavish upon their adolescent children beautiful, commodious, well-planned and splendidly equipped buildings. Appropriations for

salaries of high-school teachers have increased in many cities more rapidly than almost any other municipal expenditure. To us teachers, in these buildings, the parents send their children in ever increasing numbers and of ever more challenging and somewhat embarrassing variation of abilities and interests and social backgrounds.

Can we do for these children what the public obviously expects? Can we teach these children, all of them, so that they will attain to the culture, the attitudes, the abilities that have heretofore characterized the élite of our intellectual, economic, and political societies? If we accept responsibility for accomplishing the impossible, no matter how involuntarily or unwittingly we do so, then we are in grave danger of being judged deficient.

If secondary education is to be protected against a very serious revulsion in public confidence (even now, perhaps, somewhat overdue) there are only two alternatives. We may positively refuse to accept the great numbers of young people who seek admittance to the high school, maintain relatively small selective schools that prepare pupils for college or for skilled commercial operations—such schools as we have conducted with some success in the past. Then, if appropriations should be cut down to a minimum and if the public would be satisfied with what we would undertake to accomplish, we could return to the relatively comfortable security of the placid nineties.

CURRICULUM MODIFICATION IS INESCAPABLE

But whether we like it or not those days have gone forever. And so we are forced to accept the issue as it is set up by an overwhelming social pressure. We must boldly attack the problem of fitting an educational program to the needs and capacities of the whole adolescent population.

This requires, indeed, a most revolutionary philosophy. It means a complete shift in conventional school values. It is the end of academic grade standards alike for all children. In progressive public high schools, significant adaptations realistically and empirically made suggest that this revolutionary philosophy is finding expression. A new and vital curriculum is emerging, largely because the old one will no longer work.

WHAT IS THE CURRICULUM EMERGENT?

Core-curriculum subjects have felt the pressures most steadily, and, therefore, have made the most significant changes. Tenth-grade English sometimes covers a variation of activities ranging from the reading of books and magazines that can be enjoyed and lived vicariously by dull-normal boys and girls, who have very little power of reflective reasoning, to the analysis and comparative study of the great dramas, ancient and modern, by interested youths with superior abilities. In expression English activities may vary from the writing of the simplest reports and letters, with the emphasis on a very minimum of essentials, to creative writing of a range and quality approximating those of standard magazines. In a word, the inevitable development in secondary education makes necessary the introduction of differentiated education on a more wholesale scale than any we have hitherto dreamed of.

For many pupils, the usual superimposed and logically organized subject matter is being replaced by a program of learning opportunities typical of the serious civic, domestic, vocational, and leisure-time occupations of the world in which these youths live and for which the community desires them to be prepared. Pupils' present interest in athletics, in executive, mechanical, political activities, in school and out, are being exploited and new interests are being stimulated through the contagious enthusiasms of teachers and fellow students. Their special ambitions and aptitudes are being discovered by their advisers and other teachers, and fostering them is being recognized as the most important function of the school. In progressive high schools, the orchestra or the construction of a small steamboat is no longer subordinated to algebra and Latin!

THE NEW CORE CURRICULUM PROMOTES ATTITUDES AND
COMPETENCIES

The secondary school is beginning to promote for each individual those forms of activity in which he can best be helped to engage whole-heartedly, because only when he is engrossed in his task is he likely to develop the active virtues, viz., self-reliance,

initiative, originality, and independence. It is only when each one who is engaged in a common enterprise wants what is best for the enterprise more than personal vindication or victory for his proposals, that he is likely to develop in any degree an impersonal objective habit, "cherishing only the naked facts of life and the zeal to control them for the common good." And it is only when he works vigorously at tasks for which he is adequately equipped by nature and by previous experience that his efforts are likely to end successfully and therefore to be satisfying. Unless a reasonable share of his efforts result satisfyingly to him, he must stop trying, he must find other modes of expressing himself, or else run the danger of developing an inferiority complex and various forms of defense reactions—day dreaming, phantasies, and perhaps even a split personality. *The core of the curriculum emergent includes athletics, assemblies, advisement, club membership, student participation in solving school problems, publication of school papers, lunchroom behavior and diet, as well as language activities and appreciation lessons.* Student life is being curricularized, subjects that do not utilize the present activities of pupils are being relegated to special curricula or electives.

CURRICULUM CHANGES NOTED BY INGLIS AND KOOS

More obvious and formal curriculum adjustments that are already being made in schools which have felt social pressures most definitely and interpreted their significance most intelligently have recently attracted the attention of the educational leaders. Thus Inglis noted:

(1) The introduction of new fields of study, e. g., agriculture, home economics, vocational studies in general; (2) the introduction of new subjects in fields already represented in the program, e. g., community civics, music other than general chorus work, (3) the introduction of subjects new in the sense that they represent a reorganization or realignment of subject matter and method, e. g., general science, introductory mathematics, (4) the modification of certain subjects with reference to their application in special fields, e. g., household chemistry, economic geography.¹

Koos comments on the shifting emphasis away from college preparation as illustrated by the election of curricula, and the increase of full-time, part-time continuation schools, the broad-

¹ K. L. Kandel, *et al.*, *Twenty-five Years of American Education*, ch. x, prepared by Alexander Inglis. Quoted by Koos, *Trends in American Secondary Education* (Harvard University Press), pp. 13-14.

ened purposes of the rural school, the increasing number of two-year curricula, and the activity analysis technique used in curriculum making.

EVOLUTIONARY CHARACTER OF CURRICULUM PROGRESS

In these significant modifications, the practical school men have led. Teachers and administrators have sensed pressing immediate needs of which national committees are not conscious. Curriculum experts have had little to do with such revolutionary changes as those which follow:

Superintendent Booshart of South Orange, N. J., does away with college preparatory curricula by the simple expedient of broadening the concept to apply to all collegiate preparation—commercial, engineering, music, art, physical education. He makes the change because of the snobbish pressure for the liberal-arts college preparatory curriculum, and because even his own teachers assumed that one must follow an academic curriculum if he would continue his education.

Miss Pitts of the Grover Cleveland Junior High School, Elizabeth, N. J., makes a most revolutionary discovery that the dull and overaged boys may be reached by music appreciation that gives some emphasis to the somber, sustained melodies and she encourages the older boys to sing the simple parts by which they express some half-hidden adolescent urge for self-expression.

Mr. H. W. Horst at West High School, Akron, so stimulates his ninth-grade civics class that they accept joyfully and confidently civic duties and responsibilities throughout their high-school careers.

Assistant Superintendent Bird of Utica leads the vocational boys to undertake the construction of houses year after year, and gains for the movement the cooperation of bankers and trade unions.

At the George Washington High School, New York City, the very successful course in stage art was evolved because many pupils had interest in applied art but little innate ability to create or to master technical skills.

At the Coöperative High School, Dayton, Ohio, the students prepare for jobs and college at the same time.

At the Montclair, N. J., and Trenton, N. J., High Schools the commercial pupils transact a large part of the school's business.

At Holmes Junior High School, Philadelphia, the assemblies and clubs are taken into the school's schedule and educational program.

At Blewett Junior High School, St. Louis, the seventh-grade advisory period was treated as an integral part of the curriculum. The same amount of time of teacher and pupils and the same "credit" was assigned in the schedules of teacher and pupils as for English or history.

At Oshkosh Normal School Junior High School, the pupils effectively participate in improving their own educational opportunities.

At Solvay, N. Y., in 1914, all pupils of junior-high-school age were included in junior high school and each one found curricular opportunities in which he could work and succeed.

These and numerous other cases of truly significant curriculum modifications were worked out originally and constantly adapted to meet the needs of the new pupil populations with which secondary education deals. Some college professors have noted and reported them, but the influence of college professors has too seldom been constructive. Indeed, they have frequently used their influence on the side of convention and even reaction. The survey method, the search for norms and trends, the loyalty to magic words like "promotion by subject" and "departmentalization of teaching" has sometimes caused the evolutionary process to get far ahead of its so-called "leaders."

One might go on citing the significant changes in school practices that are taking place. But enough has been said to indicate the kind of changes that seem to be inevitable for all tax-supported secondary schools. Some such changes will surely come about if the interpretation of the influences at work is sound. No one of us can long prevent them. These changes should be welcomed by us all; we should lend our influence and our best efforts to promoting the necessary adjustments.

Many are the instruments by which the school promotes the mental and physical health of its pupils and of the community and by which it encourages the pupils to gain knowledge and to

exercise with satisfaction the skills and attitudes that make for social efficiency, for worthy uses of leisure, and for good will. Some of these instruments may be thought of as curriculum, some as administration. But to the boy and girl, it is immaterial whether their experiences are gained under one classification or the other.

ALL EDUCATIVE SCHOOL EXPERIENCES ARE CURRICULAR

If we define the curriculum from the point of view of the persons being educated, one must conceive all educative school experiences to be curricular. The secondary-school curriculum comprises activities and experiences provided by the community through the school to prepare all the normal children of early adolescence for participation in civil life, and to secure for every individual the maximum self-realization consonant with the welfare of the group. Such a definition is very inclusive. But it is scarcely more inclusive than the public high schools are in actual practice making it, or must inevitably make it during the next few decades.

The complexity will not grow less. An ever more complex society makes probable ever more frequent and significant maladjustments. And maladjustments stimulate creative spirits to modify the curriculum. Resourceful schoolmen have found it quite possible to circumvent routine and formal requirements. Indeed, it is the history of all institutions which are rooted in tradition that successful innovators have preached and practised new doctrines without definitely breaking with the old. Progress in curriculum modification is made realistically and empirically. When a school situation develops so that something must be done about it, we do that something as intelligently as we know how, and then watch results.

Education is not something to be got and certified; the curriculum is not something to be mastered. *Education is a wanting of right things and a better ability so to control all the forces of nature and ourselves that we can satisfy these wants.* The high-school curriculum includes all of the means and instruments by which every child is led to want better ways of acting and responding and which give practice to each one in so acting and respond-

ing, according to his impulses, interests, and capacities. If advisement and friendship stimulate pupils to want right things and if orchestra and civic activities give opportunity to satisfy these wants, then they illustrate the *curriculum emergent*.

And when we come fully to appreciate what this means, then what we have called extracurriculum may become the heart of the curriculum. And what we have thought of as curriculum will be elective appendages of the true curriculum.

SCIENCE, SOCIOLOGY, AND EDUCATION¹

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THE field of educational sociology or, as I prefer to call it, the sociology of education is as yet ill-defined. As I understand it, one of the purposes of this meeting is to elicit various views of what our peculiar province is, so that we may clearly perceive the differences which must be resolved among ourselves before we can hope to secure recognition by the scientific world. I am encouraged to contribute to this colloquium by a realization that my conception of the field of study is quite unlike that held by many of you and that what I shall have to say will probably therefore provoke discussion if it leaves no more lasting impression.

It is given to no one to foresee the course of development of institutions. Though all follow the same general process of adaptive growth, one can neither plot in advance the groping tendencies of the institution itself nor foretell what the surrounding conditions will be which will act as selective agents in this tentative process. The future of a scientific discipline seems particularly obscure since new methods of research may open whole new fields for study. We know how laboratory technique has altered what used to be natural philosophy, and there is no telling what may come of the recent cross-fertilization of chemistry and physics. It behooves us, therefore, not to be dogmatic as to how our subject ought to develop. If there is anything here of value, it will grow and organize as it goes. The most we can do is to short-circuit the process of blind adjustment as far as possible by means of intelligent control. This requires that we profit by the experience of other scientific disciplines as well as that we have as much insight as possible into the potentialities of our own field.

Education is a term about whose meaning there is much difference of opinion. Perhaps the traditional view is that it consists in bringing up or rearing the young. This of course implies conscious guidance on the part of adults. Of late years, however,

¹ Paper read at the meeting of the American Sociological Society, Educational Sociology Section, Washington, D. C., 1927.

there has been a very general tendency among writers on the subject to use education in a broader sense. It seems to be felt that whether a man is well educated or not depends upon more than mere upbringing. Hence we have had various larger concepts suggested as appropriate. Some would make education include all learning through social contact; others would extend it still further to cover the whole field of learning. My own point of view is that none of these definitions tallies with common usage, which, in this case at least, has something to teach us. It seems to me that education as ordinarily understood implies a moral standard, that it is that learning which is regarded by the group as desirable. Under this definition it varies with the social situation in relation to which the person is developing. Perhaps we might say that it is that development of the mind which enables a person to grow in social function. This view is broader than the traditional one of rearing the young, for it includes helpful learning without guidance; but it is narrower than that which makes education and learning synonymous, for those types of learning which do not help the person to grow in social function are excluded. If some such use as this is generally sanctioned we must have a term for the more limited concept which "education" was formerly employed to cover. For want of a better, I will use the phrase "controlled education" for this conscious "leading-out" of the young.

Education, then, is a full-rounded, complex life process, and as such does not constitute the object matter of any one science. A science is a body of knowledge so organized as to reveal underlying principles. This requires the abstraction from reality of the same class or kind of phenomena so that they may be studied intensively and the findings integrated into a logical whole. A single object like a cat may be a subject for the study of the chemist, the zoologist, the psychologist, even the economist. Each of these specialists is interested in a particular aspect of the cat; none is interested in all that the cat is. Thus the problems which are studied by a pure science are not the gross and confusing problems of daily experience, but rather those more universal problems which underlie the obvious and specific ones, as the principles of strategy underlie the plan of any particular battle. So-

ciology as a science would then not be interested in all the aspects of the process of education, but only in those which fall properly within its province. In so far as education involves adjustments of people to each other individually and collectively, it will come under the scrutiny of the sociologist. I do not agree with a statement in the *Proceedings* of the 1926 meeting of this section that "since any phase of educational procedure in operation will have social outcomes, the nature of the procedure must conform to sociological principles, and therefore becomes subject matter appropriate to educational sociology." In so far as the procedure involves the adjustments of individuals and groups to one another sociology should study the matter, but what right has the sociologist to study those aspects of education with which he is not equipped to deal? Feeble-mindedness has social outcomes but its development does not thereby become subject matter for sociology. Let the sociologist, like the psychologist, the biologist, and all the rest take only the educational grist which is adapted to his mill. The synthesis of the findings of all pertinent sciences is the business of a philosophy of education. The truth of this philosophy will depend upon the ability of the different sorts of scientists to reveal the underlying principles of education in its various aspects.

It seems to me that the educational sociologist should be simply a sociologist who specializes in his thought and research on the educational process. I cannot reconcile myself to the view that he should be more concerned with meeting the practical problems of "controlled education" than is the physicist in showing Henry Ford what are the best types of electrical units for his cars. The scientist needs detachment from practical affairs in order that he may devote all his time to carrying on the search for those truths which are ultimately of more importance than any contemporary life situation. The educational sociologist will contribute more if he can discover the value of different sorts of leadership in learning than if he were to try to put forward a plan for organizing a class recitation. He will not lose his touch with real life for two reasons. He will be drawing on life situations for his research material; and he will always have the sense that he is

enlarging the store of truth, which if put to use intelligently cannot but advance the best interests of humanity

But, you say, though this may be well enough for the pure scientist, it is not the case with the applied scientist. And is there not great need for an applied science of educational sociology, the followers of which will be working out the uses of sociological principles in education? In reply to this I wish to maintain that *an* applied science, at least in the field of social knowledge, is of little value, if not positively impossible of attainment. As ordinarily thought of, an applied science is the organization of the knowledge which a pure science like physics has to make to the solution of problems in general or to a particular type of problem. Electrical engineering might serve as an example. The validity of such a thought organization cannot be determined by a priori reasoning, whether or not it satisfactorily fulfills a function must be the test. Some applied sciences are undoubtedly valuable, but others may prove quite worthless because their thought setting is such that a different sort of organization is demanded. It seems to me that the latter situation is exactly what we find in the field of social science, as contrasted with natural science. In dealing with the practical problems arising from the relationships among material things, it frequently happens that the findings of a single science are all that is requisite for a solution. Thus chemistry holds the key to many industrial problems, and chemical engineering is therefore a legitimate applied science, the situation is unified both by the exigencies of the practical situation and the logical coherence of the science of chemistry. But this is not always the case even with the natural sciences. The problems that a doctor or a civil engineer has to meet cannot be solved by any one science. And, if true in these fields, how much more true in the social sciences where the situations are much more complex! To overcome this difficulty we have the building up of organizations of applied science which we call technologies. These are composed of all the scientific truths or principles which aid one in meeting certain types of practical situations. Bridge building and social work furnish two widely separated examples. They are unified, not on the basis of the pure sciences (for each one contains the principles

of more than one such science), but on the basis of the immediate situation which must be met. A technology is applied science, but not an applied science, for the latter phraseology implies a corresponding pure science.

Human relations are probably the most complex phenomena that science has to study and as such require refined analysis into different scientific disciplines like psychology, sociology, political science, and so on. Conversely, therefore, human problems need to be met by technologies rather than by applied sciences. This is really implied in the formation of the Social Science Research Council, for that body aims to bring to bear all pertinent social sciences in the solution of practical problems. "Controlled education" furnishes a field of human endeavor which well exemplifies the notion that an inclusive technology is more practicable than separate disciplines of applied educational psychology, applied educational sociology, and so on. Though these so-called applied sciences would come at the problems from different angles, they would all be dealing with the same problems; and yet none would be qualified to give a complete answer regarding the solution of any one of them. How much clearer and more economical of time and energy to treat each problem from the viewpoint of scientific findings as a whole! Instead, then, of courses in educational psychology and educational sociology in our schools of education, I expect that experience will dictate courses in specific problems like mental testing, school administration, classroom methods, and so on. Educational sociology and educational psychology would then be found merely as branches of pure science in the departments of sociology and psychology respectively.

My contention is simply that it will be found advisable to keep the social sciences separate only so long as we are abstracting from life to get at the principles underlying reality, the minute we become interested in how to do something, we shall find it best to integrate the various applications of these sciences into a technology. The value of this course will be readily seen, I believe, when one contemplates the futile attempts to draw the line between the so-called applied sciences of educational sociology and educational psychology. When one comes to take action there is no

distinction. Abstract distinctions are for use in abstraction. The same problems require for their solution the contributions of both sociology and psychology.

To illustrate my point further I am of the opinion that a similar line of cleavage will appear in criminology. This would mean that, on the one hand, there would develop a sociology of degeneracy—a branch of pure sociology—and a similar branch of pure psychology, on the other, a technology of penology.

It is by this time apparent that I feel that educational sociology has been treading to date a path which it will not in the end find profitable to follow. Matters such as curriculum making, classroom organization, and teaching methods have bulked large. But I insist that one has to be more than a sociologist to do any of these things well; one must be a technologist in controlled education. A curriculum maker, for instance, must draw on the findings of sociologists in regard to what knowledge, values, and skills will produce the most fertile mating between personality and the social current of our times; but he must also draw on the biologist for knowledge of the maturation of the organism; on the psychologist for knowledge of the different types of learning, of memory, and so on. Furthermore, he must have touch with the practical situation in school administration in order that he may successfully adapt his curriculum to the exigencies of classroom facilities, number of teachers, books available, and a hundred other practical details. A curriculum maker is, in short, a specialist in the technology of controlled education. Important, then, as such practical problems are, let us leave their solution to those competent to deal with them, and turn ourselves to those fields where we are especially qualified.

It does not follow just because it may prove unwise for educational sociology to attempt the solution of practical problems, that our subject will not be concerned in any way with the school. The educational sociologist will find in the school a fertile field for investigation from which to draw knowledge of the social aspects of the educational process. He will here discover data regarding the educative influence of various sorts of group organization, regarding the influence of previous social experience and a hundred other things. He will approach the school as a source

of information, not as a thing to be acted upon. But, since he will be looking for material wherever it may be found, the school will be but one of many sources from which to draw knowledge concerning the effect of social relations in increasing the person's social functioning. The savage secret society, the city street, the farm home, the factory should all be investigated by the sociologist of education. When this has been thoroughly done, there will be a wealth of scientific truth for the practical educator to draw upon which will enable him to go ahead much more surely than he can today.

You may perhaps be wondering what a pure subsistence of educational sociology would deal with as distinct from general sociology. It seems to me that it would bear the same relation as does any functional part to a whole, a relation like that of ecology, for instance, to general botany. The interaction and mutual adaptation of personality and social surroundings are subjects of which we have little precise knowledge. Approach could profitably be made from at least two angles: the growth of personality under social influence, and the value of certain types of social organization for personality development. Under the former head, social psychology has already done much valuable work. There are, it seems to me, great possibilities in the phylogenic approach employed by Mrs. de Laguna in *Speech: Its Origin and Development*. It is not wholly futile to hope that we can arrive at categories or levels of social interaction which might make possible the isolation and intensive study of various sorts of personality growth. The second approach would lead to a study of the value for personality growth of different types of social organization. Perhaps we may be able to isolate and even study experimentally the effect of things like democratic organization, face-to-face organization, and so on. In an attempt of this kind I have made a study of the effect of undergraduate life upon the social development of students. It is in this direction, I believe, that the educational sociologist may contribute his part to the store of knowledge needed by the curriculum maker. He can investigate the needs of our life and point out what sorts of personality growth are called for, perhaps suggesting also which of these need to be institutionalized in the school and other agencies. In general,

then, I believe that there is within the field of general sociology a specialized field for the educational sociologist which presents a stirring challenge to careful study and research.

To sum up, it seems to me that the experience of other sciences and a careful consideration of the nature of our own field combine to indicate that the ultimate evolution of our subject will be in the direction of a branch of pure sociology and that we will find in this field ample scope for painstaking research of much importance.

SOME APPLICATIONS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY TO EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE¹

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STATEMENTS in this paper represent material sufficient for a good-sized volume. It is consequently sketchy. All that is given here is in the form of a concise statement of a few conclusions derived from this investigation

I

In one sense of the term all psychology is social psychology if we accept the short definition: social psychology deals with the processes which involve group interaction with group, and individual with individual and group. Perhaps the difference is one of emphasis. It is true that individual psychology deals with the learning process, with economy of the individual's efforts at learning, and in general with the workings of the mind. But the mind functions when it is stimulated to function and the stimuli, at least in our present stage of civilization, are largely social.

It is beyond the limits of the present study to touch all the phases of social learning. The mechanical activity of the mind is individual in all learning, in acquiring social facts as well as facts in nature, but the impetus, the urge, the drive, the incentive for learning these facts is social. Hence social psychology is largely concerned with attitudes, biases, mind sets, ambition, beliefs, faith, fears, hopes, loves, hates, etc., and the processes by which these are conditioned

The most recent acceptations of the defined limits of the field of social psychology are not confined to the limits set by earlier social psychologists in confining discussions of social psychological phenomena to mobs, crowds, etc., although such phenomena are certainly proper subjects for consideration in any treatise in social psychology

¹ Paper read at the meeting of the American Sociological Society, Educational Sociology Section, Washington, D C, 1927

II

If we proceed on this basis, it is evident that no one method or technique of investigation will suffice. There are no tests of a dependable nature yet developed to serve as an objective measuring rod to aid the social psychologist comparable to tests now standardized and in general use in the field of educational psychology. There are, however, standards and criteria for getting estimates of quantitative measurement. Much of the value of educational tests now in use could be in part used as social psychological instruments, for they measure phenomena of social interaction.

The attitude of the one using objective measuring rods is more important than the measuring unit. This attitude is the major factor in importance in any scientific investigation and may be acquired just as knowledge, mind sets, and biases are acquired. It is important because it may or may not operate whether one is using an objective measuring unit, documentary material, analysis of data, or in personal observations and investigations.

III

The material represented by this brief discussion cannot be given here, since its collection has extended over a period of several years and its quantity is sufficient to furnish a basis for a moderate-sized volume. It has been obtained in part from such sources as the author's classroom teaching, the collection of newspaper clippings relating to conspicuous failures and successes in administrative school experience from observation of successful teachers in the classroom, and from material relating to folkways and *mores* as they have operated in many forms of social group levels. Frazer's *Golden Bough*, peasant ways so ably discussed by Thomas and Znaniecki in *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, the folk ballads and epics of European countries, Oriental peoples, from Wissler's *Man and Culture*, and other similar sources,—such material gives a historical as well as an analytic basis for an approach.

Several conspicuous administrative failures of school men in recent years have been investigated and analyzed to determine roughly some of the factors that have caused these failures. Class-

room teachers have likewise been studied to determine the factors making for their successes and failures in their classroom activities. The classroom teacher may have an abundant knowledge of her subject, and may have the best methods of presentation now recognized in our university courses given over to methodology, and yet fail. The failure in such cases is due likely to wrong personal attitudes and biases and in the failure to know the subjects who are to receive instruction. The principles of social psychology deal with total situations and settings, as well as individual social reaction, and, although it is greatly concerned with individual instruction and reactions, it is primarily interested in these reactions in relation to this whole situation and to the groups concerned.

IV

The days of martyrdom among school men, to be concrete in using a modern illustration, should probably be a thing of the past. The time has come when school men will have to know the human material with which they are dealing, communities as well as students, and avert complete eclipse. A thorough understanding of the actual force and operation of the *mores* and folkways is fundamental in present-day administration of modern school systems and educational institutions of higher learning. A wise and critical use of propaganda is legitimate and essential and may serve to protect an administrator in his efforts.

It is illustrated in the material from Frazer and many other sources that it has been, and there is now a tendency in human groups to destroy their social leaders. School men with superior ability, so far as their technical training is concerned, often have fallen victims of what could have been prevented had they known more about social psychological processes. An educational administrator may have the best possible technical training that may be secured as now given in our educational institutions, he may have perfectly trained teachers; he may have the most modern buildings and correctly installed material equipment, and yet, by some fault of his own in his social training, make a colossal failure. The "putting over" of successful educational and building programs depends upon how successful the principles of

social psychology have been operated on the part of the educational administrator. Most failures are due to his lack of knowledge and interpretation of this field. The popular conception of a psychologist in the past, and even now, has been based upon a good technical knowledge possessed by these men of what has been understood as "individual psychology." But little has been known apparently by many of them as to how the social processes operate. A knowledge of group action, so far as the individual under observation is concerned, is counterpart to a knowledge of individual psychology. "The proper study of mankind is man" is trite but true, but its truth depends upon a study and an understanding of the "human" in his group relations. Human nature, personality, biases, prejudices, etc., are social products, and are understood and controlled only when considered in this light.

The process of changing, creating, and establishing social values is at present little understood. What to teach and how much will probably be determined by some of the processes of social psychology. This is true because *mores* and folkways are fundamental as a background and basis for beginning to determine values both in knowledge and conduct on the part of groups and individuals.

We have scarcely more than scratched the surface of our possibilities of our understanding of the society which we propose to serve, when we come to the application of any real knowledge of many of our school situations. We are no further along now in this field of social service than the medical profession was in the time of Harvey and before it knew the genesis of the germ theory of disease and preventive medicine in matters of sanitation.

Some prejudices are valuable and necessary while others are positively harmful and destructive. School men are no less free from the injurious kind and possess no more of the valuable sort than the common population. And if the leaders of society are no better equipped to eliminate the evil, narrow, and ignorant prejudice than the ordinary man on the street, surely we are foolish to hope for any better signs of advancement than we now have before us. We talk much of the "large-group" attitudes which the schools should try to develop and prate at length on

"international peace," and all the while we are ignorant of the processes necessary to operate in the consummation of these supposed values.

The many techniques of successful politicians are worthy of study by the teacher, although the purpose for which many of the "unscrupulous politicians" use these qualities may be reprehensible. If such techniques are used for selfish and evil purposes, they may just as easily be, and often are, used for good cause. They must have prestige before they have "influence" and a following. This prestige is not possessed by them. It is given to them by the group which follows. It is a social phenomenon. A teacher has some prestige by virtue of proper conduct. It is not enough that a teacher spread enlightenment, a thing which every adult does in degree. He must give enlightenment plus something. That something is emotivation which every adult does also in some degree, and oftentimes to a wrong degree. Prestige is largely a factor for emotivation and without some prestige no one could emotivate except only on a minimum and sometimes perverse basis.

I realize that I have probably left you in the dark as to where we may make concrete changes in our educational procedure and as to how we are to act specifically in bringing about these changes hinted at in this discussion. It is clear, however, that there is here a place for a distinct service to education and that it is possible to work out the principles in social psychology in such a way that they may be applied, many of them at least, to the scientific administration of American education.

INQUIRY

I

Is There Any Sociological Justification for Coeducation in College?

A DEMOCRATIC society presupposes a different type of training than does some other form. An educated people is basic. The society of the United States is democratic and the thing that makes it so is its citizenry. Fortunately, the women of the land are included therein, not only as citizens but also as individuals possessing the franchise. This places upon them a new responsibility which they were heretofore deprived from exercising.

Along with, and even before their changed political status, woman was becoming to a greater and greater extent a coworker with man. From her accepted and traditional position as wife and manager of the household, woman has very definitely taken her place as an active and successful unit in the more distinctly vocational fields; such as the school, the factory, the commercial world, and those other industries and professions which, up to the present, have been decidedly man-activities. In short she is competing with man in the majority of the productive enterprises. This competition is winning for her a place of admiration and respect which is all the more praiseworthy since it often has been earned against great opposition.

Since woman is thrown into competition with man in her business life she should be competing with him in her education. Equal work presupposes and demands equal training. It is a psychological principle that an activity be practised in the form in which it is to function in later life. Hence coeducation gives an opportunity for the development, during the plastic years of a better mutual understanding between the sexes, which in turn should lead to that rational coöperation, essential to harmonious business, political, and social relations. The extent to which there will be understanding or misunderstanding between the sexes is very definitely a product of the type of educational opportunities offered

It is true that there are still in this country a number of secondary schools and colleges which are entirely male or female institutions. If this policy of the educational separation of the sexes were really successful in keeping them separated, and if the separation itself were a desirable democratic ideal, no other position would need to be considered. However, the facts as they appear in actual practice seem to disclose the functioning of certain very potent instinctive tendencies such as gregariousness and sex which are probably among the most important behavior drives.

The high school or college which attempts to maintain a non-coeducational policy will probably find conditions in the environment which are not wholesome. Man needs the association of woman. Facts can be cited to the effect that in those places where the student is deprived of this natural wholesome companionship, houses of ill-fame are prone to operate. The experience of men in this environment causes them to have a less respectful attitude towards girls. This coupled with a tendency on the part of some girls to use their present social freedom of behavior unwisely may lead to undesirable results.

Another phase of the same problem is evident in the girls' school. There, too, the students have a very natural interest in, and desire for, the companionship of the opposite sex. This environment attracts to it men whose purpose is to prey upon the unstable girl who, for the time being, is free from the inhibitory influence of home. To say that such conditions as are pictured above do not exist on the campuses which sponsor coeducation would be presumptuous. However, in these institutions it is possible for girls and boys to meet their intellectual and educational equals, to face and solve together the same problems, to enjoy a social environment which will be a counterpart of the kind of environment they may expect to meet later. Hence habits of mutual respect and admiration will be formed which may be expected to continue to function in their later vocational and social life.

It is evident that the sex element has its place in a coeducational institution. An interesting study could be made of the percentage of divorces among marriages which have been the outcomes of college friendships. Opinions have been expressed to the effect

that such friendships form one of the most stable bases for a permanent marriage state. Should undesirable relations exist in a normal situation of this kind, they reduce themselves to a problem which is primarily an individual one.

Society should set up an organization in which the sexes may have opportunities to share with each other their study, their work, their recreation, so that social progress may be the result of their combined harmonious effort. This will help to maintain a democratic society which Americans should covet, one offering freedom—with restrictions.

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II

What is the Explanation of Increased Juvenile Delinquency?

By adolescents we mean all the youths of both sexes, roughly speaking, between the ages of twelve and twenty-four years, who, because of age, experience, and academic achievement belong to the period of the high school and the college. The significance of this period of life lies in the fact that it is transitional in character. Adolescents may be termed boys and girls in the process of becoming men and women. Therefore any scheme of education for them must be fraught with tremendous responsibility.

There is a rather prevalent notion that our youths are different from those of a generation or two ago. With our knowledge of the enormous increase in juvenile delinquency and adolescent criminality, this popular conception has become an increasing conviction with many people. Is it any wonder that many people think that the adolescents of today are different from the adolescents of a former generation? But what has really been happening? What has actually been taking place?

Certainly our young people today are different, but so are the adults. People today live in a very different environment and consequently we must anticipate a different type of behavior. When situations change, responses are likely to change correspondingly. The behavior of young people today appears to be different simply because they are utilizing modern ways for doing

the very things that young people have always been doing. Now who has provided all these varied forms for the expression of original nature? Perhaps the stage has been set by the very generation now given to much fault finding.

Contrast the radius of mischief of the youths of today with those of a former generation. Formerly the social contacts were largely direct, personal, face to face, restricted to small groups, and limited to relatively small geographical areas. With the coming of a new social order with all of its conveniences for transportation and communication, there are practically no bounds set upon the activities of youths.

Our youths are different because long-standing behavior patterns have broken down. Custom and tradition no longer exercise the same restraining force as they formerly did. In our schools we have been diligently trying to teach boys and girls to think, and now since they are putting into practice what we have been teaching them, we are disposed to find fault with them. Adolescents are peculiarly disposed to question age-old practices. The traditional belief—youth for activity and age for deliberation—no longer is applicable. Our youths tend to combine both thought and action. Do the adolescents of today have a peculiar craze for excitement, a lack of reverence, a going with the crowd, living only in the present, a lack of seriousness, and a growing lack of purpose? Or have all these shortcomings been more or less common in every generation?

The adolescents of today are not so different from those of a generation or two ago because of the prevalent tendency of adults to idealize their lost youth. People are so prone to forget the unpleasant and to remember the pleasant. Most people in middle and later life entertain an exaggerated notion of their own peculiar goodness during the adolescent period. The laws of exercise and effect are effectively operating in the development of social attitudes.

Our youths are different also because they cannot help but be different. In 1924 Professor Coe of Columbia University wrote a monograph entitled "What Ails Our Youth?" This proved to be a very timely question. An equally timely question that he did not ask is "What Ails Our Adults?" Adults have been so busy

finding fault with the youths that they have simply forgotten that they are similarly afflicted but in advanced stages. When I ask high-school pupils just how many evenings per week they find their home so attractive that they stay there, I am not at all astonished at the answers given. But what are the facts about adults? Where did youth get the first lesson?

Hasn't our entire social and industrial order been influencing the adolescent as well as the adult? Doesn't the adolescent merely reveal the defects of our existing social order, as well as the characteristics so common to adolescents? Are we not justified in saying that the ailments of youth are the very ailments of society itself? Money is the measuring stick of success at the present day. Greater interest is manifested in the making of money than in the making of men and women. Industry crushes out rather than makes for the development of personality. The dual standard is rapidly being replaced by the equality of the sexes. We are living in a rapidly changing world of science and industry, but our education and religion are changing but slowly. The moral and religious development has not kept pace with material progress. As a consequence the adolescents of today have been caught between the upper and nether millstones of the two existing orders. Youth, then, provides a deep-seated problem. The problem of youth is the problem of human society.

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RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send to the editor of this department at once titles—and where possible, descriptions—of all current research projects now in process in educational sociology and those of interest to educational sociology in kindred fields. Correspondence upon proposed research projects and methods will be welcomed.

AN IMPORTANT STUDY OF CHILD BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS AND PROGRAMS

One of the most interesting and important of the forthcoming studies of the child is a volume entitled *The Child in America: A Study of Behavior Problems and Programs* by William I. Thomas and Dorothy Swaine Thomas. In the first part of this study the varieties of maladjustment are represented by a series of typical cases. Then follows a presentation of the various approaches to the solution of these maladjustments. The psychometric approach is considered in detail with a careful presentation of the changing conception of the intelligence quotient in its relation to behavior, particularly with reference to its use as a prognostic instrument. The next part of the book will deal with the measurement of character, temperament, and the more dynamic phases of personality, the scientific validity of these measures, their relation to intelligence, and their prognostic value. The psychiatric approach with its emphasis upon the factor of disease and its development of cults which attempt to interpret all behavior problems from the pathological standpoint is next considered.

The studies of physical status and growth and certain studies of physique and biochemistry are considered from the point of view of their correlations with behavior. The work in child welfare research centers, which is emphasizing the situational approach, where the child is studied through controlling and varying the situation is considered in detail and is presented as the most promising and the most scientific line of approach.

The juvenile court is treated from the standpoint of its clinical technique and its successes and failures in the use of institutions, foster homes, and other agencies in its after-procedure. There is also a presentation of the visiting-teacher movement and other

tendencies of the school to take over many of the functions of the court and to assume responsibilities for the behavior problems of the child. The programs of good-will organizations approaching problems from some particular interest or emphasis, such as the Boy and Girl Scouts, the boys' clubs, religious organizations, etc., are outlined. The importance of the home situation where habit formation takes place leads to an emphasis upon the parent-education movement and other programs with reference to the reconstruction of the home situation.

In treatment, as in research, the emphasis in the volume is placed upon the comparing of results obtained by means of varying the situations.

AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO METHOD

A very interesting research project which has been carried on for several years by Clifford R. Shaw, research sociologist of the Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, Illinois, is soon to be published under the caption *The Boy's Own Story*, by the University of Chicago Press. This work is an illustration of the case method with particular emphasis on the boy's own story and the study of delinquency from the point of view of its social backgrounds.

The volume will contain first, a statement of the point of view—the need for studies of community backgrounds, of institutions, such as the family, the gang, and the school, and of the personality in its social setting, with reference to problem behavior of children. Then will follow a history of the behavior difficulties of the boy whose problem is presented in this monograph. This will include an account of his difficulties as acquired from official reports such as a definition of his behavior by the police and other authorities, and from his work record, with a statement of his various jobs and his reactions to them. It next takes up an investigation of the social backgrounds of the boy and analyzes the communities in which the boy has lived, including a study of his family, the school he has attended, and the gangs to which he has belonged, as well as the correctional institutions to which he has been sent. Then follows the study of the boy as an individual with the physical, psychological, and psychiatric findings. The

next ten chapters of the book will be the boy's own story in his own words and will be very revealing of the development of his own attitudes towards all of his external contacts. The last chapter will deal with the analysis of all the facts which will be presented concurrently in four columns for the purposes of comparison. These columns will be headed (1) chronological age, (2) physical, psychological, and psychiatric findings, (3) social findings, and (4) behavior. In each of these cases, the observer can see how the behavior corresponds to the social situations.

This case is an excellent illustration of the combination of the psychiatric, medical, psychological, and sociological techniques in their application to the study of behavior problems as embodied in one individual child. It illustrates the necessity of studying the child in the total situation and it also emphasizes the importance of his inner reactions to his experiences in determining his future behavior.

MEASUREMENT OF RESULTS IN EDUCATION

The most significant measurements of the success of any educational procedure are the measurements of the effects achieved in the actual attitudes and behaviors of those instructed, in the life situations arising after an educational procedure has been carried out. This means that the results of education should be measured in the community rather than in the school. This point has been emphasized and demonstrated in the measurements of the results of health education by Professor E. George Payne¹. Our assumption would be, then, that the proper measurement of the success of the school in such important fields as the development of character and personality, sex instruction, and citizenship training is to be judged by the outcome in the attitudes and behaviors of its charges in life situations in and outside the school.

A further demonstration of the same method of measurement has come recently from the field of agricultural education where an investigation has been made of the carryover of the instruction in vocational agriculture into actual farming practice in the communities of Iowa. A survey of the legume acreage of "instructed" and "uninstructed" farmers over a period of seven

¹ See *Health and Safety in the School*

years has been carried on in various counties, and the result has shown in a very significant way the actual effect of the instruction in vocational agriculture upon increase in the amount of legume acreage. An account of this study is to appear in *The Journal of Educational Research* and also in THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

The learned and scientific societies of America deserve the attention of the research student in any social field on account of the research projects which they are carrying on or directing and the methods of investigation which they are promoting. One of the most important of these is the Social Science Research Council, whose chairman, Professor Wesley C. Mitchell of Columbia University has recently issued the Council's annual report for 1926-1927.

The Council is made up of three representatives from each of seven learned societies interested in social research and representing the fields of anthropology, economics, history, political science, psychology, sociology, and statistics. It maintains committees composed of leaders in various fields on the following topics: problems and policy, organization of a journal of social science abstracts, research fellowships in the social sciences, and scientific method in the social sciences.

In addition, the Committee on Problems and Policies, which determines the research projects which the Council sponsors, has ten advisory committees of experts covering the following points: corporate relations, crime, cultural areas, grants-in-aid, industrial relations, international relations, interracial relations, pioneer belts, population, and social and economic research in agriculture.

"From the outset, the Council has sought to keep flexible its own conception of its scope and its scheme of organization. Broadly stated, its aims are twofold: to encourage carefully planned research by cooperating workers in the several social sciences, and to serve as an informal general staff studying the larger possibilities of scientific methods applied to the understanding of man and his institutions. Pursuant to these aims, the Council brings together research workers from many fields to

pool their resources in attacking common problems, to avoid needless duplication of effort and the waste of precious energy and funds upon inadequately formulated research programs, to stimulate and encourage research in important fields not now covered, to further the development of increasingly scientific methods of inquiry in social studies, to make possible the substituting of more scientific social control for the rule-of-thumb methods which men have happened upon in their efforts to live together.

"Occasionally the Council undertakes research directly through its own committees. In the main, however, it serves as a planning and consulting agency, entrusting the supervision of the investigations it sponsors to whatever organizations seem best equipped to carry on given projects. An increasingly prominent part of the Council's work consists in advising with other agencies regarding their research programs.

"The full Council of twenty-one members usually holds three meetings a year at which fundamental policies are determined and major decisions made. One of the meetings held at Hanover, New Hampshire, in August or September lasts several days"¹

Further accounts of the Council's research projects will be published in this department in later issues of *THE JOURNAL*.

¹ The Social Science Research Council, *Third Annual Report*, 1926-27, pp 16-17

READERS' DISCUSSION

EDITORIAL NOTE *This department is designed to be an open forum wherein full expression will be encouraged upon all questions in the field of THE JOURNAL.*

ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL CURRICULUM REVISION¹

THE experiment or project outlined in the article by John J. Loftus on "A Practical Revision of the Elementary-School Curriculum" in the January issue of **THE JOURNAL** is of unusual interest, because the project is one which might well be attempted by the principal of any school, large or small, who has a clear-cut conception of the sociological basis for the organization of the school curriculum. The article is noteworthy for the following reasons:

First, the experiment was not attempted until a very careful preparation had been made for the reception and understanding of the proposal. In the introduction of any new educational scheme or device, it is always wise to secure first the full cooperation of those who carry on the work. In this case Mr. Loftus began with his teachers. When he had their coöperation, not necessarily their approval of the plan, he was ready to go ahead. Any principal or superintendent who proceeds on this basis can attempt any reasonable plan with assurance that his teachers will work with him. This was a logical step, a step which many people ignore in the imposition of projects from above.

In the second place, there were no changes made in the teaching materials. The situation continued, was studied as it existed at that time; all rules and regulations concerning curriculum previously laid down were followed so that no grounds existed for unlooked-for flarebacks because of drastic changes. This was again a wise administrative procedure. Make no changes until something better can be substituted.

The third and probably the most interesting phase of the experiment was the survey of the home and community represented by a very limited group of pupils. By beginning with a small group the technique of such investigation could easily be de-

¹ Discussion by John A. Young, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Bridgeport, Conn.

veloped and with a more effective procedure the larger group could then be studied. It is too often true that we begin things on a large scale and then, through modifications or unlooked-for conditions, find ourselves unable to carry out plans as originally conceived. In my judgment we should be more successful if it were possible to begin with small groups or nuclei and then work out gradually from this point as a center. In this way we could establish a sound basis for our procedure and check up on weak points in the experiment as we go along.

The findings resulting from the study of the child's community and home in this way provide what seems to me to be the soundest sociological basis for curriculum construction that I have yet heard of. This survey should show the peculiar social needs of the children for which the school can well care. I shall be interested to see how the school, having discovered the peculiar needs, sets out to meet them and also how the school and the community will set out to make provision for the solution of problems that lie outside of the school which are accepted today as the whole responsibility of the community. Personally, it seems to me that along these lines there are very few activities which are to be charged off as being the responsibility of the community alone. For example, facility for recreation, the use of the library, in fact, all the activities of the children between the hours of four in the afternoon and six in the evening or even later are factors about which the school should be concerned equally with the community.

I shall await with a good deal of interest also further articles which will show how teaching materials in the school were selected on this sociological basis. I am especially curious to know how much of the typical modern curriculum will finally be retained after the experiment has been concluded.

BEHAVIORISM¹

Figuratively, one can see Dr. Rudolph M. Binder (in his article on "School, Society, and Behaviorism" in the January issue of *THE JOURNAL*) looking at behaviorism out of the tail of his eye in much the same way that a hostile savage regards the

¹ Discussion by Agnes M. Conklin, psychologist, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, N. Y.

innocent stranger. His article is interesting if for no other reason than that it presents the opinion of many lay persons on this new and disturbing approach to a study of behavior. In general, the opinion feels that human behavior just can't be reduced to physical levels, that heredity has always been a good explanation of why people are as they are, and as an explanation, it is still going strong; that behaviorism makes a good many interesting observations of behavior as it really is, but it does not *explain* why it is; that behaviorism, if permitted to thrive, will alter life quite intolerably; that behaviorism is an interesting stranger among the sciences, but it is a stranger withal.

There are certain accustomed ways of fencing with new notions. One is to cast about for examples of situations in which the new notion would work either absurdly or not at all. Human as we are, we often bend the example to fit the case, and our wishful thinking betrays us before we are aware. Dr. Binder cites an example of toothache about which behaviorism seems to teach us disappointingly little. In interpreting the situation as he thinks Dr. Watson would interpret it, Dr. Binder reduces the whole matter of toothache to "a jerk and a yell" The example is perhaps somewhat unfair because the toothache situation cited by the author is a very complex piece of behavior which the quoted phrase would describe most inadequately. Apparently the author approves of the scientific definitions of inorganic behavior, but he fails to see that his phrase is far from a scientific description of the phenomenon in question. To characterize the complexity of a toothache so simply is like saying that copper sulphate is blue and a liquid without giving its chemical composition, its odor, its specific gravity and similar factors that would enter into any scientific description of copper sulphate. The toothache referred to is a syndrome of behavior as epilepsy is a syndrome of physical defect and no behaviorist would define it without all of its ramifications that he could lay hold of and describe, remembering as he defined it that the outward manifestations of the behavior could be considered as bona fide on the first day of life or at the first instance of the behavior in any life, but not thereafter. The description of one conditioned reflex is a very simple thing; perhaps that has tricked some of us into thinking that behavior is a

simple thing but we are no more justified in this belief than we might be if we tried to explain that the human physical organism is a very simple thing because it is everywhere composed of simple cells.

We expect anything that is called scientific to *explain* something. Dr. Binder states that behaviorism gives us valuable data concerning the reactions of different men to the same stimulus but does not explain why the stimulus produces different reactions. There are, of course, ways of explaining. The "instinct" psychologists explained pieces of behavior by labeling them. The sensation psychologists attempted to explain behavior by picking it to pieces in a laboratory. The faculty psychologists explained behavior by assuming that it was composed of certain ill-defined entities. Behaviorism has explained behavior no more than any of these except for its hopeful hypothesis of the conditioned reflex. No explanation can come from any branch of science until the data has been collected in large, unselected quantities and verified. Behaviorism is a timid step forward in a new direction; it has a hypothesis that seems promising and is surely as near to accepted proof as the instincts or faculties; it is about the business of gathering its data; what more can one expect of a young science at this tender age? The writer deplores, quite as much as Dr. Binder deplores it, the tendency of certain of the behaviorists to make of their beliefs a cult and to claim for this infant science achievements out of all proportion to the data submitted. But ultimate judgments about behaviorism will rest, not upon the talk of the followers of Watson or Watson himself, but upon experimental data and proof quite as imperishable as the law of gravity. If the proof is not forthcoming, if behaviorism finally takes its place with the unproved sisterhood of the instincts, the sensations, and the faculties, we shall begin anew to *explain* behavior on another hypothesis using, of course, the same data because it is the only data there is. In the present stage of progress, there is no attitude for open minds except that of giving any new idea, whether behaviorism or whatnot, a chance to prove itself.

One's opponents are always delighted when they find themselves able to say one has told them what they wish to believe. Dr. Binder opposes the claims of heredity to the claims of environ-

ment and capitulates in favor of the former. He rejoices over Watson's statement that there are differences of structure present at birth that determine the development of the persons possessing them. Does he fail to see that this does not necessarily mean that an advocate of environment is at heart a believer in heredity? What it really means is that heredity and environment are both present and active, neither of them wholly fixed and predetermined in any life. Our author refers to an individual as "born into a definite environment with specific conditions" and as "always under the necessity of meeting certain conditions." The author does not make clear what the specific and certain conditions are, and indeed that would be difficult to do since there is no proof that the conditions of environment are quite so simply tied to earth. Perhaps it is the wish of the human being always to be able to classify things and settle them; we seem to long for a fixed heredity that will explain everything or a pigeon-holed environment that would be equally enlightening. The facts seem to indicate that both of these factors are in a state of constant change and consequent interaction. The one is no more separate from the other than the sky and the stars are separate entities to any casual observer of them on a clear, frosty night.

Presumably, there has never been a new set of ideas presented to us without our yielding to the temptation to predict dire happenings as a result of their adoption. One thinks with amusement about the predictions concerning woman suffrage, admission of women to medical colleges and to the bar, bobbed hair, and so on. Dr. Binder paints a terrifying picture of what will happen if we take behaviorism too seriously but one fancies that there is no immediate danger of these predictions coming true. We shall live in the world with behaviorism for many years to come, during which time we shall condition it and be conditioned by it. It may steal on us so gradually as a deep and universal conviction that we shall adapt to it as we have adapted to the wage earning of women, it may possibly, as Dr. Binder seems to think, inevitably turn our known world upside down, with mice in the tea, but the chances are scarcely in favor of its being very terrifying or very uprooting when it comes. The construction of the automobile has, of course, revolutionized life in somewhat the way

Dr. Binder fears behaviorism will, but most of us will reflect quite sadly that the power of things to change established custom is far superior to the power of ideas, especially if they be as complicated ideas as behaviorism presents. Behaviorism is just a new viewpoint on an old set of problems; we may believe that it will solve nothing, or something, or as Dr. Binder thinks, too much. But we shall see.

There are certain merits about behaviorism, however, tentatively or hostilely we regard it. It represents the first attempt to get at behavior with the known tools of science. It emphasizes what might reasonably have been plain long ago, that behavior is a *total* thing. It took behavior out of the psychological laboratory where pieces of it were studied, yielding, in general, no understanding at all, and compelled us to look at behavior as we know it in life. It offers a hope that behavior may be predictable; if so, we can gain control of it as the chemist has gained control of his carbonates and chlorides. It appears to stand a pragmatic test. It seems to indicate that behavior is not the province of psychology alone but of physiology, sociology, anthropology, and so on. It apparently solves more problems than it raises. From these points of view alone, it is worthy of the abeyance of our criticisms until it has had a chance to prove itself, our thoughtful consideration of its findings, our conscious attempts to adapt it to the present store of knowledge and to modify old notions where it seems to point the way, and the same kind of temperate judgment that we should expect to bestow upon new thought wherever it is found.

BOOK REVIEWS

Religion as Man's Completion. A Social Religious Study, by
RUDOLPH M. BINDER. Harper and Brothers, 1927, 417
pages.

Here we have a human document. Though not strictly autobiographical, this volume records the conclusions of an independent thinker in the field of religion who was reared as a "fundamentalist" (page 288), who was educated for the ministry, who has assisted in two New York City pastorates, who is now a widely known and oft quoted professor of sociology in New York University, and who has come to find himself a champion of an inner, rational, spiritual, and practical religion as indispensable to "man's completion" "The only regret the writer has is that this knowledge did not come to him sooner, since it would have saved him many hours of agony" (page 288)

During the years of this transition and religious orientation, embracing the first quarter of the twentieth century, the author's published studies have been in the field of the "major social problems," including health and business. With ripe scholarship, wide reading, and clear thinking, he now sums up his studies in the field of religion.

To state his positive conclusions, first. Man's universal search for a fuller, larger, richer life, for "completion," is his religion. The growth of science and art require a redefinition of that religion which would survive. Religion is more comprehensive than science which is intellectual and than art which is emotional, since "religion enlists the whole mind" (preface). Man's need to live completely is met only by religion. But in our day religion must not be ceremonial, it must be social. So runs the positive argument.

Negatively, the author has left behind him a belief in miracles and in a vicarious atonement. The author's arguments against these beliefs are evidently the reflections of his own intellectual struggles for readjustment. There are, of course, other conceptions of such mooted matters as miracles and the atonement than those here opposed.

A few quotations will both set forth the author's views and suggest the style. "Religion is, consequently, something that may be investigated" (page 22). "Religion means a search for completion through powers with whom man cannot deal by ordinary means" (page 36). "This means that it was religion rather than society that was instrumental in transforming him [man] from an individual into a person" (page 77). "There is no possibility of deliberately assuming relations to universal and social forces [i. e., becoming a person] except on the hypothesis of freedom of the will" (page 78). "We may add to or subtract from the moral and spiritual forces" (page 84). "there can be only one answer to the question of God—He must be personal" (page 85). "Religion requires, consequently, the exercise of every aspect of our consciousness and benefits each one" (page 85). "nonscientific knowledge is as valuable, if not more so, as scientific" (page 107). "In art, technique is individual, in science, it is general" (page 114). "This theory [evolution] is, as a matter of fact, a philosophical hypothesis and not a scientific law like that of gravitation"

(page 118) "Again, general education is impossible without at least a fair amount of wealth" (page 158). "Such a personality [Jesus] was not the product of his times, since there was nothing in their conditions to produce Him" (page 208) "That religion is responsible for internationalism may be proved from another angle" (page 214). "The Sphinx still held her secret. She had to give it up when Christ came" (page 233) "There is no more shameful chapter in history than this subjugation of woman by man" "Conversion is a natural process" (page 251) "Whether miracles have happened can be neither proved nor disproved" (page 257) "Miracles are not essential to spiritual religion" (page 258) "The hundreds of certificates at Lourdes do not lie; they simply do not tell the truth, because the truth in these particular cases is not known" (page 273) "To deny these cures [at Lourdes] would be foolish, to attribute them to the cause claimed would be more so" (page 274). "The trial of a teacher at Dayton, Tennessee, in 1925, for teaching the theory of evolution was a great shock to all enlightened men" (page 279) "The principal task before the Church of today is the restoration of the three original Christian ideals [the perfectibility of man, love, and the Kingdom] and their rigid application to individual and social life" (page 316). "Yet, experience proves that the frequent change of mates [in marriage] does not either produce happiness or complete one's personality, because the basic element of permanence is absent" (page 324) "The movement towards democracy [in industry] is to be credited to Christianity without any qualifications" (page 338) "Business must become an agency for service instead of one for profit" (page 352) "The new materialism is due to affluence, not to poverty" (page 367) "Shall the twentieth century be the century of religion? To the writer this seems not only possible but probable" (page 388).

The philosophical background of the argument is a kind of theistic pragmatism, or pluralism, like that of William James, without the latter's recognition of mysticism. Indeed, the author's short shrift given to both mysticism as a form of religious experience and idealism as a form of philosophic thought will not prove satisfactory to some readers. Neither does he recognize a form of monism like that of Royce, whom he quotes, that is neither materialism nor pantheism. Indeed, the author seems to cut the ground from under any philosophy of religion in saying "There is no metaphysics in true religion" (page 344). There is at least a verbal, and perhaps a real, contradiction in saying "The new theology must be anthropocentric, not theocentric" (page 379). The author's own argument for a "divine intelligence" controlling matter is valid only on the assumption of rationalism, viz., that what reason can know is reasonable. His definition of value as "identity of repeated experiences" seems rather a statement of the condition of permanent value. The reference to Cardinal O'Connell should probably have omitted the statement at the middle of page 202. The author as a sociologist does not fail to recognize heredity in his program of eugenics.

The total impression is that of an honest and truth-seeking mind finding what it can in the field of man's religious experience by the aid of reason and "the a posteriori or inductive method as a guide" (page 92).

The book will serve as a useful and valuable text in college and university classes studying religion as a phase of human life, and for general reference purposes.

HERMAN H. HORNE

Sidewalks of New York, by NAT. J. FERBER. Chicago: Pascal Covici, Inc., 1927, 363 pages.

The sociologist picks up eagerly any volume which seems likely to throw light upon the community life of our immigrant groups, and upon the social backgrounds of the immigrant school child. Under a title rich in promise of authentic pictures of life on New York's East Side, Mr. Ferber has told the story of "Waterhead Sam" Posternock, the illegitimate, hydrocephalic offspring of a wealthy Russian Jew and a servant girl, he has followed "Waterhead" from the unappetizing background of a poor family in the town of his birth (to whom his paternal grandparents had relegated him with a sigh of relief), on through a great many episodes in the Ghetto, to the climax of the novel—the reunion of the exploited Sam and his childhood playmate, Goldie.

The volume does not keep the promise of its title. The types with whom Sam comes in contact during his Ghetto boyhood cannot be considered truly representative of the Jewish community. They are combinations of too many unusual characteristics; in a sense, each character epitomizes several phases of existence on the East Side, which would rarely be included in the experience of one individual. The character of Sam himself is an example. Unsanctioned, unwanted, ungainly in his appearance, he represents an aggregation of qualities which one might find occasionally in a single person, but which one would not think of labeling typical of the Ghetto child. These qualities lead the boy into adventures and experiences which a youngster of ordinary make-up would scarcely encounter. The funeral director or *shamus*, who utilizes his knowledge of bereaved widows and widowers to bring them together for matrimonial purposes, is another example. There may be one or two sextons of synagogues who do combine these rather unrelated activities, but they are not typical of the run of sextons. Nor are the episodes in which the old matchmaker figures typical of the experiences of the common variety of *shatchen*.

The community life of the Ghetto is completely omitted. Only isolated incidents are recounted, these have been chosen rather for their dramatic value than for their typicality. Here the author falls far below the level of description set in Dr. Ornitz's volume, *Haunch, Paunch and Jowl*, or even Fannie Hurst's *Humoresque*. He has not been interested, apparently, in the portrayal of those Ghetto types which Louis Wirth names and describes truthfully in *The City*.

The incidents of family life which the author includes in his story are typical in that they present rather usual conditions, i. e., congestion, conflict between children and parents, change of residence from the area of primary settlement to that of secondary settlement, change of family name with the coming of wealth, etc. But the set up in which these conditions are found is not typical. The family of thirteen children, six of Alter Posternock's, half a dozen of Yenta, his second wife, and the illegitimate Sam, is rarely found, the excessive conflict between every child and the old people is not typical (one child usually sides with the parents in a Jewish household). The reason for Alter's change of name from Posternock to Alvin Paster, to enable him to sign his checks more easily, is not typical.

Whatever the merits of *Sidewalks of New York* as literature, and they are few enough, the story has little value as source material for research in educational sociology.

IRVING ASTRACHAN

An Introduction to Sociology, by JEROME DAVIS, HARRY ELMER BARNES, L. L. BERNARD, SEBA ELDRIDGE, FRANK H. HAWKINS, ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON, and MALCOLM WILLEY. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1927.

Readings in Sociology, by the same authors. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1927, xviii + 1065 pages.

The Science of Social Relations, by HORNELL HART. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1927, xix + 664 pages.

The *Introduction* and *Readings*, edited by Barnes and Davis, should prove interesting to those who teach general social science courses in teachers' colleges or university departments of education. Each co-author contributes a section to the *Introduction* and compiles a related set of source materials for the *Readings*. Barnes contributes a section on the origins of man and culture, primitive peoples, and the evolution of the great society, a historical approach to the life of today. Huntington contributes a section on human geography. Hawkins deals with the biological factors in social life—stressing evolution, heredity, and the significance of race. Bernard writes on social psychology, dealing with both group behavior and personality. Willey presents the ethnological concept of culture as applied to our social life. Eldridge deals with forms of social organization, with emphasis on political action. And Davis concludes with a discussion of modern social and economic problems. Written by a group of specialists, the books present a diversity of viewpoints. While the political and economic aspects of our civilization are scantily covered, the volumes present a fairly well-rounded approach to contemporary social life and social problems. The *Readings* will considerably facilitate the use of the *Introduction* where library resources are limited.

The Science of Social Relations by Hornell Hart is written on this same level. But it is an introduction to sociology rather than to the social sciences. While the reviewer heartily disagrees with many things in the book, he finds it one of the most intriguing books he has picked up in a long time. After discussing the nature, formation, and dynamics of personality, Dr. Hart goes on to show how much of the pathology of the day—individual and social—arises out of the conflict of personalities. He then proceeds to examine the various techniques for resolving social conflict, drawing his material from contemporary political and industrial events. The book is written in nontechnical language, and is packed with concrete illustrations taken from everyday life. An extraordinarily suggestive set of topics for oral and written discussion is appended to each chapter. The author has prepared an interesting set of objective-type examinations on the text, and will furnish the examination blanks and grade the completed examinations for those who wish this service, at a nominal fee per student.

HARVEY W. ZONDAUGH

The Community Use of Schools, by ELEANOR TOUROFF GLUECK. Baltimore. Williams and Wilkins.

Just off the press is a book which should prove extremely valuable to boards of education, superintendents of schools, university extension departments, and all other public and private organizations interested in promoting the wider use of

the school plant. In a very comprehensive little volume entitled, *The Community Use of Schools*, Dr. Eleanor Touroff Glueck of Harvard University, research assistant of the Milton Fund Project in Criminology, has gathered extensive data on the community use of school buildings throughout the United States. Her study was undertaken for the purpose of assembling material upon which to base a discussion of the value and future possibilities of the school "as a center for the organization of community activities."

The book is an argument in favor of the school as the logical center for the organization of neighborhood life on the basis that it belongs to the public, that it is nonsectarian and nonpartisan, and has a wide influence upon those who are interested in the children of the community. It contains a brief account of the historical development of the community use of schools in the United States, a review of the philosophies of those idealists who have developed the community center movement, a thoroughly detailed description of the various agencies that have sought to stimulate the use of school buildings, together with the methods used by them, a discussion of the methods of administering and financing school centers, and a description of the activities carried on in school community centers. Three appendices are included containing an outline digest of State laws and some local ordinances relating to the wider use of the school plant, and an annotated bibliography.

The book is overwhelmingly filled with up-to-the-minute statistics, but does not go very deeply into an interpretation of the difficulties that face those who administer school plants and the equally great obstacles that confront those who attempt to interpret the reasons for so many failures, where both boards of education and neighborhoods have cooperated in an attempt to make community centers of their schools.

Dr. Glueck's study shows that schoolhouses are used much more generally as community centers in rural districts than in cities and she assumes that this is because there are fewer suitable gathering places, less red tape and a more intimate relationship between school teachers, principals, and the people of the community. These are all real reasons but a more important one may be that the people in the smaller districts form a more homogeneous group, having more common interests.

One of the main causes for the failure of so many school community centers may be that most boards of education and private organizations, administering the schools for community center activities, fail to recognize the importance of admitting groups spontaneously organized, groups that are homogeneous and group conscious, rather than attempting a mass community organization or trying to bring together in clubs boys and girls or men and women who have no common interests. Should boards of education and private organizations, seeking to stimulate the wider use of the schools, recognize the all important factor of the vital interest group in community organization, an immediate result might be an increased use of the school plant by such groups, nor would this prevent the coming together of all groups to discuss such problems as would have significance for them all.

Dr. Glueck points out that the wider use of the school plant is being administered largely by boards of education and municipal authorities and she feels that "the trend toward management by municipal authorities and the decrease of control by private groups is significant and disappointing." This trend is not necessarily unsound. There should be joint participation in the administration

of the school by the official school authorities and the people of the community, as Dr Glueck asserts, but the development and direction of school community center work logically belongs to the boards of education and the educators. May we not hope that the movement for bringing about a greater degree of socialization in the day schools, thereby tying up the child's school life with his community life—directed by those same boards of education and educators—will carry over into all phases of school activity, thus bringing about the democratic participation of all concerned?

Dr Glueck's book contains many valuable suggestions for those leaders who may wish to seek the help of outside agencies in promoting the use of their local schools as community centers, as well as helpful hints for the paid workers and volunteers who are already directing school community center activities.

LUCY J. CHAMBERLAIN

The Adolescent Girl A Book for Parents and Teachers, by WINIFRED RICHMOND. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926.

Ignorance, sentimentality, and taboo have made it difficult for parents and schoolmen to deal honestly and intelligently with girls during their early adolescent years. Girls have been expected to develop into attractive, subtly alluring, sexually desirable young women, at the same time, to them has been assigned the rôle of moral censors and of personifying purity and innocence, finally, they are expected to inspire chivalry and cleanliness of thought and action of adolescent boys. Such a three-dimensional adjustment has called for a degree of posing and delicacy of adaptation that baffles analysis and direct instruction. Formal education has scarcely dared to deal with it, except through the selection of women teachers and through the appreciation of characters of fiction and history who personified, to a degree, the ideal. By furnishing models of behavior and personality, the school has hoped to stimulate imitation, more or less consciously undertaken by the girls of the school—and perhaps by their parents.

Education in behavior for girls remains largely a family and community affair. Fashion magazines, moving-picture actresses, mothers, older sisters, and their associates furnish inspiration and social approval—direct or implied—that far outweighs any instruments of the school. And the force and ubiquitousness of these behavior controls have been greatly intensified by the greater leisure and economic independence of girls and women from twelve to fifty and beyond.

That girls should have difficulty in making these subtle adjustments in a bewilderingly inconsistent world is not surprising. Many maladjustments occur. And it is a primary duty of school people to strive to understand them—their causes and symptoms and treatment.

In this effort, teachers and parents will be greatly assisted by a careful reading and rereading of *The Adolescent Girl*. Dr Richmond here clears away many of the obscurities that surround the problems of the young adolescent girl and points the direction in which progress must be made and the obstacles that lie in the path.

In chapter II, "Puberty, What It Is and What It Means" the author treats simply and convincingly the facts and fancies which are so distorted and surrounded by

secrecy and cant in the traditional attitude. Painful menstruation, sick headaches, and chorea become as understandable as a stomach ache or a sprained ankle. The possibilities of mental therapy, of hygienic living, and of operations in promoting normal enjoyment of life during the menstrual periods are explained. There is, however, no effort to minimize the deep significance of the radical changes that are taking place in the girl's body.

It is a temptation for the reviewer to quote many significant passages from this chapter and from the succeeding chapters dealing with "The Abnormal Girl," "The Delinquent Girl," and "The Normal Girl." The limits of space forbid it. The final chapter on "Training and Education," however, demands specific citation.

The rangy, boyish figure, with small hips and flat chest is much in fashion at the present moment, and the girl of different type is apt to be loath to accept her difference and to attempt imitation of her slender sister, instead of developing her own possibilities. Grave harm may result thereby, for the same physical régime cannot with advantage be adhered to for all types. Above all things we must avoid fads of food and exercise. To hold a group of girls of varying physical types to the same diet and put them all through the same gymnastic stunts is folly in the highest degree. The girl of long limbs and short body, in whom the alimentary canal is short and the heart and lungs comparatively small, needs highly concentrated nourishing foods, and feats of endurance are beyond her. She cannot swim so far, nor dance so long, nor play such strenuous basketball or tennis as her more robust sister. Games and sports must be adapted to her, she must learn to recognize her limitations in this respect as definitely as in matters of dress. On the other hand, the full-chested girl, with short limbs and a body long in proportion, has plenty of lung space and normally a good circulatory system, she is the long distance swimmer, the champion at tennis, the star in feats of endurance. Her physical sins are apt to be dietetic, she it is who needs the vegetables and bulky foods, the larger quantities of fruit and water which the popular magazines urge us all to consume. She is too apt to starve herself and in her ignorance to deprive her body of the very foods it is best fitted to assimilate.

Of the introvert, Dr. Richmond says:

Such a girl cannot be forced or driven, sarcasm only sends her deeper within herself. The world appears too harsh and unfriendly to her as it is, if she is to take her place in it, at last with a fair degree of efficiency and comfort, it must be made attractive to her. We must find the things in which she can succeed, which she can do as well or better than her mates. We must encourage her efforts with lavish praise and disregard her failures. Her efforts to extravert herself, to act and be like other girls, may be ludicrous or silly because she does not see things from quite the same angle. She is apt to think out a course of action for herself and then carry it through without regard to conditions which call for modifications of her plan. If we are to avoid a future breakdown, we must make every effort to cultivate her social instincts, to give her self-confidence and assurance, and above all we must avoid coddling and sheltering her as strenuously as we avoid harshness and sarcasm.

The extravert is.

The type that receives social approval, especially in this country, and the tendencies we most deplore in our youth at the present day are indubitably fostered by our social *milieu*. . . To counteract the tendency to undue extraversion in such an atmosphere is an herculean task. . . We cannot do this by preaching at her or by forcible restraint of her activities. It is of small value that the body is quiet while the mind races and fumes. We must surround her with an atmosphere of quiet, accustom her from childhood to periods of quietude and repose. By questions and by respectful listening to her opinions we must encourage her to think for herself. Contact with nature and with the riches of art and literature will broaden her interests and help her to understand herself.

In proportion as parents are themselves extraverted will they fail to see the value of such training; but for this misunderstanding and thus lack of opportunity for self-knowledge, nature will take her revenge. Unhappy lives, stunted or undeveloped abilities, blind and wasteful seeking for outlets for the instinctive urges within, breakdowns in increasing numbers are but the price we pay for our lack of inner harmony.

The dangers of homosexuality are dealt with frankly, the need of access to facts without "embarrassment or hedging" regarding her sex life and her relationships to boys and men. But of most importance

Sublimation, or using up of sex energy in other pursuits, becomes of value. Sex energy, as we have seen, is creative energy, and is at the bottom of all creative efforts of whatever kind, and where it cannot be repressed or ignored without disastrous results it can be turned into other channels and made to serve socially useful ends. This is the reason for the insistence upon a wide range of interests in adolescence, games and sports, outdoor life, recreation, and amusements have their legitimate place in any scheme of education. The more things a girl can do and enjoy, the better is she fortified against the loneliness and boredom that send her to questionable places of amusement or lead her to take a long chance in the hope of finding companionship and pleasure.

Work, achievement, the joy of creation, of doing something worth while, something into which she can put her very self is a most necessary outlet for that creative energy which, in the woman, normally expends itself in the bearing and rearing of children. And in this respect our industrial civilization, where men and women are the slaves of machines, is far inferior to its predecessors, when each must learn some trade or occupation and carry its processes through to the finished product. The girl of our grandmother's day was an adept in those household arts which have now been taken over in their entirety by the factory. Pride of workmanship and joy of creation, delight in the beauty or value of her work, were hers to a degree which perhaps the majority of girls today never experience. We cannot go back to our grandmother's day but we must realize that much that we deplore in the modern girl—her restlessness, her mad chase after pleasure, her craving for experience at any cost—is but the expression of that creative energy which, diverted from its normal goal, must seek an outlet otherwise. The girl who has no occupation, no real interests, nor opportunity for self-expression, is driven to mad lengths by the surge of energy within her.

To help every girl find herself in creative work, express herself through some vocation or avocation in which she can take pride and joy, is the ideal we must hold before us in sex education—in all education—no matter how far off its fulfillment may seem

Much is being done in our progressive secondary schools—creatively controlled schools—to give girls and boys such normal expressiveness of their individualities. But too often the academic curriculum still controls the school's attitudes and administrative machinery. Too generally are our faculties altogether ignorant and close minded in regard to the emotional lives and needs of our adolescent girls and boys. It is to be hoped that such books as this may be more generally read and cogitated by teachers and parents

PHILIP W. L. COX

Social Problems of the Family, by ERNEST R. GROVES. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1926, 314 pages.

That many of the problems that arise in the classroom have their roots in the home every teacher will testify. The teacher's private convictions are buttressed by a literature of alarm—the family is going to pieces, it is a psychological kingdom of lives, it is the worst place in the world to bring up a child, few children recover from their early family experiences. And what's to be done about it? There have been endless suggestions, from the giving of cook books to brides to the barring of comic strips of the "Bringing up Father" type from our newspapers. Professor Groves goes deeper. He believes that successful family life can result only from careful training, a definite scientific education for marriage and parenthood. "The training of parents to meet their responsibilities in the light of such science as we now have is necessary to complete our educational program. Eventually it will be seen that to train parents adequately we must also train youth for marriage."

The book presents an interesting discussion of present trends in family life. No teacher reading it can fail to have a more adequate conception of the background from which the child comes to the school. Nor can the teacher reading it fail to have a more intelligent and sympathetic insight into the problem of the incorrigible parent. An excellent bibliography lists the plays and movies as well as the scientific books and articles which deal with the family.

HARVEY W. ZORBAUGH

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

The Annual Meeting of the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology was held in Washington, D. C., at the Hotel Raleigh, Thursday, December 29, 1927. The meeting was in joint session with the section on Educational Sociology of the American Sociological Society, holding its 22d annual meeting. Several interesting papers were presented, some of which will be published in future numbers of *THE JOURNAL*. Robert C. Angell of the University of Michigan, read a paper on "Science, Sociology, and Education" which provoked considerable discussion as to the meaning of educational sociology. The paper of Ross L. Finney, of the University of Minnesota, president of the Society, on the topic, "Toward an Agreement as to the Content of Educational Sociology," also provoked considerable discussion. The upshot of this discussion seemed to be that it would be desirable to spend less time and effort in discussing what educational sociology is, and more time in carrying on actual research upon the many problems in the field which are now presenting themselves. C. D. Chapman of Pennsylvania State College presented a paper on the "Literature of Educational Sociology."

At the luncheon meeting a paper by President A. O. Bowden of New Mexico State Teachers College on the subject, "Some Applications of the Principles of Social Psychology to Educational Practice," was read. Nathan Miller of the Carnegie Institute of Technology read an interesting paper on "Primitive Education," bringing out the various punishments that were used to keep the primitive child in line. In his discussion of this paper, Professor Ellsworth Faris of the University of Chicago took occasion to point out the many tribes in which there were no punishments. O. Myking Mehus of Wittenberg College read an interesting paper upon "Extracurricular Activities in College."

In an address at the annual dinner of the American Sociological Society, Professor Faris took occasion to call the attention of the members present to the importance of the field of educational sociology and asked their support in directing the attention of sociologists to the various problems presented in this field.

Professor Chapin of the University of Minnesota writes: A survey of extracurricular activities at the University of Minnesota will be published in the form of a University Research Bulletin, edited by Professor F. Stuart Chapin. The survey includes a study of 273 campus organizations and an analysis of the extracurricular activities of 4673 undergraduates. Information describing the types of activities and the participation in them of students classified by sex, academic class and college, is given. The report also includes statistical tables showing the number of different activities in which students take part concurrently. The time students spend on activities is analyzed. Academic achievement in relation to the extent and degree of student activity is analyzed and the activities of 1170 student leaders are carefully studied. Finally, information supplied by 400 alumni, which shows the extent to which student activities carry into community activities of alumni, is fully presented. Since a number of educational and psychological problems depend for their study upon knowledge of the differences in the home environments of groups compared, you may be interested to know that I have coming out in the February issue of the *Journal of Educational*

Psychology an article which presents the results of two years' research in constructing a quantitative scale for measuring home environment

Professor Charles C. Peters of Pennsylvania State College spent the week, December 19th to 23d, in Florida and Alabama, lecturing to the faculties of the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College at Tallahassee and Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, on the set-up of the college curriculum. Tuskegee (Booker T. Washington's old school) is just now in a transition state, extending its course from the high-school level into a four-year college. The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College is Florida's institution of higher education for negroes, is under the presidency of Dr. J. R. E. Lee, and is also at present engaged in an active effort to readjust its curriculum in harmony with the present-day movement.

The National Council of Social Studies has recently compiled and published two pamphlets which should be suggestive and useful to the teachers of history and social studies. The first of these is "Historical Fiction," suitable for junior and senior high schools. This piece of work comes from the leadership of the Department of Social Studies of the University of Chicago High School. This pamphlet contains annotated lists of historical fiction in the fields or divisions of United States, ancient, medieval, and modern history. The second pamphlet contains a "Classified Catalogue of Textbooks in the Social Studies for Elementary and Secondary Schools." Miss Annabel Redman of Hunter College, New York City, is the compiler. In each case the publication can be secured from the McKinley Publishing Company of Philadelphia.

Professor Hughes Mearns has recently discussed "Aspects of Creative Education" before the Woman's Club of Chicago, the Child Study Association, the Child Guidance Groups, and the Francis W. Parker School, all of Chicago, under the auspices of the Woman's Club, the Kindergarten and Primary College of Evanston, Illinois, and the Teachers' Associations of Norfolk, Va., and of Youngstown, Ohio.

Professor Jesse F. Stomer of the department of sociology of the University of North Carolina recently accepted a similar position with Tulane University of New Orleans and becomes a member of the faculty of the New School of Social Research.

Professor Clark W. Hetherington was presented with the Luther Halsey Gulick Gold Medal for distinguished service in the field of physical education on January 13, 1928. The award was made by Miss H. McKinstry in behalf of the Physical Education Society of New York and vicinity. Drs. George Fisher, William Snow, George Ehler, E. George Payno, Mr. H. S. Braucher and Mr. J. B. Nash, associates of Professor Hetherington's, spoke appreciatively of his work in connection with Leland Stanford, the Universities of Missouri and Wisconsin, the Playground Movement, State Supervision in California, and the School of Education, New York University.

The graduates and former students of the School of Education of New York University have now increased to such numbers that there is a growing consciousness that there should be a definite and permanent organization. This feeling has now culminated in the formation of an alumni society. Branch organizations of this society have already been formed in Pennsylvania. Dr. Joseph Neuman, superintendent of the Mahony Township Schools of Mahony City, Pennsylvania,

is president of the Pennsylvania Association. Another of these branch societies was formed in Connecticut, a recent luncheon was held at New Haven. Superintendent A. F. Mayhew has taken the leadership in this organization.

Under the auspices of the department of secondary education of the School of Education of New York University, the following announcement is made of the Fourth Junior-High-School Conference.

JUNIOR-HIGH-SCHOOL CONFERENCE

MARCH 16 AND 17, 1928

Friday Evening Program (8 00 p m)

General Topic. Creative Supervision in the Junior High Schools

Address: Teaching as Adventuring

Address: Teacher Cooperation in Curriculum Making

Round Tables. (9.00 p.m.)

- I. Encouraging and guiding the growth of teachers by means of professional and general reading and discussion groups, and by means of extension and residence study in schools of education, etc.
- II. Encouraging and guiding the growth of teachers and the improvement of educational procedures by means of teacher committees on researches.
- III. Encouraging and guiding the growth of teachers and the improvement of educational procedures by means of teacher committees on curriculum modification.
- IV. Encouraging and guiding the growth of teachers by means of teacher committees on utilization of community resources, public library, scouts, museums, local history, playgrounds, physiography, etc.
- V. Encouraging and guiding the growth of teachers and the improvement of educational procedures by means of teacher committees on individual and remedial instruction and provision for maladjusted pupils.
- VI. Encouraging and guiding the growth of teachers by means of teacher inter-visitation, "big-brother" supervision, helping new teachers and substitute teachers to get adjusted, etc.
- VII. Encouraging and guiding the growth of teachers and the improvement of educational procedures by means of demonstration lessons and outside speakers.
- VIII. Encouraging and guiding the growth of teachers and the improvement of educational procedures by means of rating plans for teacher efficiency in various aspects of professional activities.

Saturday Morning Program (9 30 a m)

General Topic. Pupil Advisement in the Junior High Schools

Address: Scope and Need of Guidance in the Junior High Schools

Address: Pupil Guidance through Student Activities

Round Tables (11 00 a m)

- I. Promoting the self-direction of boys and girls through activities of the home-room groups.
- II. Promoting the self-direction of boys and girls through activities of clubs and societies.
- III. Promoting the self-direction of boys and girls through athletic activities and physical recreation.

- IV. Promoting the self-direction of boys and girls through activities of assemblies, dramatics, pageants
- V Promoting the self-direction of boys and girls through the discovery, encouragement, and exploitation of special creative talents—art, music, dancing, poetry, journalism, etc
- VI Promoting the self-direction of boys and girls through coöperative school management
- VII The uses of tests, measurements, and records in supplementing and supporting the advisory program.
- VIII The curriculum as an instrument of self-discovery, guidance, and advisement
- IX Counseling and interviewing by teacher, administrator, and specialist—the roll of the specialist

The annual meeting of the Eastern Commercial Teachers' Association will be held April 5, 6, and 7, 1928, at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City. Among the speakers of note to appear on the program are Dr. John Dewey, Dr. William H. Kilpatrick of Columbia University, who will discuss a philosophy of commercial education, Dr. Wesley C. Mitchell will discuss commercial education and the scientific spirit; Dean Edmund E. Day of the University of Michigan will discuss research as applied to business, Dean John W. Withers of New York University will discuss research as applied to education. Other distinguished speakers of note who will appear on the various programs are Professor G. M. Wilson of Boston University (Professor Wilson is one of the well-known men working in the field of reorganization of the curriculum in arithmetic); Dr. E. G. Blackburn of the University of Iowa, Iowa City, will discuss research problems of commercial education.

To mention all the significant problems up for discussion and those to take part in such discussions would make this notice altogether too long and the reader is advised to watch for the later detailed announcements of this important educational meeting.

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

President A. O. Bowden of New Mexico State Teachers College is a graduate of the University of Kentucky with an A.B. degree. President Bowden later received his A. M. from Harvard, besides doing extensive graduate work in the University of Chicago as well as Columbia University. President Bowden has had considerable experience as principal and superintendent of schools in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Montana. He formerly held a professorship of education and philosophy at Baylor College before coming to his present position in which he has been since 1922.

Professor Walter R. Smith of the department of educational sociology of the University of Kansas is a Missourian by birth and early training. He received his Ph. B. from Missouri Valley College, Marshall, Missouri; his Ph. D. from the University of Chicago. He has had administrative work as principal of a high school in Missouri, before he became an instructor in Washington University, St. Louis. Later he was associated with the social science department of Heidelberg at Tiffin, Ohio, in the same department at the Kansas State Normal College, at Emporia. He has been in his present position at the University of Kansas, since 1919. He is an active member of numerous sociological and educational associations. He is a contributor to numerous periodicals. He is the author of *Introduction to Educational Sociology*, which is one of the most widely used books in this new field, besides *Constructive School Discipline*, written from the viewpoint of the social control of the school.

Professor Robert C. Angell of the department of educational sociology of the School of Education of the University of Michigan, is a native of Michigan, educated in the public schools of Ann Arbor, recently receiving his Ph.D. degree in that institution and remaining as an instructor and now professor. He is the author of a forthcoming book, entitled *The Campus*, which is a treatise of the student mind.

For sketches of Principal John J. Loftus and Professor Philip W. L. Cox, the reader is referred to previous issues of THE JOURNAL.

FORTHCOMING ARTICLES

Scope, Functions, and Purposes of the Departments of Schools of Education—John W. Withers.

A Project in Adult Education—Robert A. Kissack

The Study of the Total Situation.—Frederic M. Thrasher.

Determining the Results of Education—E. George Payne

The Behaviorist Looks at an Infant—Harvey W. Zorbaugh.

The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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EDITORIAL

THE recent meeting of the Department of Superintendence and allied organizations offered an opportunity surpassing any hitherto for the discussion of the problems of educational sociology. A full day's program was presented by the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology and the subject had representation in the program of the college teachers of education. The significance of this emphasis and the general interest in the subject indicates, first, that educators are relying more and more upon educational sociology as a basic science in determining and guiding the educational process and, second, that there is coming to be a greater degree of agreement among the educational sociologists themselves as to the limits of the science. This does not mean that there is agreement. As a matter of fact the editor of this journal is of the opinion that it would be unwise to agree at the present time. There has not been enough discussion but in many of the fundamental aspects of the subject there was agreement. We are in a position to go forward with the new effort in the development of the science in which the readers of this journal are interested.

SCOPE, FUNCTIONS, AND PURPOSES OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF SCHOOLS OF EDUCATION¹

JOHN W. WITHERS
New York University

THE aim and purpose of the School of Education is to assist as far as possible in the solution of the problems of American education in two general directions; first, the extension of tested knowledge in education in all of its phases and at all levels, and secondly, the promotion of better application of tested knowledge in the improvement of educational practice.

It proposes to realize this aim chiefly through four lines of effort: (1) the professional education and training of teachers, and others, for the various kinds of service needed in education, (2) research and publication of results, (3) field counsel and advice in the way of lectures, conferences, surveys, cooperative studies, committee service, and so forth; and (4) promulgation of an educational philosophy in harmony with the spirit and needs of present-day life.

In order to accomplish the task which it has undertaken, the School of Education has been organized with the definite purpose of providing expert service of a high degree of excellence in all of these fields. Since no faculty could possibly be found whose members are equally at home and sufficiently expert in all of them, the carrying out of this purpose necessarily involves a kind of departmental organization, which, however, must not be confused with what has come to be characteristic of schools and colleges devoted to academic education. These two forms of departmental organization as functioning units within a faculty have some things in common but there are differences between them that are vital and must not be overlooked. These differences are found both in matters of instruction and of research. In matters of instruction, one form is concerned with the promotion of cultural or liberal education, the other with professional education. Liberal education places emphasis primarily upon subject matter, the acquisition of knowledge, the mastery of content.

¹ An address delivered to the faculty of the School of Education of New York University

The question that is uppermost is what is the value and importance of this subject? What will it do for the student if he thoroughly masters it? Can he be considered liberally educated without it? The subject and its mastery are the important aims rather than what the student is going to do with the subject when he gets it. The central purpose of colleges devoted to the arts and sciences is the extension through research, and the dissemination, through teaching and publication, of knowledge for its own sake, with little direct reference to its practical bearing upon the occupations of postcollege life.

In professional education on the other hand, in so far as it is concerned with the attainment of knowledge, emphasis is placed primarily upon the use that is to be made of what the student learns. The question is not what will the subject, if thoroughly mastered, do for him but what will he do with the subject. The subject matter of instruction is secondary. Its use is primary. Since the student in the professional school does not as a rule have time to master completely any of the subjects that he studies, even if it were desirable that he should do so, the problem of such a school is to determine whether any given subject will be useful to him at all in his profession and, if it is decided that it will be, then what parts of it he will need to know and how these parts shall be selected, organized, and presented, so as to make them most available when he shall need to use them in practice.

PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING

In carrying out the first of the four lines of effort constituting the program of the School of Education; namely, the professional education and training of teachers and of others for the various kinds of service needed in education, the principle by which the faculty should be guided primarily is this: Whatever the student needs to know, or be able to do to fit him for successful practice in the field of professional service which he is planning to enter, must be taught him. It is the nature of this service, not what subjects he is taught or by whom he is taught them, that constitutes the determining factor. If this principle is accepted as fundamental in the organization and administration of our curricula and courses of instruction, and there appears to be little

need of such a school as ours unless it is accepted, certain facts stand out clearly as to the extent and kinds of coöperation among the departments of the School of Education that are needed for the proper conduct of our work in the matter of instruction. Among these facts the following should be mentioned.

(1) The number of distinct occupations into which the profession of education in the United States is divided is already very great and increasing. In the New York City school system alone some two hundred and fifty occupations are recognized as sufficiently different and distinct to require action of the Board of Examiners to select those who may be certificated for service in them. All of these occupations require professional training, a part of which can and should be taken in a professional school such as ours. It is obviously impossible for such a school to set up a special department for each of these occupations. However, with possibly a few exceptions they can be classified into groups that fall very readily into fields of service for which the faculty of the School of Education is now organized.

(2) The special knowledges, skills, and abilities that are peculiar to each of these groups and can be taught or developed in the School of Education or under its supervision more quickly and economically than they can be learned by apprenticeship in the occupations themselves should be ascertained chiefly by that department of the faculty which is responsible for the field of service to which the occupation belongs, and the teaching of the required special knowledges, skills, and abilities ascertained in this way should be provided for in courses for which the department should hold itself responsible. But at the same time it must be recognized that in practically all of these occupations the special knowledges, skills, and abilities needed are not confined wholly to the field covered by any one department. For example, if the occupation for which the student wishes to prepare should be the teaching of such a subject as art, music, or physical education, the department primarily concerned should be responsible for the special courses needed, but even in such occupations, though less than in some others, coöperation between departments is necessary. For example, the department or departments devoted to the different levels of education at which the student intends to

teach will have a responsibility in the student's special training which cannot properly be ignored by them or wisely assumed by the special department acting alone.

(3) Moreover in these special phases of the professional education of our students, coöperation with the field forces of education is also very desirable. For in planning and giving these courses, two things must not be confused. The students who come to us need instruction and training that will enable them to do successfully the work that will actually be required of them. This means that the members of the faculty who are concerned with these courses should know as well as possible what is actually being required in these occupations as the work is now being done in the schools over the country and especially in those in which our students are interested. This calls for coöperative study and good understanding between the faculty members and the field forces in these occupations. We cannot ignore these significant practical facts and, through isolation or from any other cause, become too theoretical and idealistic in planning and giving these special courses. It certainly will not do in any case to devote a course, take the student's money, and consume his time in explaining to him on the basis of our superior wisdom, real or supposed, that the occupation in which he is engaged or into which he is preparing to go is all wrong both in theory and practice, as it is being carried on in the school or system in which he is employed or is planning to enter. Any department of the School of Education may in this way soon lose its opportunity to be of much real service to any school system toward whose work it has or is thought to have such an attitude of superiority. The Institute of Education should serve a good purpose in helping us to keep our feet on the ground in this respect.

It must not, on the other hand, be forgotten that faculty members as expert students of these occupations should contribute as far as possible toward their improvement. This can and should be done in a number of ways. by scientific study carried on both within the School of Education and in cooperation with the field forces outside; by publishing books and articles disseminating the results of such study; by conferences for mutual interchange of experiences and ideas with responsible school authorities and with the

faculties of other institutions; and by every other method that seems feasible and legitimate. This must always be an essential part of the program of the School of Education for it is fundamental to the service which we are trying to render.

(4) It must also be remembered that not all of the special training required in any of the occupations with which our students are concerned can be given or should be attempted in the School of Education. The great majority of our students when they matriculate with us have already had more or less of professional education and actual experience. What we do for them should therefore be conditioned not only by the sort of professional service they are to render when they leave us, but also by the professional experience and equipment which they already have when they come to us. For everyone of these students the curriculum that should be provided is in reality an individual matter. It is therefore quite obvious that their needs even in the way of specialized training cannot be met by any rigidly organized scheme of departmental courses which are offered to them on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. For those students and even for those who come to us without professional experience directly from the high schools there is need of departmental cooperation in planning suitable courses and curricula. What they should be equipped for when they leave us as well as what they are when they come to us should both be considered. It is necessary of course that, based on a thorough study of the occupations we should plan curricula which seem best suited not only in technical training but also in general and professional education to furnish the preparation essential to the highest service in these occupations. But to administer such curricula when they have been adopted, with too little regard for the exemption of students from the taking of required courses, the equivalents of which they have already had, and thus prevent them from electing with our guidance other courses on which their time could be more profitably spent, would be an unpardonable error against the student and also against the profession. At a time of too great devotion among schools of education to academic respectability and standards of academic thoroughness, the danger of committing this error is very real, especially in the case of the earnest,

mature, and experienced students who make up the great majority of the student body of our graduate division. It is easy to say, yes, you seem to have had a course similar to the one I am giving but it could not possibly have been so good a course as mine, when sometimes if the truth were known it might have been a better course. In planning the work of these more mature students we can often rely to a considerable extent upon the student's own judgment as to what he most needs.

(5) Departmental cooperation is needed quite as much in dealing with the general cultural and professional aspects of the education of our students as with their specialized training. For the professionalized general education and the generalized professional education which are basic to each of the occupations within the profession of education, materials that are needed must often be chosen from many fields and subjects of study and combined into courses so organized and related as to guarantee their best functioning in the practical work of our students in these occupations. This is not easy to do for two reasons: first, because of the difficulty involved in analyzing the various occupations to determine the kind and amount of professional education which they require; and, secondly, because of the subtle and more or less unconscious influence which our own academic education exerts upon us as teachers. Occupational analysis as we are concerned with it in education is quite a different thing from job analysis in the study of a trade. In teaching as in a trade, the specific knowledges, skills, and special methods essential to expertness must, of course, be mastered. But in teaching and the various other occupations of the profession of education, such equipment is by no means adequate. Indeed, one may have this specialized training to a very high degree for any given occupation and still be a poorly equipped and undesirable member of the profession. To be a satisfactory teacher, for example, one must know (a) the subject that he teaches with an accuracy and thoroughness more exacting than is required to meet academic standards; (b) the best methods of teaching the subject to guarantee its greatest value to the student; (c) something of the meaning and purpose of education in modern life, (d) the relation of education to other fundamental interests and activi-

ties of the people; (e) the function and work of the school as a social institution, its place among other social institutions, its relation to them, how and to what extent it should cooperate with them, its own proper work; (f) the meaning and value of what he does in its relation to the work of others in the individual school in which he is employed and in the system of which it is a part. Not only must he know these things and others which an exhaustive analysis would readily suggest but he must have the ability and the disposition to work effectively with others engaged on common tasks for the attainment of common objectives. In short he must be able and disposed to take his place and play well his part as a good sport in the interesting and important game of American education.

As to the difficulty occasioned by the influence of our own academic training in the cooperative solution of these curriculum problems, it may be pointed out that we are all more or less inclined to teach and to evaluate subject matter in the way and from the point of view in which we ourselves were taught. It is no doubt a fact that the best and most inspiring teachers whom many of us knew in college were subject enthusiasts academically minded and inclined to magnify, exalt, and glorify the subjects which they taught. They imparted to us much of their own enthusiasm to make scholarship in the sense of the complete mastery of these subjects our educational ideal. Such teachers are rare. Wherever they are found their services must be recognized as of the highest value in an institution devoted to culture and liberal education. Unfortunately, it does not follow that such a teacher when transferred from an academic to a professional school will prove to be great or even satisfactory. For much the same reason that a person may be a profound student of ethics and yet a bad man morally, one may know all about subject matter and still be a poor teacher. The teacher's knowledge must be thorough, but of a different and more exacting kind of thoroughness than that of the academic scholar. In educating men and women for the teaching profession we are never so much interested in tracing accurately and completely fact-to-fact relationships throughout a given field of subject matter as we are in tracing the exact practical relationship of facts to purposes in the life of

the student, which is quite a different thing. Moreover professional scholarship in education is distinguished in at least two ways from scholarship in the sense of academic thoroughness. We must master the subjects that we teach and master them thoroughly, but with a kind of thoroughness which subordinates subject matter to the present and prospective needs of those whom we teach. Correct spelling, for example, is a desirable thing, but we cannot for the sake of an academic thoroughness require children to master all the words in the dictionary or in the old-fashioned spelling-book. Our problem is rather to ascertain what words the children will probably use in writing or typing and center our effort upon them. The second difference between professional and academic thoroughness is concerned with the selection, organization, grading, and presentation of subject matter in ways that are best suited to the capacities and interests of students.

In planning courses for our students in the School of Education we shall often find it necessary to cut across traditional subject-matter boundaries in order to get the materials that we need. Here again the influence of academic training is very apt to exert itself. Overlooking this truth teachers in professional schools who have had good college training are prone, as validated knowledge in their special fields becomes considerably extended, to organize this knowledge into courses which taken together cover the whole field, and insist that these courses are so fundamentally valuable in professional education that all students must take them. This attitude is likely to be accentuated if the teachers of these courses are also engaged in research, for the reason that their recent discoveries have an undue value attached to them. Therefore because of the constant increase of professional knowledge in various fields of education and because of the changing character of old occupations and the development of new ones for which professional education is required, there is great and increasing need of coöperative study of the problems occasioned by these conditions. An illustration of this difficulty is found in the naming of courses and the determination of the content actually included in each course that make up the various curricula of colleges and schools of education the country over. The waste represented by repetition, duplication, and improper se-

quences of material in many of these curricula is very great. This statement applies in some measure to the courses which make up the present curricula of the School of Education and indicates a problem which calls for immediate and careful study. Some duplication of material is unavoidable and necessary owing to the diversified needs, education, and experience of our students, but a comparison of the courses as they are actually given will undoubtedly show more duplication than is necessary or desirable.

(3) Attention must also be called to the need of cooperative study of problems involved in determining the length and organization of curricula for the School of Education. On account of the scientific study of education, the amount of tested knowledge available for curriculum making is rapidly increasing in many directions. In the case of some occupations the amount of material now available is already greater than can be effectively used. We therefore face the question as to what portions of this material should be selected for our courses, how long the period of training in the School of Education should be, and how both the materials and the period of our training may be best utilized to stimulate and encourage further development of our students after they leave us. Our success should be measured as much by the continued voluntary in-service growth of our students as by what they accomplish under our direct instruction.

This general problem is further complicated by the fact that the whole American school system is undergoing throughout a fundamental reorganization, the outcome of which cannot now be predicted. It is apparently certain, however, that the next ten or fifteen years will witness changes of far-reaching importance. Among the questions now pressing for an answer, one of the most important in its influence upon the work of such institutions as ours, is concerned with the proper articulation of the various units of the American educational system. What are these units? How shall they be defined? What shall be considered as elementary, secondary, and collegiate education? Shall our school systems be organized on the 8-4-4, the 6-3-3-4, the 6-3-3-2, the 6-4-4, or on some other plan? What is to be the place of the junior college? What relation should hold between academic and technical education, and between academic and professional educa-

nion? These and scores of other questions are pressing for an answer. The outcome of this general movement will inevitably lead to many new occupations and to fundamental changes in present occupations in education for which schools of education will be expected to furnish the necessary professional training. No matter how successfully we reconstruct our curricula to meet present needs, any curriculum that we now set up must be considered as tentative and subject to change and we must also hold ourselves ready to deal with new occupations as they arise.

The foregoing analysis of the cooperative work of the faculty in the effort to accomplish the first of the four objectives of the School of Education stated at the beginning of this paper is, of course, not exhaustive. It is not meant to be so. The purpose in making it is merely to indicate typical examples of the sort of effort that is needed.

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATION OF RESULTS

In the matter of productive research in education we are about where we were in industrial production fifty years ago. We are still essentially at the tool stage. Production at this stage calls for individual rather than group effort. It requires that the individual producer shall be familiar with the material on which he works and well informed as to its possibilities and limitations. He must also know his tools and attain a high degree of skill in their use. To acquire these knowledges and skills it was not only possible for the tool worker to proceed alone but as a rule it was better that he should do so. Naturally, therefore, in educating for productive effort at this stage, emphasis was laid on instructing the individual. But in the transition from the individual to the group stage in organized industrial production, this individualized type of education was not only found to be inadequate, but at times even antagonistic to effective production. Emphasis was therefore needed on various forms of cooperative effort and on working out for this purpose a satisfactory technique. Until such cooperation could be accomplished the only way out of the dilemma, if machine production was to remain, was to provide for such minute specialization of labor that the individual worker

would not be expected to do anything that would require a long time or considerable effort to learn. In the development of modern industry this has been a crucial problem which is not yet satisfactorily solved, although we have gone a long way toward a solution. We are learning better how to cooperate and what kind of education effective cooperation requires. The individual specialist in research in industry as well as in education, is, of course, needed and always will be, but his contribution is rendered much more effective if based upon the mastery and application of the technique of group cooperation.

On account of the new social order and our changing civilization, the problems that must be dealt with by education are more complex and difficult than those met with in industry and call for fuller utilization of cooperative effort in study and research. Although this is true, the development of research in our graduate schools is not sufficiently encouraging to cooperative effort for the reason that emphasis is placed too exclusively on individual research. The usual requirement for the doctor's degree is that the student shall make by his own independent effort at least a small contribution to his major subject. Moreover the individual's professional standing and progress, if he later becomes a member of a university faculty is made to depend almost entirely upon his independent research and upon the quantity and value of his publications. He, therefore, naturally tends to be secretive as to what he is doing and as to his results until he is ready to publish them. This leads inevitably to much lost motion and unproductive effort. The method used may be strictly scientific, the tables worked out may be faultless, the graphs correctly drawn, and the results all true; but the conditions under which the results were obtained may have been and often are so artificial and unreal that no educator thinks of them as having much practical value under normal conditions.

It is highly desirable that the principle of cooperative research in education should be fully applied and the necessary techniques for this purpose carefully worked out. No one will think for a moment that the successful accomplishment of this purpose on an extensive scale would displace the need of high-grade individual research. On the contrary it would furnish a promising back-

ground for individual research that would be more wisely directed and consequently much more productive

How then may this principle be applied in the work of the faculty of the School of Education? In answer I ask you to consider first a general plan that may be followed, and secondly the meaning of research as applied to education and the tools that should be employed.

The experience of Teachers College of Columbia University which has been an outstanding pioneer in so many fruitful efforts to improve education is of considerable value in laying a foundation for cooperative effort in the study of education. In the effort to transmute accepted theory into improved practice in the training of teachers, the Horace Mann School was established as a demonstration center in which what was considered good teaching could be practically exemplified. For more than twenty-five years this school has been extensively used by members of the faculty of Teachers College for this purpose. When it was found necessary to go beyond mere observation in the effort to arrive at tested knowledge and proved procedure in the attainment not only of better practice but also of better theory, the Lincoln School was established as a laboratory center for experimental research.

What has been accomplished through the use of these two schools constitutes an important chapter in the history of American professional education. Each of them has served a useful purpose and both have been desirable adjuncts to the equipment of Teachers College. However, while their establishment was unquestionably a movement in the right direction, it did not go far enough. Concerning demonstration and research work carried on in this way it is always pertinent to ask to what extent the methods employed and the results obtained can be successfully applied under the conditions which normally prevail in American schools. For this reason the practical value of both methods and results is usually greatly discounted. *The results are important*, of course, as pointing the way to what may be achieved under ideal conditions. But the practical school man justly points out that in school work as it must actually be done such conditions do not

prevail but are usually much more complicated and less under control

If theory and practice are to be more intimately and intelligently united in the actual work of the public schools a further important step is necessary. There must be carefully planned and intelligently executed cooperative research on an extensive scale in various schools and systems, utilizing for this purpose both the field forces of these systems and the faculty and students of the School of Education. Such cooperative effort should include the making of plans, the special training of those who are to participate in carrying them out, and the interpretation of the results. The same problem should be studied in different schools and systems at the same time and under similar conditions. To the extent that the results are found to agree they may be accepted as outcomes of the procedures employed that may be reasonably secured under normal conditions in any school systems. The extent to which the results fail to agree constitutes a natural basis on which further research should be undertaken to ascertain the causes of the differences noted. This type of cooperative study is valuable not only to the field forces in the school system in which it occurs, but it is also equally valuable to the faculty of the School of Education. It makes effective use of the wisdom and experience of both groups and points the way to substantial progressive improvement of both theory and practice.

This principle holds also of the relations that are desirable between the faculty of the School of Education and of the other units of New York University in all the work which we may undertake in cooperation with them toward the improvement of college teaching and administration. The problems dealt with must be cooperatively studied. They cannot be successfully solved by any one faculty working independently. The further we penetrate into these problems, the more evident will this become. And what is here said of the relation which should hold between the faculty of the School of Education and those of the other divisions of New York University is equally true of our relations with the faculty of any other college or university with whom it may be our privilege to work.

If this plan for cooperative research is to be fruitfully carried

out, our faculty must be increasingly qualified for efficiency and leadership in all forms of educational research. To this end the possibilities and limitations of scientific method as applied to education must be carefully studied. It therefore seems appropriate to call your attention to the following observations with reference to the nature of scientific method as applied to education.

In its broadest meaning, science must be considered as simply refined, rationalized, and extended common sense applied in any field of experience for the satisfaction of a human need or desire. The method of science, in education as everywhere else, is any valid way of enlarging the stock of tested knowledge, any effective method of testing experience and of converting opinion into verified truth. It seems necessary to keep this broader conception of science in mind to avoid the present tendency to restrict research in education to the application, with little or no modification, of the method that has proved so successful in the evolution of the mathematical and physical sciences. Certain features of this method can and should be extensively employed. It emphasizes the necessity of getting at the facts as fully as possible and in an unbiased way. It uses refined, repeated, and extended observation, and when unaided observation does not go far enough it resorts to experimentation. So far the method is just as applicable to education as it is to physical investigation, for in education, as truly as anywhere else, we are under the necessity of getting valid facts as fully and accurately as possible.

But merely ascertaining the facts does not in itself constitute science. Reliable and more or less permanently useful ways of relating the facts must also be found. The facts must form knowledge and must therefore be related in ways that may be depended upon in the effort to serve some human purpose. This purpose is not always the same, even when the same facts are involved. For illustration:

(a) The purpose may be simply to group the facts according to their similarities and differences, so as to permit of their classification and valid description. The result is descriptive or classificatory science, such as were the sciences of botany, geology, and zoology as set forth in the textbooks of a generation ago. Such

organizations of experience constitute accurate and verifiable knowledge, for the relations which they set forth among the facts are true so far as they go. Their value lies chiefly in the easy and ready command which they make possible over the body of facts involved. Consequently, such organizations are often useful in the study of education.

(b) Again, the purpose may be to discover another kind of truth by tracing quantitative and numerical relations among the facts dealt with, their relations in space or their exact and certain sequence or procedure in time. We may wish to answer such questions as how much, how many, how often, in what order, and so forth, with reference to the facts. The result when worked out may be a mathematical or a physical science or, with certain limitations, a social science organized on a mathematical or statistical basis. The outcome has predictive value, for in so far as the relations traced are true they enable one to say in advance what will happen when the facts in any given process at any given time stand in such and such relations to each other. This form of research and the methods which it employs are also of very great importance in education in studying the relations which hold between methods used in teaching, supervision, or administration and the results obtained by employing them. The measuring movement in education is a good illustration. In order to trace more certainly the relations which hold between methods and results it was found necessary to devise means of measuring more accurately the results obtained by the use of different methods whose relative effectiveness needed to be determined. This type of scientific method and organization has been found so immensely fruitful of results in the physical sciences that some persons are inclined to regard it as the only method of research that can be scientifically employed in the study of education. It is in fact proving to be of very great value, but it is by no means the only desirable method of research that should be used in education.

(c) Again one may wish to go outside the fields of quantitative and numerical relations altogether and endeavor to expand and organize experience in such a way as to meet certain social, ethical, or æsthetic demands. In so far as he is able to arrive at an organ-

ization of results that is verifiable and accepted as true by people in general, such organization, no matter by what method it may have been attained, is to an extent valid and useful. In this way a science of society, of ethics, of music, of art, or of education is possible. Our motive in trying to attain to such a science is of course different from what it is in the physical sciences but, in general, it may be said that in this form of knowledge as truly as in any other we are seeking to throw experiences into such relations as will make it possible to rely upon them in directing our activities toward the realization of social aesthetic, or educational ends. In the last analysis the real test of the truthfulness of any relationship among experiences lies in the fact that that relationship is in accord with our past and present experiences and that we may look forward with confidence that future experiences will not contradict or invalidate it.

Such then are some of the methods of research that may legitimately be used in the study of education, and all of them should be used according to the nature of the problems that are being investigated. It must not be forgotten that the same set of facts or tested experiences may often be related to each other in many different ways, all of which are true and legitimate. At any one time, one such organization will be more important and better suited to our purpose than another. At another time this condition may be reversed, depending in each case upon the purpose for which the particular organization is to be used. It must be noted that in none of these cases of scientific method is the subjective element entirely absent. Strictly speaking, there is no such thing as "pure" science in the sense that the organization of facts referred to is wholly objective and entirely free from subjective influences. Different degrees of so-called "purity" may be recognized but that is as far as we can go.

DETERMINING THE RESULTS OF EDUCATION

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THE educator concerned with the practical job of teaching, educating, or training the children of the community faces several problems of primary importance in the performance of his task. Two problems may be said to be fundamental; namely, the education, teaching, or instruction of the pupils of the community, and the measurement of the results of the educational process itself. Probably there is no difference of opinion as to the importance of these two tasks as fundamental problems of school keeping. There are, however, considerable differences of opinion as to what education really means and as to what should be the emphasis in determining the results of education. It is to the second of these emphases, or determining the results of education, to which we wish to address ourselves in this discussion.

However, before attempting to discuss this problem, we need to clear the ground by indicating the approach to the problem under consideration. For instance, education may be regarded as the mastery of a definite amount of subject matter. In fact that has been the general point of view and emphasis in the past. In spite of a changed educational theory and, to a considerable extent, a changed program from subject matter to activities, the emphasis has remained upon the mastery of subject matter and the measurement of the degree of the mastery of subject-matter content. An orthodox principle of teaching and of method under modern educational theory implies mastery of subject matter and school-room skills as the end of education, at least, the immediate end. This principle may be stated somewhat as follows: "By adequate testing, find out what the child knows, begin with the knowledge and skills that he has and build upon them, and at the end of an instructional period test the child to discover what progress he has made in the acquisition of knowledge and skills."

This principle underlying teaching or method implies three steps: (1) The discovery of the child's knowledge and interests; (2) the teaching of the child on the basis of his knowledge and

interests, (3) the measurement of the results or his attainment of knowledge. The principle and its application in practice have notably advanced education along a number of lines. It has led us to ascertain the state of the child's knowledge before beginning the educational process. It has enormously improved the technique of procedure in the educational process itself, and finally it has resulted in very effective instruments of measurement of the results of education as sought. The achievement along this line represents the most notable progress in the history of education. It represents a definite attempt to make education scientific.

There are, however, from the sociologist's point of view certain weaknesses about this procedure. The sociologist questions the assumption that the acquisition of knowledge is education, although an essential part of the process. He conceives education as a process of making behavior changes in the individual and in the community, and does not accept the conventional practice as adequate to that end. He regards it as a weak attempt to satisfy certain school objectives which may or may not have social value. Viewed another way the sociologist looks upon education as a process of developing social controls or controls in the individual over his behavior in his relationships to the various groups in the social life. He, therefore, regards subject matter as a means to an end, and for that reason will not admit that the three steps in the educational process as they are outlined above, adequate or even significant.

The sociologist, therefore, would state the principle and make its application in another way. He would state the principle somewhat as follows: By adequate survey, measurement, and study, both of the child and the community in which the child lives, find out the character and personality of the child, his social patterns, and his life interests, begin to make changes in his behavior in line with his social needs, by building upon or modifying his social patterns, his social heritages, his personality and character, and at the end of an instructional period test the child and the community or groups of which he is a part to discover what changes in character, personality, social patterns, and group behavior have taken place.

This principle likewise involves three steps: (1) the discovery of the personality traits, behavior patterns, social heritages of the child and the group; (2) the instruction of the child on the basis of these characteristics and interests; (3) and the measurement of the changes in the behavior of the child and the groups of which he is a part.

The sociologist requires a totally different type of preliminary test or survey for the beginning of instruction. Professor Thrasher has adequately discussed that need in this and previous issues of *THE JOURNAL* in which he has presented a technique for the study of the social background. The sociologist also requires an entirely different instructional technique. The discussion of this will come in later articles and is not our problem here. He requires a different kind of measurement or survey. That we wish to discuss somewhat in detail.

The crux of the matter hinges upon the sorts of changes sought through the educational process and the emphasis in the measurement of the results of the educational endeavor. Obviously, we are concerned with functional knowledge and skills, but for them to be functional is not sufficient. What functions do the knowledges and skills serve? The fundamental criterion in determining their value is that they serve the individual in his social relations outside of the schoolroom. Their use in the schoolroom is important only when viewed from the larger social outlook. In other words we are interested in the child as a member of a family, a play group, as a citizen, and as an individual that is now functioning in outside-of-school activities ninety per cent of his total time. What the child does in the schoolroom concerns us little except as it relates to his outside activities and changes them. Obviously then the only measurement that is ultimately profitable is the measurement of outside-of-school practices.

To be specific the measurement of the results of education going on in the schoolroom must find application in the behavior changes of the individual as a social unit, in so far as the measures are applied to the individual. This has been stated another way a number of times. We quote: "There are clearly two aspects of this kind of measurement. First, there may be provided standards for the measurement of achievement of the individual in

his social relations, and second, measures to determine the extent to which the objective outcomes of instruction are operative in the whole community or the group"¹

We are, however, presenting here largely the theory underlying social measurement, because we have so few examples from which to use illustrative material. We are not, however, without material. I should like to present three cases where this method has been applied to show both its possibilities and its necessity

The first case I wish to present relates to the survey of the results accruing from the operation of a school program of education in accident prevention over a period of years. The following table measures the effectiveness of school instruction in one particular in the whole community:

ACCIDENTAL DEATHS, CHILDREN OF SCHOOL AGE, ST. LOUIS²
(Distribution by causes)

	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	4 months 1922
Automobile	14	17	15	16	13	3
Street car	8	1	6	1	1	.
Wagon	3	2				
Railroad		1	4			
Burns	8	5	8	2		1
Firearms	4	2	3			
Drowning	3	2	4		1	
All others	10	6	9	1	1	1
Total	50	36	49	20	16	5

This table shows a rapid decline in accidents to children of elementary-school age, in spite of the rather stationary condition of accidents in general.

The second case represents the changes effected in the practices of children in public school 106, Manhattan. We shall present merely the changes in dietary practices to indicate the character of measurement necessary.

"The first step was to classify the diet of the children for each meal at the beginning and end of the study in two categories, 'satisfactory' and 'unsatisfactory.' These categories are deter-

¹ Contributions to Education, Vol I, p 164, World Book Co

² U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, No. 32, 1922, p 51.

ained on exactly the same basis used by the United States Children's Bureau in its studies in Gary, Indiana.³ The following table indicates that roughly three-fourths of the children had an unsatisfactory diet at the beginning of the study. Indeed, the evening meal, which is the most important one of the day and the only one which the entire family have in common, was almost invariably unsatisfactory, for 93 per cent of the children reported an inadequate diet for supper. It is encouraging to note, however, that this meal showed the greatest improvement of all, for 67 per cent of the children showed the greatest improvement in the evening meal, 74 per cent were either improved or satisfactory throughout, and only 5 per cent showed worse conditions than at the beginning. A marked improvement was also shown at luncheon, for over half (53 per cent) of the children had improved or remained satisfactory throughout. The change in breakfast habits is the least satisfactory. Only a third of the children (32 per cent) had improved on the inadequate breakfast noted at the beginning; altogether 57 per cent had improved or remained satisfactory throughout."⁴ These results are shown in the following table:

CONDITION OF CHILDREN'S DIETARIES AT THE BEGINNING AND AT THE END OF THE STUDY

MEAL	Total Children Recorded		Satisfactory Throughout		Improved		Not Improved		Worse	
	No	Per cent	No	Per cent	No	Per cent	No	Per cent	No	Per cent
Breakfast	73	100	18	25	23	32	24	33	8	10
Luncheon	73	100	22	30	39	53	8	11	4	5
Dinner	73	100	5	7	49	67	15	7	4	5

The third case represents an experiment in public school 157, Manhattan.⁵ A survey was made in October and in the following June, the first before the instructional period and the second fol-

³ Payne and Schroeder, *Health and Safety in the New Curriculum*, pp 41-46.

⁴ Payne and Gebhart, *Method and Measurement of Health Education*, New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, p 36

⁵ Data from an unpublished thesis of Dr Mary Best Gillis, New York University Library.

lowing. The changes, therefore, represent the results of the instruction. It should be noted that experimental and controlled groups were taken for comparison so that the results could be scientifically determined.

Results of Underweight Survey

In October, both groups were similar as regards underweight; the experimental group having 52 per cent underweight and the controlled group 55 per cent. Over half of the pupils in each group were in this unenviable condition. In June, both groups had improved. The experimental group made the better showing with 42 per cent underweight and the controlled group followed with 46 per cent.

In October, the controlled group had 21 per cent and the experimental group had 17 per cent in the 10 per cent and more underweight section. In June, both groups had improved, the experimental group making the better showing with 12 per cent and the controlled group having 13 per cent. This was a very good showing in the experimental group which was weighted so heavily with the large section of retarded pupils.

Survey of Adenoid Condition

In October, the two groups were comparable as to adenoid condition, the experimental group having 42 per cent with the nasal obstruction, and the controlled group having 43 per cent.

In June, the experimental group had improved its condition by 33 removals, until only 27 per cent still needed surgical treatment. The controlled group had 3 removals, all institutional children, and still had 40 per cent of its pupils needing surgical treatment.

Of the 92 pupils in the experimental group recommended to go to the clinic, 33 had removals, 15 were advised by their physicians to wait until vacation for removals, and 44 refused to take any steps at all in the matter.

Of the 92 pupils in the controlled group recommended to go to the clinic, 3 institution cases had removals, but the 88 remaining cases did not even go to the clinic to confirm the removal recommendation.

Survey of Tonsil Condition

In October, the two groups were comparable as to tonsil condition; the experimental group having 39 per cent needing attention, and the controlled group having the slightly larger number of 42 per cent needing attention.

In June, the experimental group had the better showing, because 33 removals left 23 per cent with doubtful or diseased tonsils, while the controlled group had had only 1 removal, and some new cases becoming diseased during the year made their June number needing attention larger than their October number.

Of the 85 pupils in the experimental group who were urged to have tonsil removals, 33 had removals, 12 were under treatment, because their doctors advised treatment rather than removal, and 29 had done nothing.

Of the 90 cases in the controlled group, there was only one removal, an institution case, and the remaining 89 did not go to a doctor.

Survey of Tooth Condition

In October, the two groups were comparable as to tooth condition; the experimental group having 2 per cent with perfect teeth, and 98 per cent with caries. The controlled group had 4 per cent with perfect teeth and 96 per cent with caries.

In June, the experimental group had 64 per cent with perfect teeth, 22 per cent still going for treatment and 14 per cent who had done nothing to remedy the condition of their teeth. Most of these children went to a neighboring clinic which was so crowded that a child often had two weeks between visits. If anything happened the day of his appointment, such as the child's failure to attend, or the clinic's failure to reach him during the dentist's hours for work, it meant a month between visits. This made the remedying of their defective teeth a long-drawn-out procedure. The 22 per cent listed as still going had had at least one tooth finished. The controlled group had 8 per cent perfect teeth and 92 per cent with caries. The slight improvement in this group was wholly in the institution cases.

Survey of the Condition of Hair

There was practically no pediculosis in either group. There was one in each group at the beginning, but this was cleared up by the school nurse long before the end of the experiment. The girls had 100 per cent bobbed hair. It is a matter for further investigation to ascertain the correlation between bobbed hair and lack of pediculosis.

Survey of the Eye Condition

In October, the controlled group had a better eye condition than the experimental. In June, the experimental group bettered this record, while the controlled group became worse.

The experimental group had 71 per cent with normal eyesight (eyes testing 20/20 or 20/30 on a Snellen Chart), 21 per cent with eyesight slightly impaired (eyes testing 20/40 or 20/50 on a Snellen Chart), and 8 per cent eyesight seriously impaired (eyes testing 20/70 or 20/100 or 20/200 on a Snellen chart). The controlled group had 59 per cent normal, 27 per cent slightly impaired, and 14 per cent seriously impaired. In both groups, the slightly and seriously impaired sections were advised to consult an oculist. To these were added several from the normal sections who showed evidences of strain.

In the controlled group 199 pupils were recommended to consult an oculist and the neighboring clinics, with their addresses and hours of service, charges, etc., called to their attention. Three went, one was an institution pupil, two were incipient Boy Scouts. The majority, 196 pupils did not do anything about their eye condition. As a result, in June, we find 57 per cent with normal eyesight, 28 per cent with slightly impaired eyesight, and 15 per cent with seriously impaired eyesight.

In the experimental group, 141 pupils were recommended to see an oculist. The majority, 108 cases went, and 33 did not. Of these 108 cases, 54 pupils got glasses or got their glasses changed, 43 were told that glasses were not necessary but that treatment and hygienic measures were needed, 6 went but could not afford glasses. As a result, we find the experimental group in June having 82 per cent with normal eyesight (tested with glasses), 10 per cent slightly impaired, and 8 per cent seriously impaired.

Some of these seriously impaired cases were under constant care and could never be any better; for instance, one girl had one glass eye and because of an accident the remaining eye was very weak. Another girl had to go to the oculist once a month and had been doing so since childhood.

Survey of Ear Condition

In the controlled group there was only one case of poor hearing and that child had a front seat.

In the experimental group there were three cases. One was a chronic ear infection which was under constant medical care. The other two could not be helped much except to give them front seats

Survey of Foot Condition

In the experimental group, in October, there were 13 per cent of the children with foot defects, mostly weak arch conditions. One had an enlarged bunion caused by short shoes, and one had a stiff leg and knee. At the beginning only 2 per cent of the weak arch children wore special shoes. In June, every case of weak arches had special shoes with high-laced tops. A very definite attitude had been created concerning the deleterious effects of constantly wearing sneakers. When the children were examined in May, not one child wore sneakers.

In the controlled group, only 5 per cent of the children had weak arches at the beginning of the experiment and none of these had special shoes. At the end of the experiment, 7 per cent had weak arches and none had special shoes. On the day examined, 38 per cent of the controlled group wore sneakers.

In neither of the three cases does this statement represent the technique or the full results of the survey. We have presented three types of data to show the kinds of results in which the sociologist is interested as a result of the educational process. The future numbers of *THE JOURNAL* will give much space to the discussion of the technique of social measurement.

THE STUDY OF THE TOTAL SITUATION

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A study of the total situation in relation to the child and the school is an important part of any program of research proposed for educational sociology. No basic understanding of either child or school is possible in a great city like New York, for example, without a thorough investigation of neighborhoods, local communities, larger communities, boroughs, and metropolitan district as wholes. The school and its problems represent simply one phase of the life of society, which is composed of a complex of interdependent and interacting persons, groups, and institutions—mutually influencing, conditioning, and determining one another. No one phase can be explained without reference to the whole (past as well as present), any more than any organ of the human body can have significance without its being studied with reference to the whole organism. No pathological factor in a situation, moreover, can be understood without reference to the normal, and, on the other hand, the mechanisms of normal functioning are illumined by a study of the pathological. The child, like the school, is also a function of all his groups and each of these in turn finds its meaning in its larger relationships.

THE COMMUNITY CASE STUDY

The department of educational sociology of New York University plans to develop a research program for the study of the total situation with reference to the social backgrounds of the school child and the school. It is proposed to use the metropolitan district of New York City as a laboratory for such studies and to concentrate upon the local community as the unit for special investigation of social backgrounds. By developing the community case study, it is anticipated that light will be thrown upon all those complex and contradictory social processes and patterns that constitute the conditioning factors of the child and the school, and that in this way a contribution may be made to the solution of school problems and the development of more effective educational procedures.

Such a study will be committed to no special method or technique.¹ All the methods employed in social science—such as case studies, surveys, map studies, and statistics—will be used to build up ultimately as complete a picture of the development, structure, and present functioning of each community as desirable. In carrying out these methods it is expected to use such techniques as: the perusal of previous studies along this line and other literature dealing with the subject; the consultation of private and official records, documents, and statistics; the taking of a census, the preparation of block and neighborhood studies; interviewing; the procuring of life-history documents; and the study of persons through clinics. In this way it will be possible to show the interrelations of persons, groups, and institutions in the total community situation and to depict the relations of the community to other areas and to the larger social organization.

It is eventually contemplated to make periodic re-studies of these local communities so that ultimately a *series* of pictures may be obtained to indicate the nature of the growth and decline of communities and the changes taking place in the various areas. Such studies will throw light upon the the basic factors of social change in the urban community and will reveal the ways in which school problems are affected by such change.

The comparison of the various communities with one another with respect to points of likeness and difference will be one of the most fruitful outcomes of such a study. These comparisons will indicate how the same factor varies in different situations and will suggest clues for the development of monographic studies of special problems with reference to larger territories. Ultimately, also, the mosaic of community studies will illumine the processes occurring in Greater New York and in the metropolitan district as a whole.

Such a study may be formulated for the local community in certain general divisions:²

¹ For an account of a forthcoming study of the various sociological techniques, see this issue of *THE JOURNAL*, pp 517. See also *Proceedings of American Sociological Society*, sections on methods of social research, and E. George Payne, *Principles of Educational Sociology*. An Outline, chs v, vi, and xvii.

² Not presented as exhaustive.

- I. The ecological approach—distribution
- II. The natural history of the community—development
- III. Groups and institutions—organization
- IV. Interacting personalities—leadership
- V. Interaction and mobility—processes
- VI. Problems of the community—applications

This paper will treat the first three divisions, the last three will be discussed in a subsequent article.

I. THE ECOLOGICAL APPROACH—DISTRIBUTION

Human ecology is the study of society in its distributive aspects. The botanist concerns himself in part with plant ecology. In his field studies he marks off certain natural areas which are characterized by typical plant forms. Each plant species in a forest, meadow, marsh, or stream occupies its niche by virtue of its accommodations to all the other species. Areas of characterization in nature are marked by boundaries, more or less definite, and there are also interstitial areas and zones of transition. The student of human ecology likewise investigates the natural areas of the human community which come to be differentiated in the course of its development by processes (among others) of competition and segregation somewhat analagous to similar processes in the plant community.³

It is proposed to make an ecological study of the local communities of Greater New York and the metropolitan district for the purpose of describing the social backgrounds of the school child and the school. In suggesting this procedure the department of educational sociology of New York University recognizes a considerable task which may well spread itself over a series of years and which will certainly require the united wisdom and effort of a large number of interested persons, groups, and insti-

³ For illuminating discussions of human ecology, the following sources are suggested. R. D. McKenzie, "The Scope of Human Ecology," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, X (1926), pp. 316-23; R. E. Park, E. W. Burgess, et al., *The City*; and E. W. Burgess, editor, *The Urban Community*.

For various types of ecological studies already completed see R. D. MacKenzie, *The Neighborhood: A Study of Local Life in Columbus, Ohio*; Nels Anderson, *The Hobo*; Walter C. Reckless, *Natural History of Vice Areas in Chicago*, (manuscript); Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto* (manuscript); Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang*; and Harvey W. Zorbaugh, *The Near North Side (Chicago): A Study in Cultural Disorganization* (to be published).

tutions both public and private.⁴ Beginnings must be made, however, and plans for the future development of such research must be suggested, even though the task at the outset may seem large or formidable.

The immediate plan of the department is to make an experimental study of the Lower West Side of Manhattan with particular reference to the Greenwich Village area. The purpose of this study is to work out methods which may be tested with reference to their availability for further research. The reasons for the choice of this area are practical; viz., the availability of the area to the New York University School of Education, whose faculty and students will participate in the project; the interest and cooperation in such an enterprise already manifested by local persons and agencies; and finally the requests and plans of various social agencies for actual studies in the district.

The problems of defining the local community in the city has never been fully stated and no sure criteria have been established for determining where one local community leaves off and another begins. Several methods of defining a community may be tentatively suggested:

(1) The presence of natural or technic barriers such as bodies of water, ravines, heights, railroad yards, industrial properties, traffic streets, elevated tracks, etc., which may indicate boundaries

(2) The dominance of a particular type of race, nationality, social class, or culture group, such as an immigrant colony (area of first or second settlement), a Black Belt, a slum, a restricted residential area, a vice district, a rooming-house section, an artists' colony, etc., may determine the limits of a community

(3) The presence and reach of community organizations, such as civic or service clubs, neighborhood associations, business men's organizations, etc., may indicate the extent of community solidarity.

(4) The presence or evidence of common enterprises which may indicate the limits of the reach of community spirit or morale

(5) The extent of awareness on the part of residents that they live in a certain community and their pride and loyalty to it may indicate the limits of its influence.

The accuracy of a community defined by means of the above criteria may be tested further by studies of rentals, land values, uses of buildings, zoning restrictions, and so on.

⁴ The importance of cooperation and the integration of research was indicated in the department of Research Projects and Methods in Educational Sociology in *THE JOURNAL*, February, 1928, pp 353-361.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A BASE MAP

After a local community has once been defined and accepted as a unit for immediate study, the next step is the construction of a map showing the distribution of basic data which may be regarded as important for the further study of the social phenomena which may be discovered in the area.⁵ Such a map in itself, however, will contribute to the student's knowledge of the community. It is an open question as to how much material can be included on a social base map, and the answer will probably depend in part upon the use to which the map is to be put. Here the distinction must be made between maps for display of certain distinct factors and their correlations and maps whose primary value lies in their usefulness for research and reference. Both types of maps need to be developed in the study of the local community; a whole series of display maps will be required to present vividly social data and their correlations, while one or two large-scale maps of the research type may suffice for reference purposes.

The base map should probably include topographic outlines of the land; bodies of water, the street pattern (in detail or in general outline); transportation facilities, parks, cemeteries, playgrounds, and athletic fields, railroad, industrial, and business properties; racial and nationality distribution, and perhaps economic levels. This list may be modified, of course, for specific purposes. The problem is not to put too much on the map so as to obscure the special data which is later to be superimposed and for which the basic material is to form a significant background. For the basic material to accomplish its purpose, which is to make the special data more significant, it will probably be desirable to have it put on more or less as a shadow background, while the special data stands out in some bold color.⁶ Another problem

⁵ Compare Erle F. Young, "The Social Base Map," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, IX, (January-February, 1925), pp. 202-6. A study of the maps of the community as research resources should be undertaken. Three graduate students are engaged in projects of this sort at New York University: one on the changing map of Long Island, one on historical maps of New York as research resources, and another on current maps of Manhattan as research resources. A form has been devised for recording this map data. See E. George Payne, *Principles of Educational Sociology: An Outline*, pp. 61-63.

⁶ This method was used in constructing the map of Chicago's gang land. See Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang* (map in back of book).

is to put the basic data on in such form that it will be readily interpretable.

Certain base maps may possibly omit some of the data suggested above, and upon others it will be found desirable to include in addition some of such factors as important buildings, schools, churches, community centers, types of housing, official zones, population density, rentals and land values, and other institutions.

THE AERIAL MAP

The development of aerial photography has opened up new possibilities for sociological maps. This applies not only to the base map, but to other types of social maps as well. A new map of Manhattan, for example, has been perfected⁷ on a scale of 200 feet to the inch, which shows every roof in the Borough and other interesting details which enable the observer to visualize the city as it is. The generally used line maps have certain advantages, of course, in the charting of social data, but there is a certain inaccuracy of detail in the map and a certain lack of sense of reality on the part of the observer which does not characterize the perfected aerial map.

The interpretation of the aerial map presents an interesting problem, aside from any data which may be superimposed upon it. Each photograph is taken from directly overhead, which gives the plan view in accurate proportions. Tenement districts are quickly recognized because tenements in Manhattan have been built for years with 25 to 50 feet frontages and deep on the lot with airways between for light and ventilation. Loft and manufacturing districts may be recognized in contrast with tenement areas because the average loft structure covers the larger part of the ground areas, while airways are not used because of the

⁷ By the Hamilton Aerial Maps, 101 Park Avenue, New York. The aerial map of Manhattan was produced by a special aerial photographic equipment by two men—one the pilot, the other the photographer—who flew back and forth over the island making a series of overlapping photographs much in the same way as one would mow a lawn. They flew at an altitude of 8,000 feet and took over 500 exposures, all of which were assembled together as one composite mosaic map. This large map, which used 1,000 square feet of special aerial film, was again divided into 31 community maps of Manhattan, each covering a territory of one square mile. Each community map contains 20 separate photographic prints so carefully and accurately joined that it is almost impossible to see the sutures.

loft space and the use of forced air and artificial lights. Churches, government buildings, parks, tanks, docks, yards, and so on are easily recognized because of their peculiar configurations from above. Tall building areas may be perceived without difficulty because (since all the photographs were taken at approximately the same time of day) the shadows give a fairly accurate index for building height.

This type of perfected aerial map is very different from the ordinary aerial view of a community: first, because it looks straight down on the landscape and shows everything that a line map shows, but in its true proportions; secondly, because it is a large-scale map (200 feet to the inch), thus making it possible to chart a great deal more data than can be put on line maps, very few of which are available at less than 600 feet to the inch, and in the third place because it is a house-number map, making it possible to locate data without looking up house numbers in a special guide.

The more one studies such a map the more interesting it becomes and the more possibilities present themselves for social studies in connection with it. Curious vestigial remains are observable in some sections, reminding one of the useless structures of the human body which indicate one time functioning organs. There is, for example, the remnant of an extinct street indicated within blocks by the oblique position of certain buildings which would be entirely unsuspected by the passerby. Other conformations of structures reveal what were probably old farm lines. Running tracks and handball courts are discernible on the roofs of some of the buildings, while hidden gardens and trees appear often where least expected. New buildings may be discovered by the new types of architecture represented in their construction—such as the offset structures discernible from above. The white gravelled roofs of new apartments are also in evidence.

WORK-SHEET BLOCK CHARTS

The immediate use to which the aerial map will be put in the community study project under consideration will be for the making of block charts. Each block in the area will be cut out and pasted on a work sheet. One investigator will take this as a

guide, and make a study of that particular block, gathering a variety of information such as height of building, use of building, type of business, ownership of business, nationality of residents, length of residence, rent per room, and so on. This can be definitely related to the block map by numbering each building. These block charts will constitute as a whole a master map from which any type of factor may be derived for the construction of maps for basic material, research, or display. A large number of students and some volunteers will be enlisted in the block-chart project, and it is anticipated that the basic material for the Greenwich Village community study will be available in a comparatively short time.

THE RESEARCH MAP

Further experimentation will be undertaken with the aerial map to test its usefulness both for research and display purposes. The possibility of having it printed in a light gray for a shadow-background base map will be investigated. The superimposition of black and white lines, stippling, cross-hatching, and other effects as well as the use of colors will be considered. It will be used for the construction of a research map, employing the Russell Sage Foundation map symbols,⁸ each of which represents some particular type of agency or institution, such as poolroom, gambling den, church, hospital, school, filling station, theater, etc. In setting up this scheme of symbols, careful search was made for precedent in the use of particular symbols, and in preliminary stages the series was submitted widely for criticisms in order to test the appropriateness of the devices selected. The advantages of the symbols are the ease with which they can be affixed to the map (since they are printed on gummed paper), and the graphic representation of the institution indicated, which makes it easy to interpret (for example, a bowling alley is represented by means of a ten pin and a ball).^{9a}

An indication of how this map is to be constructed may be given by a reference to churches. The average church occupies consider-

⁸ These symbols are printed in three sizes ($\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{3}{8}$, and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch) and are published by the Publication Department, Russell Sage Foundation, 130 East 22d Street, New York.

^{9a} See also Calvin F. Schmid, "Notes on Two Multiple-Variable Spot Maps," *Social Forces*, March, 1928, p. 378 ff.

able ground space so that it is possible on a research map to place the symbol indicating the kind of church it is and still have room for data showing the number of parishioners, the date of its organization, and so on. One careful glance at the map will tell a great deal about the institution and will also reveal considerable information as to its social backgrounds. The same procedure will be followed with reference to schools and other agencies. Not only can races and nationalities be indicated by studying and mapping census and other figures with reference to the residences of foreign stocks, but much will be revealed by charting institutions, societies, etc., by race and nationality, while the dates of their organization and changes in their membership statistics will indicate trends in the movement from one community to another of certain elements in the population.

WHAT AN ECOLOGICAL STUDY SHOULD INCLUDE

An indication as to what an ecological study should include may be given in summary form as follows (details omitted)

I The delimitation of natural areas on the basis of the following tentative list of possible types of characterization:

- 1 Race, nationality, and religion⁹
2. Uses of land and buildings, railroad and other commercial properties; industrial, business, residential, governmental, cemeterial, and recreational properties.¹⁰
- 3 Types of residential housing, including old and new law tenements, rentals, congestion per room, etc.
4. Density of population per acre and per square mile⁹
5. Economic levels based on study of incomes, rentals, etc.¹¹
6. Occupations such as laborers, factory workers, longshoremen, professional persons, etc.
7. Cultural criteria, such as pathological conditions (vice, crime, etc.), Bohemian manner of life (as in artists' colony), "bright-lights" area (such as theater center), recreational interests, etc.
8. Is this an interstitial area? (spatial).
9. Is this an area in transition? (temporal)
10. What is the spatial plan of organization of a community; e.g., center-peripheral or radial-axis? Gridiron or radiating street plan?

⁹ See, for example, Walter Laidlaw, *The Statistical Sources for Demographic Studies of Greater New York*, 1920 (based on U. S. Census figures for 1920)

¹⁰ See, for example, *Use District Map*, 1927 (zoning maps), published by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, City of New York.

¹¹ See, for example, the market area studies such as those of the New York Telephone Company, New York newspapers, and the *Survey of the New York Market* conducted by the New York University bureau of business research for the Daily Advertisers' Managers Association, 1923.

II Distribution of groups and institutions, such as churches, schools, pool-rooms, clubs, gangs, night clubs, etc

III. Distribution of the membership or clientele of various institutions.

IV Nature and distribution of facilities for communication, including:

1. A study of communication and transportation facilities—numbers, use, distribution, etc
2. Situation with reference to isolation
 - a. Extent of segregation
 - b. Physical isolation
 - c. Technic isolation
 - d. Linguistic isolation
 - e. Cultural isolation
- 3 Situation with reference to social contacts
 - a. Range and intensity of social contacts
 - b. Nature and types of contacts, for example, of the school child
4. Extent and variety of social worlds

The study of the social background of a person, a group, or an institution is significant not only from the standpoint of the personal, group, or institutional elements in the social environment, but also merely from the standpoint of the technic outlay and arrangement of elements such as these which are so vividly indicated on the aerial map. The presence of roofs for the play of children is significant in understanding the life of the boys of Greenwich Village; the absence of roofs for play of children is significant in explaining the activities of the boys of Red Hook¹² Hide-out places along the docks, ravines, and gullies, railroads, "prairies," canals, etc., are very important in conditioning the recreational life and determining the play problems of children in various American cities. A focus of streets may mean a focus of play activities and furthermore in some cases a focus of demoralization.

Technic factors are important in their effects upon communication and social contact within groups and among groups and communities. Spatial isolation resultant from actual segregation in which purely technic factors often play an important part (as in Red Hook) produces cultural stagnation and vitally influences the solution of many social and school problems. Racial, nationality, and class contacts have their outcomes determined by

¹² Crime Commission of New York State, *A Study of Delinquency in a District of Kings County by the Sub-Commission on Causes and Effects of Crime* (1927), p. 11

ecological factors. There are, for example, in Chicago two types of Negro neighborhood: the adjusted, where there is a heterogeneous population of white and black (spatial intermingling), and the unadjusted where solidly black neighborhoods are contiguous to homogeneous white areas.¹³ Social, political, and racial frontiers are determined by ecological factors in the community situation, as is indicated in the intramural frontiers, interstitial areas, and zones of transition in almost every American industrial city. In Chicago the fact that the Black Belt Negroes had to pass through Irish territory on their way to work in the stockyards was an important element in the race riots of 1919.

All these factors give an added impetus and significance to map studies.

II. THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY—DEVELOPMENT

The genetic approach to the study of the community needs no defense. It is a cardinal method of science. The processes of growth and differentiation of parts which take place within the community are somewhat analagous in principle to those that occur in the development of an organism¹⁴ or of a plant community¹⁵. In the human, as in the plant community, each ecological area has a natural history of its own. Investigation reveals the phenomena of invasion and succession and changing life conditions bring changes in ecological arrangement and dominance. The general assumption of science is that changes once understood may be predictable. It is essential, therefore, to study communities genetically and developmentally, investigating their origins and tracing the courses of their development and the differentiation of their areas and structures. By this method the natural histories of communities may be described and compared with one another in the search for general principles of community development. It is obvious that progress along this line will facilitate community organization and city planning.

The first step in the study of the natural history of a community is to survey and examine extant historical sources bearing upon

¹³ Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago*, p. 108.

¹⁴ See the work of Prof. C. M. Child of the University of Chicago.

¹⁵ See the work of the plant ecologists.

the development of the community in question. The following types of initial sources may be suggested for obtaining this kind of data: public libraries, state and local historical societies, records of local clubs and voluntary associations, public records, files of newspapers, and interviews with old residents. Considerable material of this sort is already available for the study of the natural history of Greenwich Village and the Lower West Side in the New York project.

This type of study should cover in part the following points (details omitted):¹⁶

- I. Changes in geographic setting
 - 1 Topography (original)—bodies of water, highlands, lowlands
 - 2 Changes in topography and how accomplished
 - 3 Changes in other geographic controls, hinterlands
 4. Changes in relations to surrounding communities
 - 5 Changes in natural resources.
- II. First settlement and early beginnings
 - 1 Reasons for settlement
 - 2 Reasons for growth
 3. Source of settlements
 4. Early activities—political, industrial, etc
- III Cycles of change (effects of new factors)
 1. Introduction of new industries, occupational changes
 2. Transportation changes and their effects
 3. Changes in land values, rentals, taxes, etc.
 - 4 Governmental and political changes (e g., city manager)
 5. Expansions in business and industry
 - 6 Racial and nationality invasions, successions, and segregations
- IV Changes in groups and institutions: inception, development, decline, obsolescence, and disappearance of groups and institutions
- V Changes in leadership persons and types
- VI Population changes: extension, expansion, concentration, decentralization, shifts, migrations, conurbations, etc
- VII Rate of growth and decline
 - 1 Vital statistics
 2. Booms and depressions
 3. Points of culmination and climax

III. GROUPS AND INSTITUTIONS—ORGANIZATION

The first step in the study of groups and institutions in a local community is a survey culminating in a map study which will show the location and distribution of the groups and institutions

¹⁶ Not presented as exhaustive

in relation to the basic ecological factors already being plotted for the community as a whole. A study of the recreational facilities of the Lower West Side of Manhattan is being undertaken, for example, by the Lower West Side Council of Social Agencies in cooperation with the department of educational sociology of New York University. It is proposed to plot all agencies of recreation, noncommercialized (both public and private) and commercialized, on a map of the area. The data for such a map will be obtained from personal observation, from the membership files of the Lower West Side Council, from the Directory of Social Agencies, and from the license records of the City of New York which show the locations and types of commercialized recreation. These will be checked so far as possible by block studies.

A second step in the survey will be to send out to recreational agencies a preliminary questionnaire which has been tentatively drawn up to cover the following points (details omitted):

- I. What recreational facilities now exist?
- II Types of recreational activities and programs now employed?
- III What is the character of present clientele?
- IV To what extent are present facilities adequate?
- V In what ways are your neighborhoods changing?
- VI. What are the outstanding needs of your community?

Facts obtained by means of questionnaires will be supplemented by personal interviews and inspection of the records of recreational agencies where feasible. Students will undertake rather elaborate case studies of some recreational institutions¹⁷ by means of personal observation, analysis of records and membership, and interviews with personnel and clients. One of these case studies, for example, which will include an institutional life history, will be made of a cooperating social settlement under the direction of the Welfare Council of the city which is undertaking a study of settlements for the United Neighborhood Houses of New York.

Other institutional case studies will be made of schools and churches. Among the *groups* of which case studies will be procured are those both of the formal and informal types. These

¹⁷ See E. George Payne, *Principles of Educational Sociology. An Outline*, pp 54-61, for specimen outlines of schedules for studying an institution.

will include gangs,¹⁸ clubs, secret societies, neighborhood associations, professional and business men's organizations, etc. The methods will include participation by observers so far as possible, interviews, the obtaining of personal documents and life histories, and the study of records and statistics already available. Traditions, customs, and attitudes of the people of the area will be indicated by the studies of family and other intimate group life which will be undertaken.

A part of the technique of the case studies of groups and institutions will involve the mapping of members or patrons. This was done with very interesting results for some of the dance halls of Chicago by a young sociologist who was at one time a dance-hall "bouncer" and at another a police official. The mapping of the clientèle of schools, churches, settlements, and so on, will indicate a great deal about the social backgrounds of the persons with whom these institutions deal, the relations of transportation, rents, and prosperity to their problems, and the extent to which they are reaching certain classes or groups. By mapping the membership of a certain church, for example, it may be found that this church, which was organized in 1820 but which has hardly 100 members at the present time, is really an interstate institution, since its members have all moved far beyond the confines of Greenwich Village and for that reason it is practically maintained on a mission basis.

The above discussion has presented some phases of the community case study in each of three general divisions: the ecological approach (distribution); the natural history of the community (development); and the study of groups and institutions (organization). This presentation does not purport to be exhaustive in any sense, but simply suggests tentatively some of the possibilities of background studies which will be explored in the Lower West Side study to be undertaken by the department of educational sociology of New York University in cooperation with a number of persons and other agencies.

¹⁸ The methods to be used in this intimate first-hand observational study are indicated in part in an article by the author of this paper on "How to Study the Boys' Gang in the Open" in the January issue of *THE JOURNAL* (1928), pp 244-55.

A SOCIAL PROGRAM OF ADULT EDUCATION

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ACCORDING to the accepted definition, sociology deals with the problem of social adjustment. In recent years few groups of individuals have been called upon to make such rapid adjustments as have the teachers of this country. Not only does the curriculum need constant revision, but teaching methods must also keep pace with the changing curriculum. It may be trite to say the educator must be educated, but it is equally evident that there is no method of staying educated except by a continuous process of education. The problem of the teacher in service is often a harrassing one in her endeavor to keep abreast of the developments of her profession. In addition to securing her own living she often contributes to the support of others. It is necessary, therefore, for many teachers to continue in service while attempting to secure advanced training. Further, in many of the larger communities, a teacher's advancement to higher levels of service with increased salary is contingent upon a degree or graduate credit.

To meet this very practical sociological problem, schools of education for a number of years have offered extension courses after school hours and on Saturdays. These courses provide for such teachers as are located within the district of the school, but those who are at some distance from the center are unable to take advantage of this means of continuing their education. To meet this condition some universities, through their schools of education, offer extension courses in the locality where they are needed, sending instructors to conduct these courses. These courses may be of a strictly professional nature, or, as often happens, they assume a merely popular-lecture character. This is often due to the necessity of having a sufficiently large group to meet the expense incident to offering a course at a distance from the university. It is obvious that such courses cannot meet the needs of the teachers except in a general cultural sense. Moreover, teachers often desire the opportunity of taking courses under certain instructors of established reputation, and it is often impossible for such instructors to offer courses outside the university.

As a consequence the more inexperienced instructors do the field work. This is not always for the best interests of the matured and experienced teachers who constitute the majority of those desiring extension courses.

It may be of interest to state the manner in which the problem is solved in a certain institution:

The Institute of Education is the name of the extension department of the School of Education of New York University. It serves the teachers who live at such distances from the city as make it impossible to attend the afternoon sessions held at the University. During the past school year ninety-nine different courses were offered in the field with a total of three thousand, one hundred sixteen students enrolled. The centers served were as follows: in the State of Arizona, (Mesa); in Connecticut, (Bridgeport and New Haven); in Massachusetts, (North Adams); in New Jersey, (Asbury Park, Bayonne, Belmar, East Orange, Elizabeth, Freehold, Glen Ridge, Irvington, Jersey City, Millburn, Morristown, Montclair, North Bergen, North Plainfield, Orange, Paterson, Phillipsburg, Red Bank, Rutherford, South Orange, Summit, Toms River, Trenton, and Union City); in New York, (Brooklyn, Buffalo, Central Islip, Kings Park, Mount Vernon, Potsdam, Spring Valley, Utica, White Plains, and Yonkers); in Pennsylvania, (Allentown, Bloomsburg, Easton, Hanover, and Pottsville) There was also a center conducted in Seoul, Korea.

The plan under which courses are offered in the field is based solely upon the viewpoint of offering courses which carry the same degree credit as when offered in the School of Education in New York City. In order to accomplish this end, the courses in the field are identical with those offered in the School. Of even more importance is the fact that courses in the field are taught by the same instructors who teach them in the School of Education. Each faculty member carries as a part of his teaching load one or more extension course. In other words, there is no separate faculty group whose chief work lies in the extension field. The reasons for this arrangement are obvious. While a separate group of the instructors in the collegiate division could properly conduct the collegiate extension courses of the University, it would not be possible so to conduct extension courses of a School of Educa-

tion The student body of the latter courses is composed of mature individuals, usually teachers of experience. If the course they undertake is a special methods course, they wish as instructor an experienced teacher. He must be one whose practical experience and whose position in the field of education enable him to bring the best and latest of educational thought in his subject. It is these two factors of identical course and instructor that have governed the success of the work of the Institute of Education. In some rare instances, courses have been conducted at such distances from the University as would make it impossible for a faculty member to teach them. In such case, the course is conducted by an individual whose ability would make him eligible for faculty membership, and who has studied in the School of Education the course he teaches as an extension course.

It cannot be emphasised too strongly that the courses of the Institute are not extension courses in the generally accepted sense of that term. The popular impression of "extension work" is of something that is distinctly less valuable in an academic sense than work "in residence." In fact, the tendency in academic circles is to admit, condescendingly, that extension work is useful in exposing the unfortunates who can command no better to a faint imitation of the "cultural advantages" of a college education, but to grant it no serious place in the respectable society of American educational institutions. No one would deny that the earlier practices of extension teaching merited the most severe criticism. Extension courses were semiproprietary, the instructors receiving either all or the lion's share of the income as a means of eking out an otherwise utterly inadequate salary. College administrators have used the opportunities for extension teaching as an argument for preventing salary increases, and for this reason have not been averse to unlimited privateering on the part of their faculties. Under this system, the greatest number of classes, and the largest classes, have been secured by the instructor who was willing to make himself popular at the expense of the rigid maintenance of academic standards. The financial rewards of such popularity were so great that the temptation was well-nigh irresistible. Under this pernicious system, extension departments lapsed into deserved disrepute.

The Institute of Education has been founded upon the conviction that, intrinsically, there was no magic in location when it came to the effective training of teachers. It was believed that the essentials of an honest college course were an able, sympathetic, and diligent instructor, reasonably adequate materials of instruction, and serious-minded, earnest students, and that these essentials could be combined into a satisfactory educational situation wherever they happened to come together. To assure that the attitude of the instructor should be the same whether he met his class within the walls of a university or outside those walls, the proprietary element of the traditional extension plan was eliminated. Teaching in the field was made a regular part of the duty of the instructor, for which he received a regular and stated compensation, which did not vary with the size of his classes. Moreover, if his popularity was such that many calls came for him from the field, his program of intramural teaching was correspondingly reduced, thus doing away with the bonus system. The problem of providing the materials of instruction presented the greatest difficulties. Certain courses cannot be given properly in the field because of the lack of proper materials. Courses requiring elaborate laboratory material, or extensive or rare bibliographical resources obviously cannot be given properly apart from these facilities. Fortunately, however, in the training of teachers, the richest store of instruction material comes from the classroom. The best professional courses in the field of education are those that are, in a real sense, laboratory courses, in which the laboratory is the teacher's own classroom, out of which vital problems are brought for class discussion, and into which theories and suggestions derived from the college course go for the most rigid test imaginable, application under actual working conditions. Obviously, under these conditions, neither the elaborate physical machinery nor the rarified academic atmosphere of a university establishment are necessary for thoroughly adequate educational achievement in many important fields in the professional training of teachers.

The necessity of students with a serious attitude toward the work of the courses caused difficulty in the beginning, since one of the most unfortunate results of the proprietary system of

extension teaching had been to accustom the students to a depreciated academic coinage. A campaign of education was necessary to show them that better things could be accomplished and were expected. This resulted in a temporary reduction of registration, and, in a few cases, the abandonment of courses. As soon as the new idea became understood, however, it became evident that there were, in any community, a large group of teachers willing to contribute enthusiastically everything of which they were capable to the work of a course, in order that they might get the greatest possible benefit out of it. The unanimous testimony of the instructors engaged in field work is that the students tend to be less tolerant of slipshod instruction than students in residence; that they demand, and consequently get, more than similar classes at the university.

The Institute of Education cannot grant degrees, but since the courses it offers are given under the conditions above outlined, New York University accepts these courses toward its degrees, both baccalaureate and graduate. In order to secure these degrees, however, all persons must complete the residence requirement of the School of Education. This requirement may be met by attending the School of Education for a period of one academic year. For such students who find it impossible to withdraw from their positions for a whole year, the residence requirement may be met without interrupting their professional career by attending the Summer School. Four summer terms, taken within a period of five years, are equivalent to one year of residence.

For the ambitious teacher who wishes professional advancement, but who must shoulder obligations of such a nature as makes it impossible to leave her work and attend a University, the extension courses pave the way to a degree by permitting her, even though living at a distance, to fulfill all but the residence requirement. Then, in a few summers she has the coveted degree. In all localities whether large or small, there are to be found teachers with a passionate desire for learning for its own sake and who let no opportunity pass for individual professional improvement, irrespective of the returns it may ensure. Another group consists of teachers of splendid teaching experience whose chance of advancement is contingent upon the taking of certain courses

carrying degree credit. The teachers of this latter group are giving efficient service in their present positions and in some instances it seems wasteful to place them in other positions merely because of a university course or two. But if the teacher of an elementary grade desired to give her best service in this group, it would still be advisable for her to do such advance study as seemed applicable to her field. On the other hand, many teachers who take courses for only the credits for their particular needs, find the experience not unpleasant, and continue to take courses until they find a degree within striking distance.

It should be understood the Institute of Education does not initiate the giving of extension courses. Neither does it desire to duplicate or compete with the work of other educational institutions. Where it can offer courses which supplement work already given, or cooperate with agencies having similar objectives, it offers its services. Where a center of some size is conducted, several institutions often give courses in which they may be said to specialize.

The usual procedure governing the opening of a course is as follows: A superintendent of schools, or some other responsible educational authority in the community, writes, making known his needs. Lists of courses with instructors and the days of the week upon which they are available are sent him. If he finds courses listed that satisfy his requirements, arrangements for the organization of the courses are completed. The minimum number of students for the course is established; this depends upon the travel zone within which the community lies. The students' fees are the same as for courses taken at the School of Education. In the administration of the financial budget of the Institute, the desire is to cover instructional cost, travel expenses, and the proportionate overhead charges of the University, which latter are apportioned to the registration in the extension classes. It is with this in mind that travel zones have been established within which minimum registrations are fixed according to the distance from New York City. In no instance is a course offered for a lump sum irrespective of the number of students enrolled. With a definite number approximately thirty students required before a course may be offered, it might seem that only communi-

ties of a considerable population could take advantage of extension courses. To meet this problem, studies have been made of groups of smaller communities which are located within a short distance of each other. With the many bus lines serving the small localities, it is often possible to present a course in a small center and have teachers travel to this center from nearby towns. It is thus seen that practically any teacher wishing to undertake advanced study in education may secure this opportunity, irrespective of the locality in which she is teaching.

Here then is a problem of social adjustment for which an adequate solution is offered. Moreover, it is a solution of the needs of the individual. For the teacher who must remain on the job, a way is open for as much advanced professional training as she desires.

THE SUMMER SCHOOL—
A RESPECTABLE ACADEMIC INSTITUTION

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THE purpose of this discussion is to present for comment and criticism certain problems arising in the development of summer schools all over the country.

The purpose and function of the summer school have changed. It has ceased to be a device for tiding academic weaklings over the storms of the regular academic year. It has ceased to be merely an exponent of the Chautauqua idea, through which a smattering of the benefits of the higher education may be extended in demoralizingly sugar-coated form to those excluded from the inner circle by reason of limited intellect or pocketbook. It has become, or is fast becoming, a serious and integral part of the solid program of higher education of almost all of the important colleges and universities of the country. It differs from the rest of the program chiefly in the fact that it is under administrative control separate from the other parts of these educational institutions. Even this difference fades into insignificance in those places where the quarter system is in operation, and the summer school becomes merely one of the four quarters of the academic year.

Summer schools, however, still suffer from their traditions. Questions are still raised as to the academic integrity of the work of summer schools, and the value of such work in comparison with that of the regular year. These questions would not have practical importance if they were raised merely to disturb the serene confidence of summer-school administrators in the soundness and solidness of their work. They assume vital significance, however, and must be answered, when the summer school begins to present to academic faculties and boards of trustees candidates for degrees whose collegiate experience has been in the summer school alone. The numbers of these candidates is annually increasing, chiefly among the educators and teachers in the public schools, who come to the summer school as their only practicable means of contact with college and university life, and who, when they have by long-sustained effort fulfilled the stated requirements, properly ask for the usual recognition in the form of a degree. If their work,

because it has been done in the summer, lacks that intangible quality of soundness, or that magic power which, in popular fancy, is ascribed to a college education, then they should, in fairness, be denied. If, on the other hand, the work of the summer measures up, by every reasonable standard, to that of the rest of the year, then, also in fairness, it should receive equal recognition.

The education which one may receive by attendance at summer school is said to be deficient, first, because a desirable continuity and logical orderliness of instruction is impossible when one is subjected to education during only a few weeks of the year, no matter how intensive that education may be while it lasts. This argument loses much of its weight as it is applied to the professional training of teachers. If their summer-school instruction be of the right kind, both practical and scholarly, it will carry over into, and function throughout, the intervening year in a way that no amount of "education" disassociated from active professional interests could possibly do. Moreover, the teaching and supervisory activities of students of education will give meaning and vitality to their summer study, so that while it be discontinuous, it will be none the less lastingly valuable.

Whether logical orderliness is possible, either in winter or summer, in the bewildering array of topics presented in the curriculum of the modern university is a question which might be argued. Whatever the possibilities of the situation, however, it must be remembered that logic, as applied to a curriculum or course of study, is a relative and individual matter. The tendency is too general to build an educational pattern, based on logic and a highly developed sense of order, and to jam all corners into that pattern, whether or not they need that particular conformation. This habit has done as much as any other force to increase the race of "credit hunters." They become convinced by experience that the process of acquiring a degree has no intrinsic values for them. The degree itself has value, and they proceed to acquire it in the easiest and quickest way. To the extent, however, that specific curricular requirements are desirable or necessary, they may be, and are, enforced as rigidly in summer schools as in other divisions of the universities. The program of courses in the summer school includes every course that is required for

graduation, and each such course must be taken before the student is eligible for the degree. Moreover, if the sequence in which courses are taken is deemed important, that sequence can be enforced in summer as well as in any other season.

It is further urged against the validity of summer-school instruction that it is in the hands of less well-prepared and less-experienced instructors than at other times of the year. Whatever may have been true of the past, a glance at the bulletin of any summer school today will promptly show how utterly unfounded the assumption is now. The academic vacation is rapidly becoming a thing of the past. The college professor, somewhat to his own astonishment, no doubt, is finding that he does not break down under the strain of summer instruction added to that of the rest of the year. He finds that a vacation of a month or six weeks is sufficient to maintain his strength and vitality, and the suspicion is creeping in that he is not actually harder driven than other types of mortals. Be that as it may, the faculties of summer schools are recruited from the thoroughly accredited instructors and professors, yes and even deans, of the regular college and university staff. The experience of the faculty of the School of Education of New York University is probably not unique, and in that faculty it is almost a rule, albeit unwritten, that every professorial member of the faculty shall teach in the summer school, and anyone who wishes to be released asks it as a special dispensation. Furthermore, in the field of education, the summer school may draw into its staff men and women of wide experience and great teaching ability, who, by reason of their professional duties, are estopped from strengthening the faculty during any other part of the year.

Another allegation to the discredit of the summer school is that its courses are open to any who may seek admission, regardless of their preparation to pursue the work. If this were true, it would be a serious matter, since it is generally recognized that any course must be adapted to the attainments and abilities of the least able in the class. In this connection, the experience at New York University may be enlightening. There it has been found entirely possible to apply and enforce the same requirements in regard to previous preparation that are in effect in the several

schools and colleges during the rest of the year. As a result there are no more "special students" in the summer than at any other time, and even in those occasional instances of the admission of students who have not fulfilled the formal educational prerequisites, such students have been able to present convincing proof of an experience, which, however informal, would make it possible for them both to profit by and contribute to the courses for which they were allowed to register. The summer school has become an academic institution and plays the game according to the academic rules.

Finally, there is a tendency to conclude, in spite of tangible and concrete evidence to the contrary, that summer instruction must be, on general principles, inferior to instruction at other times of the year. For one thing, there is no academic atmosphere. In answer, it must be admitted that summer students are, as a rule, more serious than students in the regular year. In so far as academic atmosphere depends for its existence upon hops, coonskin coats, high-powered roadsters, and other evidences of college life, the summer school is at a fatal disadvantage. Summer social programs are difficult to organize because they are so sparingly patronized. Even the milder forms of dissipation, such as attendance upon recitals and dramatic performances, are not generally indulged in. However, the librarian of any institution will testify that the use of the library is much more intensive in summer than at any other time, in proportion to the number of students enrolled. If academic atmosphere, as that term is practically understood in most institutions, were a prerequisite for a degree, the summer candidate would be properly denied

Furthermore, it is felt that the enervating summer climate of all but the most favorably located of our summer schools, must have a deteriorating effect upon the educational product of the summer school. As far as is known, no research has been entered upon to determine the effect of climate upon scholarship. Excessive heat is frequently an excuse rather than a reason for inactivity, mental or physical. Physical discomfort resulting from undue summer heat may often be entirely forgotten in the interest of a job of work that is to be done. Whatever may be the theoretical assumptions, the fact remains that the faculties of

summer schools are practically unanimous in their statements that more and better work is accomplished in the summer term than in other terms during the year, and that, in their opinion, a point of credit earned in summer is of more real value than a point earned in other terms.

The summer schools of the country are performing a service that is of enormous social value. They are presenting opportunities for real educational advancement to thousands of persons, to whom the universities would be otherwise closed. The curricula, faculties, and requirements of the summer schools are advancing step by step with the advancements in other divisions of the colleges and universities. Full and generous recognition of their work will come, not by reason of argument or defense, but as a necessary result of the integrity of the work they are doing.

INQUIRY

1. *Does Society need more state teacher-tenure laws?*

The basis for the following generalizations upon the subject of teacher-tenure laws, and their effect where such laws exist, and the conditions prevailing where there are not such laws is limited to the scope of the writer's personal observations on the subject while serving in public-school supervisory capacities in two different states—Massachusetts, which has tenure laws; and Vermont, which has no tenure laws.

In Massachusetts, a teacher who serves in the same school system for two years, and then is reelected for a third year, becomes a permanent teacher in the system until he reaches the age of retirement, resigns, or is dismissed for conduct unbecoming a teacher. The last named condition very rarely occurs; the most frequent cause for termination of a teacher's service being resignation, in order to marry, or to accept a more remunerative or desirable situation. The next most common cause of teachers' leaving the service is that of reaching the legal age for retirement. Quite a number continue until then, sometimes serving even a part or all of the several years between the legal retirement age, and the compulsory retirement age. We have observed in this state a feeling of security or permanency of occupation which is very perceptibly reflected in better classroom teaching, and a more active and sincere participation in the out-of-school life of the pupils, and in the civic, religious, and social life of the community.

Is this not just what society needs from these public-school teachers, who are regarded in their communities as exponents of the cultural, higher life, made possible through a liberal education and cultivated talents? It appears to the writer that this is what the social organism needs and wants. We have not noticed any slacking in effort of those teachers who have already come into tenure. Most teachers who are under tenure regard it, we believe, as an obligation which they owe to society to give of their best to their work.

In Vermont there is noticeable, even among the veteran teachers, a constant feeling of insecurity in their positions. The whim and caprice of their school board, or of the public, may

assert itself any year and cut short what would otherwise be a period of years of fruitful service. This handicap of uncertainty of tenure, which is, we believe, present where there are no tenure laws, saps the enthusiasm of the teachers for their work, and may have a tendency to create among them a feeling of unrest, both of which are inimical to the welfare of the school system.

The weight of the argument, then, would seem to be considerably in favor of wisely constructed teacher-tenure laws, not so much for the benefit of the teachers themselves as for the improvement of the instruction in the schools, and their general progress, which can best be furthered by a continuity of service of well-trained, capable teachers.

GEORGE S. GOODELL
Superintendent of Schools
Hartford, Vermont

2. A safety patrol system providing for patrol of pupils at street crossings near school buildings in the morning, during the noon hour, and after school seems to be rather popular in some cities. Where such a system is employed, its supporters claim a reduction in the number of accidents. *What is the sociological justification for such a system?*

To justify an activity as part of the curriculum,¹ such activity must unquestionably have educative value; that is, it must aid in adapting the child to his environment. Accidents occur because of inadequate adaptation.

Under a patrol system where individuals are protected in their various activities and responses such as crossing the street, waiting for traffic and the like, responsibility for accidents passes from the individual to the patrol officer. The felt need of the individual is lessened and the educative situation becomes less potent for the masses. Individual safety practices do not improve to any marked degree as the individual becomes more dependent and passive. The patrol system may serve as a protection but not as education.

¹ The term "curriculum" as used here means the omnibus which carries all the educative situations to which the pupils have occasion to respond. These situations may be grouped under four heads: (1) course of study; (2) method, (3) school and class organization and management, and (4) measurement.

A pupil-patrol system as organized in one school or city may be comparable in many respects with the adult police system, which has never been listed among the important educational agencies of a community. Police officers provide social control largely through force; not through education. The truth of this statement would be evident if police control were removed. Education involves improved social behavior functioning in the form of proper habits and attitudes.

But one will ask, does not safety patrol develop leadership and provide excellent training? It will be seen that the answer to this question depends upon whether the patrol organization attempts to have the child function as an adult or as a child. For a boy to be placed in a situation intended for an adult, in which he cannot be successful because of immaturity or lack of training, is most unfortunate. For him to be ready to serve and to find himself unable provides training clearly objectionable.

The pupil-patrol idea is not new. Some years ago in a city of the Middle West a patrol system was operative as an activity in each school. A study of the organization at one of these schools revealed both social advantages and social objections. Small children were protected at street crossings and were being cared for admirably by older boys who acted as patrols. The school was not situated in a congested district, but the street in front of the building was extensively used for traffic. No accidents to children were reported for the year either during patrol or at other times. Most of the automobile and truck drivers responded to the directions of these boys acting as junior police. Others, however, ignored the boys and the authority invested in them. Sometimes boys were obliged to protect themselves by dodging the vehicles.

On the other hand, pupils on duty often assume authority which would not be tolerated in adults, as shown by their treatment of children who resent their orders and insults. They like to be in authority but are not sufficiently mature to use good judgment.

The answer to our question seems to depend on whether the patrol organization attempts to have the child function as an adult, acting as junior police, or as a child in a miniature social environment. If the question submitted were to refer to pupil patrol within a school building, or on school playgrounds only,

our answer would be quite different. "Obviously the school is not designed to prepare for a society that lies apart from it."² The school should not attempt to equip children for adult life by imposing upon them adult functions. Pupil patrol where boys must attempt to control traffic in connection with their other duties and activities is one form of pupil activity which should not be included in the curriculum. Other forms of school organization, such as the so-called "School City," or "School State," where children attempt to function as adults, are not appropriate for the school. Their short duration where introduced confirms this conclusion.

It is normal activity for children to form committees under adult direction and responsibility to assist smaller children across streets at dangerous crossings and to engage in a variety of activities that are clearly within the range of child ability and experience. These activities must be considered as part of the total educational process and used for the further education of the participants. Pupil participation of this kind is a most effective and economical factor in education.³ Before organizing a new pupil activity, one should determine that the proposed activity lies well within the experience of the children. The form which such organization takes should be determined by the needs of the group, or by the particular school.

² E. George Payne, and L. C. Schroeder, *Health and Safety in the New Curriculum* (New York, The American Viewpoint Society, 1925), p. 180

³ *Ibid.*, ch. xiv.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

EDITORIAL NOTE. *It is designed to make this department a clearing house for (1) information about current research projects of interest to educational sociology, and (2) for ideas with reference to research methods and techniques in this field. Readers are urged to report projects and suggestions as to methods of research. This department desires to encourage and stimulate cooperation in research.*

RESEARCH PROJECTS AT STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE, ST. CLOUD, MINNESOTA ¹

Studies of social opinions of teachers college students. A test of certain social opinions has been devised that should have a reliability coefficient of about .9+ by the Brown prophecy formulae. The validity of the pencil and paper test will be checked with carefully arranged opportunities for voting moral support, voting and giving money, and arguments and talks, and by trying the test on different groups. It is then proposed to survey a sample of teachers college students and to measure changes in opinions made in a beginning sociology course using experimental and control groups. Several preliminary experiments have been undertaken to find the weaknesses in the procedure and plans are now completed for carrying out the final experiment.

An exploratory study of efficient and inefficient ways of interviewing school children. The students in an elective course are making a number of interviews with problem and normal children, analyzing these interviews, and attempting to list the successful procedures. At present this study seems to be too full of variables to be rigidly scientific. Some interesting case studies, however, are being obtained. Social adjustment interviews are being attempted and the behavior ratings before and after these interviews are being kept.

Discussion group method of conducting class periods in sociology. Each student recites to his fellows every day. Checking has shown this to be practically as efficient as the traditional discussion method. This procedure provides laboratory practice in cooperation.

¹ Under the direction of Professor Leslie D. Zeleny, department of sociology

A STUDY OF SOCIOLOGICAL TECHNIQUES

Various presentations of methods of social investigation and research are being prepared by a number of the younger workers in this field and will be combined in a volume which is to be published under the caption of *Sociological Techniques*.

Professor Erle F. Young of the University of Southern California will present a chapter on the interview. Clifford R. Shaw, research sociologist, of the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research, will contribute a chapter on the group interview in sociological research. Professor Ernst Krueger of the department of sociology of Vanderbilt University will present a discussion of the life history or personal document. Professor Young will add a chapter on the sociological use of case records of social agencies. Mr. Shaw will contribute an additional chapter on the child's own story.

The clinical study of the child in its sociological aspects will be discussed by Professor Walter E. Reckless of Vanderbilt University. Professor Krueger will also discuss the study of problems of the family. Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas will contribute a chapter on the statistical and case study methods in sociological research. Dr. Thomas has recently been appointed research associate of the Institute of Child Welfare Research and assistant professor of education in Teachers College, Columbia University. Professor Reckless will contribute an additional chapter on the natural history approach to the study of social change.

Professor Frederic M. Thrasher of the department of educational sociology of New York University will discuss the study of social groups, particularly with reference to methods of studying the gang. The study of social institutions with emphasis upon the mission as a type will be contributed by Professor L. Guy Brown of Ohio Wesleyan University. The chapter on the study of the community in its larger aspects will be contributed by Professor Harvey W. Zorbaugh of the New York University School of Education who will also discuss the study of the community in its local aspects.

The emphasis in this collection of materials will be placed upon practical and concrete problems in making scientific studies rather than upon the theoretical aspects of such procedures.

READERS' DISCUSSION

EDITORIAL NOTE *This department is designed to be an open forum wherein free expression will be encouraged upon all questions in the field of THE JOURNAL*

Any new field of knowledge should expect to find itself subjected to the closest scrutiny when it attempts to force itself into the already overcrowded curriculum of the present day college.¹ Possibly at no time in the history of education has it been quite so difficult for a new subject to find a place for itself, or to maintain its security as at present. It is, indeed, fortunate that many and severe tests are applied to new fields, for in so doing the curriculum is made stronger by being protected from inferior subject matter, and the new subject is compelled to define its functions and to discover its techniques as well as to present its materials and it is thereby strengthened.

Some interesting differentiations and relationships are pointed out in E. George Payne's editorial in the January number of *THE JOURNAL*. The differentiation of the field of educational sociology with reference to educational psychology suggests the close relationships between the fields and yet formulates the contributions which the field of educational sociology must make to develop completeness of understanding of the school's problems and school procedure. Educational sociology is fundamentally concerned with the problems of social adjustment through the means of education, defined both in terms of school and of extra-school procedures, and research in this field requires techniques which may be different from those of educational psychology or from any other field of social science. As a science it holds to the techniques of science, but these must be used, and are used, in ways to discover the solutions of problems of social adjustment which are different from the problems and ways of educational psychology, economics, history, and other social sciences. As Payne explicitly points out, educational sociology has the capacity to attain its ends. It has busied itself with accumulations of data through investigations by means of adequate techniques and interpretations of the results of such research in terms of the

¹ Discussion by Henry L. Pritchett, professor of sociology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas

needs of society. Payne reminds us that "the possibilities for the development of a science are unlimited," and the extent of the field of educational sociology, as well as the number and kinds of techniques to be used, are as yet unfathomed.

There is considerable discussion at the present time concerning the relative merits of the statistical and case methods of research. One writer refers to the case methods as "spectacular but questionable,"² while Burgess whole-heartedly defends the case method as a means of research insisting that "it must be noted that the case study as a method is a distinctly different technique from that of statistics and with its own criteria of excellence."³ Burgess and many others in the field of educational sociology, sociology, and educational psychology doubtless agree that both of these techniques and many others are to be used effectively in attacking the problems of this and of other fields.

Very interesting application of other techniques in research in educational sociology has been made by Thrasher in his study of the gang, and this research suggests the extension of some such application of techniques to a study of the influence of home upon the life of the child. A great deal has been written concerning the family, but little or nothing has been done toward understanding, through adequate scientific research, the problems of the home as an educational institution in this complex period of civilization. The home is seeking as never before a better understanding of the child's nature and needs and everywhere is attempting to understand the factors and forces which influence the child from birth through adolescence, and it is possible to obtain data in this previously closed field because parents are now willing to reveal family relationships to outside study in order to secure the assistance they need. Educational sociology may very well join hands with the child guidance group in answering this definite and serious desire of the home for assistance in an earnest effort to solve its problems, and doubtless such research would enhance the great value of the data obtained in the study of gangs and other group life of children.

² Slawson, *The Delinquent Boy*, p. 7.

³ Burgess, "Statistics and Case Studies," in *Sociology and Social Research*, xii, 2, Nov-Dec. 1927, p. 120.

BOOK REVIEWS

Principles of Educational Sociology; An Outline, by E. George Payne. New York: New York University Press Book Store, 1928, 169 pages.

The history that lies back of the writing of a book, would undoubtedly be significant, if revealed. Payne in his revised *Outline* of the principles of educational sociology gives us the story of the early development of a book in the making in the preface. Since 1910 Professor Payne, who at that time was fresh from his graduate study in Germany, began teaching a course designated as educational sociology at Harris Teachers College. Since that time the *Outline* has been used by ten different institutions.

What is the view held by Professor Payne in the *Outline*? He defines educational sociology as the new science which describes and explains the institutions, social forms, social groups, social processes, in which or through which the individual gains and organizes his experiences. This makes the subject matter of this new science cover the wide range of social organization from the primary associations to the more impersonal relationships of society in general. It does not make education a *mélange*. It reduces the educational concepts and procedure to one based upon the fundamental laws of social evolution and democratic theory. Biology, psychology, and sociology are all basic to this conception. The *Outline* is not sociology, nor applied sociology, but is a functional approach to social life (social organization) as it affects the higher and best development of personality. The scientific viewpoint and technique are held fundamental to new researches in the development and carrying out of this conception of educational sociology.

In the organization of the *Outline* which will soon eventuate into a book, three chapters of which already appear in completed form, one discovers the influence of Cooley's classification of social organization into primary and secondary groups. The school is treated as but one of the many social and educative agencies of the community, it being the converging point and the coordinator of these educative agencies.

There is a vital need and place for this or any other *Outline* in which there is a serious attempt to discover and formulate the principles of the social approach to education in a democratic society.

BENJAMIN FLOYD STALCUP

Cultural Education: A study of Social Origins and Development, by Charles A. Ellwood. New York: Century Company, 1927, 267 pages.

The setting up of a theory of the development of human society is a major undertaking and may represent the work of a lifetime. Professor Ellwood, after teaching a course in cultural anthropology at the University of Missouri for twenty years, evolves his theory of human social evolution, and presents it under the title of *Cultural Education*.

This book of moderate proportions contains nineteen chapters, the first five are devoted to setting forth the point of view, the nature of, the stages of, and the

theories of the causes of cultural evolution, while the remaining chapters trace the cultural development of tools, food, agriculture, war, clothing, housing, the fine arts, property, the family, law and government, morality, religion, education, and science. Professor Ellwood defines culture as the concept-making process and concept using among human groups. This then puts culture on a psychological basis, whether it is concerned with the formation of new social habits and practices or with tool making and the production of goods. The treatment of cultural evolution is synthetic in that it gives due consideration to the physical, biological, and the economic factors that enter into and tend to direct the course of social evolution. To Professor Ellwood cultural development is the strongest and chief determinant in social evolution.

Such a splendid exposition of this thesis places the author high upon the list of the cultural theorists. Further, the book represents a careful piece of writing and scholarly research. It is a worthy contribution to the increasing number of new books by the younger group of sociologists.

BENJAMIN FLOYD STALCUP

Social Differentiation, by Cecil Clare North, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1926, 343 pages.

Among the recent books that have fallen in the hands of the writer and which have challenged attention is one which lies in the field of general sociology and forms an approach to the study of social psychology by Professor North of Ohio State University on *Social Differentiation*. The various social sciences have contributed through the latest scientific researches to this searching attempt to "analyze the nature and significance of social differences." In this study Professor North is also trying to evaluate the relative significance of the biological factors as against the environmental determinants. And the third phase of the study is concerned with the need of a more "rational and intelligent control of social differences."

Briefly the organization of the book falls into four main divisions. Part I, the nature and kinds of social differences. These being differences in function, rank, culture, and interest; Part II, the biological factors of age, sex, race, and individual variations and social differences; Part III, the social factors in the creation of the privileged classes, accommodation, and the acquisition of traits and the perpetuation of social differences, Part IV, social differentiation and social progress, overspecialization, social control, and democracy.

The significance of social differentiation for social institutions is most important. It sets up a high degree of interdependence and interactions and thus becomes the foundation of the social process of society. Through this social differentiation the individual finds a larger opportunity for the expression of personality. But a society in which the finest expression of the individual rights of mankind on the basis of merit and worth of the individual is as yet but a dream of the democrat. The way has been opened. Progress has been made. The school is the main hope of the future. According to the author, the spread of universal intelligence and understanding is the only method of elimination of special privilege which has in a large measure shaped the direction of social differentiation.

The book is scientifically written. Careful citations are made to the almost inexhaustible literature of the social sciences, and with an easy readable style the volume is highly commended to the student and the general reader. One puts the book away with a feeling that a difficult performance has been well done.

BENJAMIN FLOYD STALCUP

Race Contact, by E. E. Muntz. New York: The Century Company, 1927, xiv, 407 pages.

In no field of human knowledge are scientific men more active at the present time than in the field of the social sciences. This interest is manifest in the large number of books appearing in the field. Among the recent careful studies that have appeared is *Race Contact* by Professor E. E. Muntz of New York University. This book is the first attempt to provide a comprehensive and scientific study of the social, economic, and political consequences of association between races of varying cultural development. Dr. Muntz has limited his discussion to the fundamental aspects of race contacts in the association between the European races as representing the most advanced and the American Indians, Pacific Islanders, and Africans as representing more primitive and backward people. Particular attention is given to the changing life conditions, the effect upon the family and political life, the advantages and disadvantages according to the respective groups as a result of the association and to the survival of inferior culture.

The limit of this review makes it impossible to cover the list of topics treated in this highly readable and interesting book. It is clear to the reviewer, however, that the volume will appeal to a large variety of people, that it is particularly interesting to the teacher and the school superintendent and that it will serve as a valuable textbook for the college teacher. The book represents extensive reading, careful research, and vigorous presentation. The readers of THE JOURNAL will find the book immensely valuable in enlarging their point of view on problems basic to educational reconstruction and to the solution of their practical everyday educational problems.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

The South Africans, by Sarah Gertrude Millin. London: Constable and Co., Ltd., 1927, 280 pages.

Time was when European observers looked to America as a social laboratory in which all manner of social innovations were tried, and in which social institutions, human traits, etc., could be seen in their raw state and as they developed without the regulating "dead hand" of the past. Today America is perhaps the most complex combination of sociological situations that exists, and we must look elsewhere for our social laboratory.

South Africa, known to us vaguely as the home of ostriches, gold, diamonds, Boers, and pessimistic novels, provides just this spectacle of social organization developing from the raw within the memory of those now alive. It further presents the spectacle of a country developing under modern social conditions within the period of nationalisms, within the railway and motor-vehicle age.

and with the widest variety of social forms at the start. Here is a land accessible by sea only, barring occasional transcontinental airplane journeys of late, seventeen days by steamer from Europe. Within an area equal to a fourth of the United States are found primitive Bushmen, pastoral Zulus, Boer pioneers, compact settlements of Britishers, mining towns that have grown with a rush, deserts, prairies, etc. Barring the Boers, who came early, and the Kaffirs who arrived from Central Africa a century ago, practically all the elements of the South African population have come since 1870. Most of them have come to South Africa since 1890.

Mrs. Millin, herself a South African, has not only the keen eye and mind of the sociologist to see the social problems and the social interactions; she has the gift of style. Her detailed, accurate, and rather exhaustive study reads like a fascinating novel. More than that: she has caught the flavor of life in South Africa—that peculiar complex of *mores* that makes those of us who have lived in South Africa love the country and the people—yes, makes us wish to return.

Every statement about those things that I know from actual experience while living in South Africa is correct; and every interpretation of them is sound. Mrs. Millin has given an accurate picture of the land of contrasts; the land where the naked Kafir children run alongside the Pullman train as it climbs the hill slowly; the land where the oxcart and the motor car jostle for parking space; the land where Zulu huts and incantations are within sight of Durban skyscrapers. And in her description of the South African peoples, we see partly what America once was and, partly, set out in stronger, clearer relief, the problems that we as sociologists here in America must meet.

Mrs. Millin's volume is a notable contribution to descriptive sociology, as to content, as to style, and as to arrangement.

STEPHEN G. RICH

NEWS FROM THE FIELD

Dr Ralph E Pickett, Associate professor of vocational education in New York University, attended the National Vocational Education Conference during the week preceding Christmas at Los Angeles

Professor J Gillette, head of the department of sociology, University of North Dakota, was elected president of the American Sociological Society at its recent meeting held in Washington Dr Gillette is a well-known sociologist, his special field being rural sociology His department at North Dakota has expanded in the direction of education and now includes a course in educational sociology which Dr. Gillette teaches

Professor J V Breitwieser of the University of California who has given courses in civic education and social sciences at California, has recently accepted a similar position in the University of North Dakota. In connection with his work in psychology and sociology, he will be director of the summer session in that institution.

Mr Cecil Miller Bennett of the department of American history of the Senior High School, Birmingham, Alabama, as well as an instructor in the summer session of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, resigned his position in the middle of the present school year to become instructor in the School of Education, New York University In connection with his teaching, he will continue his graduate study in the above mentioned institution

Mr Oscar S Bradshaw, who received his Ph.D in 1926 from New York University and who was an instructor in education in the New York City Training School for Teachers, has recently accepted a position in education in the School of Education in the University of Oklahoma at Norman, Oklahoma

The Third Annual Spring Conference of Normal Schools and Teachers Colleges under the auspices of the Normal School and Teachers College Section of the New York Society for the Experimental Study of Education will be held at the Hotel Pennsylvania, April 19th to 21st.

The editor of this division, on a recent visit to the high school at Elizabeth, New Jersey, found a large group of students in a class in current problems in the department of social science studying public opinion. The current issues of the metropolitan dailies were used as source material. If the press can be used in this fashion, the junior citizens of today have a most excellent opportunity of scientifically understanding the newspaper as it functions in the organic process of helping to develop public opinion. For these boys and girls social science is a living thing, and not the formal fact-getting process of mastery of a textbook

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

Professor Robert A. Kissack of the department of art education of the School of Education of New York University is a native of the Isle of Man. Professor Kissack's fine-art training was received at Washington University, St. Louis, and in Julien's Academy in Paris. Later he studied in the technical and art schools of England, Germany, Austria, and France. Before coming to his present position he was instructor, supervisor, and director of manual and fine arts of the St. Louis Public Schools. As an artist Professor Kissack's work has received notable recognition.

Professor Milton E. Loomis of the School of Education of New York University is an Ohioan by birth. His bachelor's degree was received at Western Reserve, and his master's at the University of Wisconsin. He has held instructorships at the Universities of Wisconsin and Cincinnati. Professor Loomis has been connected with New York University since 1913; as registrar, director of the Institute of Education, and as assistant dean of the School of Education.

Dr. John W. Withers, dean of the School of Education and professor of educational administration, New York University, since 1921, is a native of West Virginia. He received his bachelor's degree from the National Normal University at Lebanon, Ohio, and his master's and doctor's at Yale. Dean Withers has had an educational career that is somewhat unique, in that it has touched nearly all levels of school work from that of a rural-school teacher of his native state to that of his present position. He was dean of the preparatory department, instructor of college mathematics, vice president and president of the National Normal University, principal of Yeatman High School and president of Harris Teachers College of St. Louis, from which position he succeeded to the superintendency of the St. Louis public schools. In recognition of his great achievement as president of Harris Teachers College and as superintendent of the St. Louis schools, the University of Missouri and Washington University both conferred upon him the degree of doctor of laws. Dean Withers is a member of many national educational organizations. He has been a frequent contributor to various educational journals and magazines, beside co-author of the Drushel, Noonan, and Withers series of textbooks in elementary arithmetic. In the school survey movement, he has been an educational adviser, director, and editor of the surveys of San Francisco, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Alton (Illinois), and Cleveland Heights school systems, as well as the state normal schools of New Jersey, and the state educational system of Pennsylvania. His social view of education and his democratic manner are significant factors in humanizing the curriculum and methods of teaching in the School of Education of New York University.

For the other contributors of this number, the reader is referred to the previous issues of *THE JOURNAL*.

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EDITORIAL NOTES

NO need in education is more insistent than that of developing a scientific technique which takes into account the social factors and implications involved in the educational process. Sociologists themselves have only recently come to regard their subject as a science and to attempt seriously to develop a scientific method. They have in the past approached their data from a philosophical angle. This has been necessary and fruitful, but we have reached a period of development when philosophizing about social relationships and processes is not going to advance us in giving our subject its merited place among the subjects for university instruction. Sociologists themselves seem to be in more or less agreement upon this point.

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This statement is particularly true of educational sociology. The main emphasis and definite progress so far has been in the development of a social philosophy of education. The value of this emphasis has been to make educators conscious of the need of viewing education with reference to social needs and purposes. The result has been a very definite social philosophy of education. However, social philosophy of education serves merely as a beginning. It provides assumptions for the beginning of research and experiment upon which scientific techniques and procedures

may be based. Educational sociology has a definite task of discovering the facts of education and giving them scientific interpretation. As sociologists see more clearly the main application of their subject in the field of education, both sociologists and educational sociologists will combine to promote this very significant field of research.

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We have frequently indicated the field of this research. It must be found in the scientific determination of subject matter, method, school and classroom organization, and measurement or survey of the results of education. These, moreover, involve a study of social backgrounds and other factors influencing personality and its development. It is our purpose, so far as possible, to stimulate research and investigation in this connection. *THE JOURNAL* has given considerable space to this aspect of research and will increasingly give its space to the results of such research. In so doing, we expect to contribute to the development of the science of educational sociology

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Numerous minor contributions are being made to educational sociology from a variety of sources. A recent bulletin prepared by Miss Amelia Meissner, curator of the Educational Museum of St. Louis, outlining the work of the institution, indicates a practical effort to meet definite social needs through an educational program. A typical exhibit is a "safety-first village" which is proposed as a means of developing safety ideas and habits in the children of the schools.

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The report of the California Tuberculosis Association also falls in this class. This report, "A Health Survey of Small Colleges and Junior Colleges in California," is designed to discover the actual situation in regard to health as a basis for discussion and changes in the interest of a better program. This type of survey should be encouraged as a valuable contribution to the field of educational sociology.

PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

HARVEY W. ZORBAUGH

I

ORIGINAL NATURE

THE BEHAVIORIST LOOKS AT THE INFANT

AS early as 1912, John Watson, then director of the psychological laboratories of Johns Hopkins University, advocated the application of the objective, controlled, experimental method of animal psychology to the study of human behavior. But it was not until 1918 that he set out to apply it to the study of human infants, with particular reference to the problem of instinct and original nature. Watson's laboratory was the nursery of a maternity hospital. He had complete direction of the regimen of the infants in it, regulating the stimuli which they experienced. Infants came into the nursery at birth, remaining from a period of weeks to as long as three years. Watson set out, by the experimental application of a wide range of stimuli, to discover the responses which can be elicited from human infants in the first few months of their lives; to describe objectively and completely the original nature equipment of the infant and the situations which will elicit the infant's unlearned responses. In his last book, *Behaviorism*, he gives a most interesting account of the results of almost daily observation of several hundred infants from birth through the first thirty days of life, and of a smaller number through the first years of childhood. Other investigators, working with bureaus of child welfare research, children's hospitals, and research foundations have contributed more or less reliable and systematically recorded observations of infant behavior which make it possible in some measure to check and to extend the observations of Watson.¹

¹ Watson, *Behaviorism*, 1925, chs. v-viii; Watson, *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist*, 1919, chs. vi and vii; Watson, "The Behaviorist Looks at the Infant," *Harpers*, July, 1927; Watson, "What the Nursery Has to Say About Instincts," *Psychologies* of 1925, 1926; Watson and Watson, "Studies in Infant Psychology," *The Scientific Monthly*, December, 1921; Blanton, "Behavior of the Human Infant," *Psychological Review*, 1917, pp. 456-835; Peterson and Ramey, "The Beginnings of Mind in the New Born," *Bulletin of the Lying-in Hospital*, New York, 1910; Lippman, "Certain Behavior Responses in Early

It will prove profitable to consider the data which has resulted from this observation and experiment, the verified facts concerning the infant's unlearned responses.

At birth the infant exhibits all the vegetative acts incident to sleeping, respiration, circulation, digestion, defecation and urination, with such subsidiary responses as yawning, sucking, swallowing regurgitating, hiccoughing, spitting out, vomiting, sneezing, and the like. The sense organs all seem to be functioning. Evidence of the operation of the kinaesthetic sense organs² is afforded by the fretting, crying, and cooing accompanying the digestive cycle. Infants will, at birth, when lying on the back in a dark room, slowly turn their heads toward a faint light. Eye movements are at first poorly coördinated. Right and left coordinated movements appear first, shortly followed by up and down coördinated movements, and later with the ability to follow a light revolved in a circle. There is no blinking, during the first three months, as objects are passed close to the eye. A bright light elicits signs of discomfort. Most infants, during the first weeks of life, react positively and appropriately to sweet and salt substances, in a negative and retractile manner to sour and bitter substances. The infant cries at a loud noise, though it appears wholly indifferent to the cries of other infants. It smiles, as early as four days of age, at a light stroking of, or blowing upon sensitive areas of the skin, such as the face, abdomen, and sex organs, at being rocked, or turned on the abdomen across the nurse's knee, or after a full feeding. These responses are partially due to tactual, partly to kinaesthetic stimuli. Smiling at other stimuli, such as the mother's smile or "baby talk" is learned, though it may appear as early as the thirtieth day. The infant's sensory equipment seems, at birth, to be complete and ready to function in its characteristic ways.

A few infants, when held in an upright position, can hold up the head for a few seconds at birth. Most acquire this ability after the third day. It is not until past six months of age that the head can be held up for protracted periods—the ability to do so evidently depending upon the development of musculature. As early as five hours of age, touching the face of a hungry baby causes quick, jerky head movements. During the first few days the head will be rotated towards a source of light, and somewhat later towards a source of sound. As early as one-half hour of age some infants, when placed face down on a mattress, will rotate the head. All infants of three days of age will raise the head when the face is buried in a pillow.

Stretching and arching of the trunk in response to removal of clothing appears after the twenty-fifth day. If held suspending itself by the hand, the infant

Infancy," *Pedagogical Seminary*, September, 1927; and Brainard, "Some Observations of Infant Learning and Instincts," *Pedagogical Seminary*, June, 1927. Good summaries of the results of observation and experiment on the infant's unlearned behavior will be found in Smith and Guthrie, *General Psychology*, 1927, chapter xi, Perrin and Kline, *Psychology*, 1927, use index, and Hollingworth, *Mental Growth and Decline*, 1927, chapter viii.

² The kinaesthetic sense organs are located in the muscles, both in the striped muscles which control posture and movement of the body and in the unstriped or smooth muscles which regulate the visceral organs—glands, heart, lungs, arteries, intestines, etc. The kinaesthetic sense gives rise to the constant and fluctuating background of organic sensation.

responds with marked "climbing" motions of the trunk and hips—waves of muscular contraction pulling up the legs followed by periods of relaxation. Placed naked lying on the stomach on an unyielding surface, many infants can at birth turn over. This response involves spasmodic contraction and relaxation of the muscles of the abdomen, back, legs, and arms, accompanied by crying. Sitting alone becomes possible at about eight months.

Opening and closing of the hand, spreading and stretching of the fingers are present at birth. Most infants, at birth, will grasp a finger or rod brought into contact with the palm of the hand. If the fingers are held over the rod by the experimenter, they clasp tightly to it. A cry usually starts. During the reaction the infant may be completely lifted, and will hang unsupported as much as a minute. The thumb takes no part in grasping until about the one-hundredth day.

The slightest stimulation of the skin anywhere will usually bring out marked arm, wrist, hand, and shoulder movements. Auditory, visual, and kinaesthetic stimulus will also bring out such movements. The arms can be thrown up to the face, even to the top of the head, and down to the legs. Usually, no matter where the stimuli is applied, the movement of the arms is toward the chest and head. If the infant's nose is held, within a few seconds one or both arms fly upward until the hand actually comes into contact with that of the experimenter. If one hand is held, the other goes up just the same. If the child is dropped, the arms are thrown upward towards the head. When the head is being scrubbed, the interference of the infant's hand sometimes interrupts the process. Avoidance movements of the hands may be elicited in very young infants by slightly pricking the wrist. The hands may be placed in the mouth in the course of random arm movements. Reaching for and manipulating objects, a complex act undoubtedly involving a large element of learning, appears between five and six months.

Blanton found that dropping alcohol on either side of the abdomen elicited a leg movement on the side stimulated. Blanton also reports that when the big toe is pricked to secure a specimen of blood the other foot is drawn up and pressed against the ankle of the pricked side. Watson found that whenever an infant of more than five days of age is pinched on the inner surface of the knee, the other heel is brought up to the spot. Kicking is one of the most pronounced movements evident at birth. Touching the soles of the feet, stimulating them with hot or cold air, and kinaesthetic stimulation all elicit kicking. Tickling the foot or stimulating it with hot or cold water produces marked movements of toes and fingers. Stimulating the sole of the foot with an object like a match stick usually results in a "fanning" of the toes, or an upward jump of the great toe and a drawing down of the others. This response is highly variable, and disappears toward the end of the first year. Its appearance in adults is pathological. The so-called "extensor thrust," which seems to be the basic motor mechanism in walking, a stiffening of the leg muscles as the infant is lifted to a standing position and supported with his feet touching the table top, does not appear until after several months. Crawling, pulling up the body, balancing, standing, and walking are quite evidently learned combinations of simpler trunk, arm, leg, and foot responses.

The first vocal response is the so-called "birth cry." Immanuel Kant supposed it to be "a cry of wrath at the catastrophe of birth", but it is merely a mechanical consequence of the establishment of respiration as air first strikes the lungs.

Various stimuli produce their characteristic cries, readily recognizable, such as colic, hunger, pain, and fatigue. Being picked up may cause a new-born infant to cry. A cold plunge, sudden dropping, a loud noise, pricking and pinching, restraint of movement, cutting, burning, and any kind of surgical operation elicit a cry. Blanton reports during the first month the following sounds: *m, n, ng, w, r, y, ou*, as in owl, *ee* as in feel, *oo* as in pool, *a* as in an, and *a* as in father. Watson notes such syllables as *nah, wah, wuh, la, ba, ahgoo, ma, and da*. Blanton comments—"of interest was the variety of animal cries simulated in the nursery. The 'pot-rack' of the quail, the cry of the goat, the whine of the young pig, and the wail of the wild cat each had a close imitation." When the infant is stroked, or fed, or otherwise content, a "chatty" verbalization or "babbling" results.

The most striking fact revealed by a survey of the new-born infant's unlearned responses is the absence of anything remotely resembling animal instinct in his original behavior equipment. The stereotyped, highly articulated responses of scolias, neatly adapted to given life situations, find no counterpart in the infant's unlearned responses. Even the less integrated and less stereotyped instincts of the young bird, beaver, or puppy are lacking in the human infant. Suspending the infant in water brings out no movements even approximating swimming. Watson summarizes his own experiments by saying:

The behaviorist finds that the human being at birth is a very lowly piece of protoplasm. This piece of protoplasm breathes, makes babbling, gurgling, cooing sounds with its vocal mechanisms, slaps its arms and legs about, moves its fingers and toes, cries, excretes through the skin and other organs the waste material from its food. In short, it squirms (responds) when the environment (inside and out) attacks it (stimulates it). I find none of the instincts listed by James.³

Watson's characterization of the infant's behavior as "squirming" emphasizes, and accurately, the random, unarticulated, and unadaptive nature of most of the infant's unlearned responses. Early arm movements, which result in raising the arms toward the chest and head no matter where the tactual stimulus is applied, are characteristic. When a noxious stimulus is applied

³ J. B. Watson, "The Behaviorist Looks at Instincts" *Harpers*, July, 1927. Watson includes under "squirming" the movements of the smooth or unstriped muscles that form the coat of the stomach, intestines, bladder, sex organs, gland ducts, arteries and veins, as well as the movements of the striped muscles which regulate the posture of the head and trunk, the flexion of arms, legs, fingers and toes. The infant "squirms" inside as well as outside. This internal movement is commonly called visceral behavior, while externally visible movements are called overt behavior.

to him, the infant "squirms" until the stimulus is removed or he is exhausted. Adaptation goes little further.

The infant's behavior does show some few rudimentary and adaptive patterns, however. In nursing, for instance, the baby closes its mouth over the erectile mammilla, sucks, and swallows the milk so secured. Now, every movement the infant makes stimulates some sense organ. The contractions of his muscles stimulate sense organs (the so-called kinaesthetic sense) located in their tissue. Moreover, many movements result in new stimuli from without. These stimuli resulting from responses are called *movement-produced* stimuli. In nursing, the erectile mammilla touching the infant's mouth or cheek causes him to turn his head and close his lips over it. The feeling of the mammilla in his mouth causes movements of neck, jaws, tongue, and lips. These movements, causing suction, result in milk entering the mouth, which in turn is a stimulus to swallowing. A few elementary patterns in the infant's behavior, involving a minimum of learning, result from these movement-produced stimuli. But these patterns are extremely few, extremely simple, and play a relatively unimportant rôle in behavior.⁴

We have perhaps given the impression, in discussing observations on infant behavior, that the infant's responses are entirely reflexive, that the infant would be inert save for impinging stimuli from the outside world. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Save when drowsy or asleep the infant is in almost ceaseless activity, constantly making random, undirected movements of the arms, legs, fingers, head, neck, and trunk, gurgling and making inarticulate noises, irrespective of outside stimulation. That is, a great part of the infant's behavior, unless he be in an experimental nursery, is impulsive, arising from internal or visceral stimuli. It is of the very nature of the infant to act

⁴ These patterns of behavior resulting from movement-produced stimuli are known in psychology as chain reflexes, or better, as serial responses—relatively simple responses linked together through the fact that each response results in stimuli which set off the succeeding response.

Whether these simple patterns shall be called instincts is a matter for lexicographers, not scientists, to debate. It is purely a matter of definition. The elaborate instincts of insects and animals are probably also the result of movement-produced stimuli. The writer feels, however, that "unlearned response" is a better term than instinct to apply to these responses of the infant, as the word instinct carries over so many unwarranted implications from the field of animal behavior.

It might appear, further, from the above account that the infant's responses are largely segmental in character, involving given organs or groups of muscles to the exclusion of others; that the infant responds now with this part of the body—eye, head, vocal chords, fingers, legs—now with that. The opposite is true. Every response, however segmental it may appear to the eye of the casual observer, involves changes, minute though they be, in the tonus and chemistry of the entire body. Sucking, in the newborn infant, is often listed as a simple reflex act—a merely segmental contraction of lips, tongue, and throat muscles. But any one who has watched an infant when its lips come in contact with the mother's breast has observed that the infant does not lie inert while the mouth and throat contract. There are accompanying adjustments of posture and muscular tension throughout the body. The whole organism is organized about the sucking response. We recognize this fact in every-day language by saying, not "the baby's mouth is sucking," but "the baby is nursing." The infant is behaving as a whole, pervasive visceral responses accompanying the overt act. Behavior is diffuse rather than segmental in character.

The especially diffuse, incoherently organized responses of the infant which involve pronounced changes in the visceral processes and tonus of the muscles are commonly called emotions. Certain types of stimuli call out characteristic responses of this sort. Watson, who as we have noted did the first experimental work on infant behavior, describes three types of emotional response which appear to be unlearned. These he calls "fear," "rage," and "love."

The so-called "fear" response might better be described as startle and withdrawal. Watson describes the response as follows:

... loud noises almost invariably produced a marked reaction in infants from the very moment of birth. For example, the striking of a steel bar with a hammer will call out a jump, a start, a respiratory pause followed by more rapid breathing with marked vasomotor changes, sudden closing of the eye, clutching of the hands, puckering of the lips. Then occur, depending upon the age of the infant, crying, falling down, crawling, walking, or running away. I have never made a very systematic study of the range of sound stimuli that will call out fear responses. Not every type of sound will do it. Some extremely low pitched,

rumbling noises will not call them out, nor will the very high tones of the Galton whistle. In the half sleeping infant of two or three days of age, I have called them out repeatedly by suddenly crinkling a half of a newspaper near its ear, and by making a loud, shrill, hussing sound with the lips. Pure tones, such as those obtained from the tuning fork at any rate, are not very effective in calling them out.

The other stimulus calling out this same fear reaction is loss of support—especially when the body is not set to compensate for it. It can best be observed in newborns just when they are falling asleep. If dropped then, or if the blanket upon which they lie is suddenly jerked, pulling the infant along with it, the response invariably occurs.

Considerably more work must be done upon the nature of the auditory stimulus as well as upon the separate part reactions (frequent urination, defecation, and many visceral changes) before the whole stimulus response picture is complete.⁵

The response Watson designates as rage has been called, and more happily, resistance by Hollingworth and struggle and rejection by Allport. It is characterized by flexion of the arms and legs, jerking, screaming, rigidity, holding the breath, and, after some learning, coördinated tugging, pulling, pushing, kicking, and the like, accompanied by widespread visceral changes as indicated by blood tests during the response. Watson describes the response in the following words:

Hampering of bodily movement brings out the series of responses we call rage. They can be observed from the moment of birth, but more easily in infants ten to fifteen days of age. When the head is held lightly between the hands; when the arms are pressed to the sides, and when the legs are held tightly together, rage behavior begins. The unlearned response elements in rage behavior have not been completely catalogued. Some of the elements, however, are easily observed, such as the stiffening of the whole body, the free slashing movements of hands, arms, and legs, and holding of the breath. There is no crying at first. Then the mouth is opened to the fullest extent and the breath is held until the face appears blue. These states can be brought on without the pressure in any case being severe enough to produce the slightest injury to the child. The experiments are discontinued the moment the slightest blueness appears in the skin. All children can be thrown into such a state and the reactions will continue until the irritating situation is relieved and sometimes for a considerable period thereafter. We have had this state brought out when the arms were held upward by a cord to which was attached a lead ball not exceeding an ounce in weight. The constant hampering of the arms produced by even this slight weight is sufficient to bring out the response. When the child is lying on its back the response can occasionally be brought out by pressing on each side of the head with cotton wool. In many cases this state can be quite easily observed when the mother or nurse has to dress the child somewhat roughly or hurriedly.⁶

⁵ Watson, *Behaviorism*, p. 121

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123

To a third emotional response Watson attaches the name of "love." It is better designated, as by Hollingworth, as content; or even better, as by Allport, as the sensitive zone responses. It is, as Watson described it, of the following nature:

The stimulus to love responses apparently is stroking of the skin, tickling, gently rocking, patting. The responses are especially easy to bring out by the stimulation of what, for lack of a better term, we may call the erogenous zones, such as the nipples, the lips, and the sex organs. The response in an infant depends upon its state, when crying the crying will cease and a smile begin. Gurgling and cooing appear. Violent movements of arms and trunk, with pronounced laughter, occur in even six to eight months old infants when tickled.⁷

The predominance of visceral changes in the response to stimulation of the sensitive zones is evidenced by changes in circulation and respiration, occasional erection of the penis, and the like. Indeed, visceral changes may themselves serve as stimulus to a mild form of the response, as for example when the infant is being left alone during and shortly after feeding.

Whether or not there are other emotional responses in the unlearned repertory of the infant, our experimental observations have not as yet gone far enough to show. Perhaps the discontent evidenced by the fretting and crying accompanying hunger, fatigue, and imposed shifts in position and similar changes of condition (not sufficient to call out startle or resistance) involves sufficiently diffuse behavior and pronounced enough visceral changes to be classed as an original emotional response. Watson himself points out the possibility of other responses being defined through further observation and experiment. After observing the genesis of shame and jealousy, however, he comes to the conclusion that they are probably learned reactions.⁸ Certainly the varieties and *nuances* of emotional behavior exhibited by the adult are combinations of more elementary responses which have resulted from conditioning and experience.

How random and indefinite, how diffuse and relatively undifferentiated with respect to the stimulus these unlearned emotional responses are is interestingly brought out by a recent investigator. He discovered that if moving pictures are taken of the infant's

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 123

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-54.

"startle," "resistance," and "content" responses, and the films are then cut so that they do not reveal the stimulus, it is often difficult to tell from watching the moving picture of the infant's behavior which response is active.

This rather cursory survey of the experimental findings concerning infant behavior gives us a very different picture of original nature from that offered by the instinct psychology. Incomplete though this experimental data is at the present time, it is more valid than the results of arm-chair speculation. None of the elaborately articulated, relatively stereotyped, and highly discriminating patterns of behavior that we observe in the original nature equipment of insects and animals are present among the unlearned responses of the infant. The infant's unlearned responses are, rather, random, diffuse, relatively undifferentiated and unadaptive in nature—more accurately described as "squirmings" than as "instincts" ⁹ But, someone will ask, if the infant has no "instincts," does he not at least have "capacities," "talents," or "aptitudes" which predispose him to chess playing, music, mathematics, tinkering with engines, or political "bossdom"? We will take up this problem in a later paper when we come to discuss the social significance of individual differences. But if by "talent" or "aptitude" is meant a ready-made something tucked away somewhere inside the organism, the answer is "no." There is scant evidence for such innate "capacities." So far as our modern knowledge goes, the data given above represent a complete inventory of original nature responses.

⁹ The infant's responses, like those of any other young animal, are of course characteristic of his bodily structure—his bones and their articulation, the specializations of his cells that make muscles, sense organs, glands, nerve tissue, and the like. But so are the functions of any object or machine structurally determined. We do not speak of machines as having instincts. As Watson observes, the psychologist may learn a lesson from the toy soldier or the boomerang:

"I have in my hand a hardwood stick. If I throw it forward and upward, it goes a certain distance and drops to the ground. I retrieve the stick, put it in hot water, bend it at a certain angle, throw it out again—it goes outward, revolving as it goes for a short distance, turns to the right and then drops down. Again I retrieve the stick, reshape it slightly, and make its edges convex. I call it a boomerang. Again I throw it upward and outward. Again it goes forward revolving as it goes. Suddenly it turns, comes back and gracefully and kindly falls at my feet. It is still a stick, still made of the same material, but it has been shaped differently. Has the boomerang an instinct to return to the hand of the thrower? No? Well, why does it return? Because it is made in such a way that when it is thrown upward and outward with a given force it must return (parallelogram of

forces) Let me call attention to the fact here that all well-made and well-thrown boomerangs will return to or near to the thrower's feet, but no two will follow exactly the same forward pathway or the same return pathway, even if shot mechanically with the same application of force and at the same elevation, yet they are called boomerangs. This example may be a little unusual to you. Let us take one a little easier. Most of us have rolled dice now and again. Take a die, load it in a certain way, roll it, and the face bearing "six" will always come up when the die is thrown. Why? The die must roll that way because of the way it was constructed. Again take a toy soldier. Mount it on a semicircular loaded rubber base. No matter how you throw this soldier, he will always bob upright, oscillate a bit, then come to a steady vertical position. Has the rubber soldier an instinct to stand erect?

"Notice that not until the boomerang, the toy soldier, and the die are hurled into space do they exhibit their peculiarities of motion. Change their form or their structure, or alter greatly the material out of which they are made (make them of iron instead of wood or rubber) and their characteristic motion may markedly change. But man is made up of certain kinds of material—put together in certain ways. If he is hurled into action (as a result of stimulation) may he not exhibit movement (in advance of training) just as peculiar (but no more mysterious) as that of the boomerang?

"If the boomerang has no instinct to return to the hand of the thrower; if we need no mysterious way of accounting for the motion of the boomerang, if the laws of physics will account for its motions—cannot psychology see in this a much needed lesson in simplicity? Can it not dispense with instinct? Can we not say, man is built of certain materials put together in certain complex ways, and as a corollary of the way he is put together and of the material out of which he is made—he must act (until learning has reshaped him) as he does act."

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE OBSERVATIONAL METHOD TO EDUCATION

ELLEN AUGUSTA MAHER

EXPERIENCE in teaching and using psychological measurements with children of varying degrees of ability preceded the present study of sociological aspects as they function in education.

Psychological, educational, and performance tests are objective instruments. True, one makes a subjective judgment of the individual's performance. However, the results are factual—indicating quality and relation. The teacher's judgment may be obtained for each individual. This, too, may be expressed numerically, combined and ranked with other facts. The experiences which make this judgment of extreme importance are based upon observation of the individual in group relationship. The good teacher, like the naturalist, seeks an interpretation of the growing personality—"the emotivating, feeling, sentimental, instinctive, sustaining, energizing, executing, or vetoing function of mentality"¹

The more complete the study of each individual, the less results tend toward standardization—family and developmental histories, a study of home and neighborhood conditions, interests, likes, and dislikes are immeasurable factors contributing for or against normal adjustment. We patch this information together in our effort to understand the individual—usually the individual who has failed to adjust.

Today psychiatrists and educators are emphasizing the need of parent education. In the first years of childhood, negative impressions may be more readily changed and checked—hence the necessity for striving to start the individual on the positive road early in life. This procedure requires observation and interpretation of activities from the time of birth, but not all parents are equipped or trained to do this. Lectures and literature on child training reach few homes. The scientists have been thinking in terms of standards—normal time for walking, talking, and erupting of the teeth, etc. In a few homes comparisons of physio-

¹ Guy G. Fernald, *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, XV, 1

logical development may be made within the narrow range of the family. Unlike characteristics may be noted—one child seems extremely shy, another aggressive and daring, one has a constructive tendency while the other is destructive, but these comparisons again are made within the family group.

Habit clinics are helping to interpret individual behavior of the problem child. Could we not work on a larger constructive policy, and, during the child's attendance at kindergarten, develop a clearer understanding of childhood needs—both physical and mental—and interpret reactions in the light of the combined experience of mother and teacher?

While teaching a group of five- to six-year-old children, I endeavored to establish a relationship with the home that would help me to understand each child's background and give a more intelligent interpretation for reactions within the kindergarten group.

Kindergarten activities develop along three lines—physical, language, and handwork. The medical examination consists of height and weight measurements, examination of teeth, tonsils, adenoids, glands, etc. By the end of the first month, repeated observations had been recorded—responses to individual and group stimuli; medical examinations had been given, recommendations noted, and forwarded to the nurse. Every home was visited during this month for the purpose of meeting both parents if possible. This visit was made primarily to establish a friendly relationship between parents, child, and school. In summarizing the monthly records I found many observations serious enough to warrant immediate investigation. The following case illustrates this: Henry was enrolled in the kindergarten shortly after his fifth birthday. He was very well dressed and showed evidences of good care. He appeared to be unusually quiet, self-conscious, and timid. He preferred to work alone. This was evidenced from his choice of materials during the working period. He selected a corner of the sandbox for his own use, and did not attempt to use the building blocks, the most popular material in the room. He enjoyed using paper, paste, and crayons at an individual table. The most outstanding success (in handwork) was his construction of a covered wagon. He worked faithfully

on this project for three days, trying to reproduce one which he had seen in the moving pictures. He made no voluntary effort to converse with me or the other children; he was present at, but not a part of, group activities.

One day when the children were about to play games in the yard, a small piece of dirt lodged in Henry's eye. Consequently, it was necessary to send him to the nurse and excuse him from games. The very next day I noticed Henry standing alone, near the fence, while the other children were playing games. As I approached him, he started to rub his eyes and mumbled that "he guessed he had something in his eyes." Upon investigation I failed to find anything that could irritate the eyes. Soon the hands were removed and he watched the group in play. This was a very good example of the "conditioned reflex," but for Henry it was simply a means of escape. Fortunately, we needed a large ball and he was asked to go inside and find it. When he returned with the ball he was surrounded by the children and quite naturally entered the game. On the following day, Henry was given a task at the beginning of this period, with the definite object of preventing a repetition of the previous reactions.

The home was an extraordinarily neat, pleasant, lower apartment in a two-family house. Henry's grandparents lived in the upper flat. His mother appeared friendly and very social. His father was at home. The mother wished to have me meet him, but for some reason or other he did not appear. Later the mother said that "he was very timid." The father was a conductor, in charge of a car covering the same route for many years and "knew very few people," never speaking "first" to anyone.

As Henry's record showed that he too was timid, and recalling the mother's description of his father, I planned on my second visit to obtain information concerning Henry's development during the preschool years.

Henry was an only child, preferring to be with parents or grandparents rather than with other children. He had a history of chicken pox, measles, septic throat, whooping cough, and frequent colds. The family physician had recommended that the tonsils be removed, and his mother had planned to have tonsillectomy in the spring.

I referred to Henry's timidity and shyness. His mother stated that he had shown the same tendency to withdraw from the family; he had declined to eat at the table and had refused solid food until he was four years old. Up to this time milk, the main diet, was served in a bottle. The family went to the beach (during his fourth summer) and the mother became so conscious of Henry's "eating habits" that on returning she took definite steps to remedy this condition. With a doctor's advice and guidance Henry was trained to eat food and to join the family meals.

Henry enjoyed playing with his toys, but always alone. His mother sent him to kindergarten so that he might meet other children. He told his mother about the children and mentioned one little boy several times. As this little boy lived in the same vicinity, I planned to have him call for Henry each morning on the way to school. It happened that this boy was the eldest of a family of three and had become accustomed to responsibility. In the school, they sat near one another, worked at the same table, and gradually enlarged their group. This group experience was due to Henry's friend, for he was too social to enjoy the company of one person for any great length of time.

Each month's record showed increasingly better social ratings. At the end of the fifth month, he became ill and remained at home eight weeks. Frequent visits were made in the home so that he might feel that he was still part of the group. But it was only by skillful planning that another period of maladjustment was avoided. One noon, while out walking, his mother suggested that they stop at the school and see me. The children had left, but there were indications of the morning's activities scattered about the room. He studied these models and finally sat down and started to construct with building blocks. Henry's mother stated that she thought he would be ready to return the following week. Henry appeared the very next morning and apparently adjusted readily to the group.

The following indicates concretely the improvement that was made: He asked his mother to visit school on a certain morning, because he wished to have her see the activities which he had tried to describe. Henry was chosen to lead the games, and he selected and directed the games with which he was familiar. When

one child suggested a game which he did not know, he asked her to lead it. He took part in the dramatics and contributed to games involving measurement and use of vocabulary.

By both group and individual tests Henry tests practically at age. The morbidity history certainly indicated that he did not have a strong constitution. Social development is now about normal; that is, compared with the other children in this particular group. Contact with the home certainly helped in understanding and interpreting Henry's most outstanding difficulty—social adjustment. The intelligent cooperation established between home, child, and school was gratifying in its results.

After a month's study the following case showed definite need of help and guidance: A pretty little brown-eyed girl of five winters was brought or rather led to kindergarten on the first day by her twelve-year-old cousin. A pouty, negative expression clouded and concealed her attractiveness. She was most attractively and appropriately dressed. She was aggressive in all group activities, willful and decidedly inclined to disturb. If one child coughed, Caroline coughed and continued to cough, thus attracting attention. While others in the group were contributing, Caroline expressed her disinterest by moving about, playing with her neighbor, twitching and pulling her dress.

On the other hand, she was most skillful in developing projects and apparently very agreeable in helping those with less power. Her work showed originality, ability to create, and power to work persistently and consistently on a problem until completed. For over a week she patiently and painstakingly struggled to construct a piazza. Each rail was measured with the utmost pains and placed in upright position. Again this same courage was noted in constructing a jewelry box, constructing box, cover, and handle with extreme care and precision.

Caroline was living with her aunt. A younger brother was living with her mother in a near-by city. Her father, a traveling salesman, lived in an adjoining state. (No reasons were given for this separation.) Caroline lived with her mother during the first year of her life, with this aunt during the second year with her grandmother during the third and fourth years, and then returned to live with her aunt in order that she might attend

school. Her aunt appeared to be interested in Caroline and happy to have her living with her. This fourth home was attractive and very pleasantly situated. During the first visit Caroline proudly showed me "her own room."

This background speaks for itself. I made my second visit for the purpose of knowing how Caroline responded in the home. The aunt had observed that Caroline seemed restless and irritable during her first visit at two years of age. She again noticed this same restlessness and uncontrolled behavior at the beginning of this second visit. Her aunt felt that this was in part due to the fact that Caroline disliked her twelve-year-old cousin, and the dislike was mutual. She seldom mentioned her mother, father, or brother. She saw her mother at least once a month. The grandparents lived in another city, so no information could be obtained for that period. But the aunt had noticed that, after starting kindergarten, she was less restless and active and the one outstanding home problem seemed to be caused by her strong dislike for this cousin.

Evidently school now provided the outlet for her energies. Her dislike for her cousin was now expressed by annoying and refusing to obey while coming to school. If the cousin walked, Caroline preferred to run, running into the road and courting danger. A thorough physical examination revealed no serious defect. Examination by a psychiatrist revealed symptoms of chorea. A special vegetable diet, and definite periods of rest and play were recommended. Caroline was to attend kindergarten unless she disturbed other children.

Her clever handwork and willingness to assist others made her popular. I tried to make her feel that she contributed a great deal in this particular line, and we hoped that she might assist in the other work to the same extent. Confidence gained because of recognized success in one line gradually appeared in an effort to please in all lines. It happened that I passed Caroline and her cousin while they were on their way to school. The three of us talked over plans for coming to school and in Caroline's presence we "faced the facts"—trying to show her that because she lived so far from the school, in a district where there was a great deal of traffic, it was necessary for all the children to follow

definite directions, that her cousin was extremely kind in bringing her, and that if she did not obey, it would be necessary for her to remain at home. By the end of the fourth month Caroline was happier and a pleasant member of the group. She showed extremely good self-control in checking occasional outbursts. Her superior intelligence, special talent, and generosity in using it, plus social maturity gained by contact with so many people, made this particular type of treatment possible. Her aunt was most conscientious in carrying out the routine which the psychiatrist recommended.

The following case represents an entirely different problem—again a superior child, handicapped by physical condition, home environment, and social tendencies. A small frail little girl of five years reluctantly permitted her mother to enroll her in the kindergarten. She was timid, self-conscious, and shy, she preferred to watch rather than to take part in any activity. Her attendance was so irregular that, at the end of the first month, I scarcely knew her.

I was quite distressed after my first visit to the home. Her mother was untidy and disorderly, the home unclean and disarranged. As Margaret was neatly dressed, I was surprised to find this confusion. Her mother, too, seemed timid, shy, and reticent. The same untidy conditions were found when I made the second visit. I was interested in Margaret's failure to attend school, and called for the direct purpose of knowing the reason. Her mother appeared friendly and affable and gave the following information:

Margaret had eight convulsions during her fourth year. She was sent to the hospital and remained there for observation for eight weeks. The doctors "thought" that the convulsions were caused by some digestive disturbance, but were unable to give a definite cause. There has been no recurrence. The next winter Margaret had a severe attack of scarlet fever. She was again sent to the hospital, remaining ten weeks. Absence from school at this time was due to whooping cough. Certainly the morbidity history and observations of the home did not give a very hopeful outlook. In returning to school after two months' absence the same timid, shy, and self-conscious tendencies were apparent.

She made no voluntary contribution to any group activity. She still preferred to watch rather than participate, she worked alone and evidently enjoyed doing so. Toward the end of the third month she asked if she might have more time to finish her designs. This request furnished the first step in Margaret's social life. She had noticed that others had completed their work long before she did, but upon looking around we found some who desired to have more time, and so we planned to have these children form a little group in one section of the room. This was the beginning of her first group activity. I did not feel justified in urging participation in activities involving physical exertion, but it did seem unnecessary to allow this unsocial attitude to continue.

In visiting the home for the third time, I referred to Margaret's timidity, whereupon her mother said that "Margaret could hold her own with all of the children on the street." With this knowledge at hand I planned to stimulate and bring about very definite contributions through language.

Psychological examination showed that Margaret had superior intelligence. Reference to tests showed unusual language ability, an extremely good vocabulary, and ability to comprehend

Progress was slow, due to the desire to protect Margaret because of past physical conditions; frequently the mother was lax in getting Margaret ready in time to come to school with the other children; the home was not the type to help in training along social lines.

Doris represents another type of problem: aggressive, hyperactive, very popular (for short intervals), impulsive, immature, poor judgment, inattentive, willing, but apparently unable to follow directions. Doris lived with her grandparents. Her father was in poor health, in a sanitarium, dying shortly after Doris entered school. Her mother is young, attractive, and apparently willing to permit the grandparents to assume all responsibility. The grandparents live in a modest type of flat, very clean and attractively furnished. The grandmother voluntarily stated that Doris was "spoiled" and she hoped that contact with other children might help to eliminate this trait.

Observations for the second and third months indicated that she was "spoiled," that her greatest desire was to be the center

of attention. She used very immature methods to fulfill this desire. She enjoyed and preferred to work with other children, but in the end usually succeeded in disbanding the group, due to her suggestion that "something else" be started.

It seemed probable that laxness in the home and inferior mentality caused this type of reaction. Psychological tests showed a retardation of one and a half years. She failed consistently on questions involving motor control, judgment, and following directions. Test results indicated a scattered type of mind. I questioned this mental age because of the morbidity record—had had pneumonia twice, frequent attacks of tonsillitis, scarlet fever, and whooping cough. Tonsils at present are diseased and school physician recommended removal. While attending the kindergarten she became ill, left lung became infected (father died of tuberculosis, only brother died of tuberculosis). She returned to school for a month, ear became infected, and an abscess formed necessitating hospital care.

Naturally progress was slow and it was difficult to make definite plans for training, attendance being irregular because of sickness. However, records showed evidence of gain in poise and control. The parents recognized that some gain had been made, but not sufficient to recommend that she enter the first grade. With her consent it seemed best to recommend that Doris remain longer in kindergarten. With improvement along physical lines we may be able to obtain a more accurate mental age and to anticipate that training can be more regularly carried out.

The preceding cases illustrate types of problems readily discovered during the early part of each child's attendance in school. The following case illustrates the type when a difficulty is not noted until the fifth month of the school year. A summary of the records showed Harry to be a steady, reliable, dependable worker. Handwork improved, showing constructive and creative ability. His most outstanding contribution was in helping and directing in the cleanliness and care of the room. He showed superior ability in directing others to share in this responsibility.

During the fifth month, I noticed that Harry had difficulty in following directions. At this time I questioned hearing. Hearing was tested and according to report was normal. During the

next month attention, concentration, and interest seemed to deteriorate and interfered with normal functioning in group activities. He stood out as being the one who had the courage not to do what others were doing. This was noted when children were trying to establish habits; for example, emphasis had been placed on using the backs of chairs. Harry met this request by obviously being the only one to sit in a slumping position. In breaking the habit of "hands in pocket," Harry again made no effort to cooperate. One day when a visitor was present he refused to participate in a game when first called upon. Later in the morning he refused to take part in the language game. This unreasonable attitude was noted six times on different days, appearing only when visitors were present.

I inquired about Harry's older brothers and sisters who attended this school. One brother had a reputation of being "stubborn," but he could not be compared to an uncle who had been defiant throughout his school career.

By this time I had become well acquainted with the home. Harry's mother was pleasant, intelligent, and very willing to cooperate. There were five children in the family, with Harry the third in the group. The home was a very neat, attractively furnished, lower apartment in a three-family house. The father worked in a near-by factory. Harry had been a strong healthy baby and had been sick but once. During his fourth year he had chicken pox. I spoke of Harry's unusual ability and interest in caring for kindergarten materials and the general order of the room. His mother stated that he was a great help at home because of this general dislike of disorder. He had been trained to take care of his own toys and clothing and helped the other children in the family to care for theirs. I did not refer to Harry's stubbornness at this time. It was evident that Harry had not mentioned it either. In the meantime Harry, the children, and I faced the problem. After the first outbreak, the children seemed to accept his negativeness and paid no attention to him. Unfortunately I did not remember not to call on Harry in the presence of visitors, hence the reason for the six outbreaks. There was nothing to do but simply face the facts. Possibly the visitor stimulated his attitude, for Harry it was a means of centering

attention upon himself. The outbreaks appeared less and less. Toward the end of the year I conferred with his mother. This seemed necessary because of the danger of future attempts. She had discovered that he could not be "forced," in fact that he was "just like his father," refused to do a thing one minute and repentant the next. Harry craved attention and especially when there were visitors in the home. Harry was not antagonized by this method of approach. All we can hope for is that impressions made at this time will help to prevent future outbreaks.

After reviewing the records of sixty children, one is deeply impressed with the value of this type of study. In the kindergarten we see the effects that come as a result of having lived for five years. Negative reactions can be more readily treated at this stage than later. It is the kindest contribution which the kindergarten can make. The causes which were responsible for the appearance of these negative traits are more or less immediate. I question their value as a scientific contribution, for in many cases significant data are lacking. For example, Case II gives no clue to the original condition which caused the separation in the home. Ethically, I, a complete stranger, must accept information that is voluntarily given. Thus confidence is established and that is a big factor in establishing the best type of cooperation between home and school. Repeated and welcomed visits can only be made on this basis. The information voluntarily given certainly helped in understanding each child and formed the basis for the individual handling of each case. Add this type of observation to data resulting from physical and mental examination, and mental hygiene will function more adequately.

A PROJECT IN AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

H. M. HAMLIN

PROBABLY no widespread movement in education offers a better illustration of the successful application of modern theories of education than is to be discovered in the activities centering about agricultural extension and the Farm Bureau movement. It seems reasonable to believe that those in charge of our public schools, particularly in rural regions, might learn much as to the desirability and practicability of changing present school practices from a study of this new and different type of education which has so thoroughly established itself in the short space of fifteen years.

Let us note the program of a single state, Iowa, as described in the annual report for 1926 of the Agricultural Extension Department of Iowa State College.

We learn that during that year 1,725,530 persons, including duplicates, attended educational meetings and demonstrations. There were 17,949 boys and girls enrolled in club work; 1503 of the 1605 agricultural townships of the State carried some sort of an educational program under Farm Bureau direction; 87 extension specialists from the College gave full time to the work. County agricultural agents were employed in every county of the state. There were 17 home demonstration agents and 7 local club leaders. In addition to the paid workers, an army of 19,683 farmers and farmers' wives gave of their time to serve as leaders of educational projects.

This movement has established itself mainly in a period of agricultural depression and discouragement. It has progressed and expanded while the traditional type of rural education in Iowa, speaking generally, has been standing still. How can we account for its vitality? To what extent does it depend upon the use of principles which have been developed by our leaders in educational thought which our schools are still failing to utilize?

First of all, each educational project undertaken has definite, feasible, measurable objectives. The projects to be undertaken and the goals to be sought are determined by townships and counties at their annual meetings. At the end of the year, there is a definite checking of results. For instance, we find that in

1926 as a result of the nutrition project 10,744 families reported using more cereals, 12,828 families reported using more milk and milk products and 10,983 used more fruits and vegetables. In the same year in Iowa, pork production demonstrations on 422 farms resulted in the raising of 6.64 pigs per sow as compared with an average of five pigs per sow in the state at large. There were 15,060 persons brought in touch with these swine projects through meetings held for this purpose at the sites of the projects. Much more detailed facts than these are available with respect to each project undertaken, but these are enough to illustrate the care that is taken in setting objectives and measuring results.

The goals chosen are adapted to local needs and are accepted by local people. Many projects are carried on in a number of communities with very slight modification but desirable diversity of objectives is maintained. Results are measured out in the community. There is not the easy satisfaction with results in terms of temporary ability to repeat information with which our rural schools are commonly content. The Farm Bureau holds to the sensible view that information is satisfactorily taught only when it is habitually and customarily used.

The Iowa Farm Bureau program is designed to reach and help every member of the family. It has demonstrated the possibility of extending the period of education well into adulthood, offering what is probably the best illustration of adult education on a large scale which is to be found in America. At the same time, it has given much effort to supplementing the activities of the schools of the state through a vital club program for children of school age. It has found that a community progresses best when all units progress together, not when educational advantages are showered only upon the young. By providing a unified educational program for all in each community, it has done much to make for good relations between the old and the young at a time when the influence of the traditional school has largely been to create a gap between the young, with their superior education, and the old, with their usual conservative tendencies.

The Farm Bureau educational program has also been a broad program contributing vitally to each of the seven major aims of education. It has given first place to vocational training during

a period when our schools have largely neglected this phase. It has made much of training for the home and for parenthood. It has offered some of the best training for leisure activities and for citizenship that rural Iowa has experienced. It has a strong health program. It has recognized the demand of rural people for a balanced education at a time when some have tried to hamper them with a narrow vocationalism and others have scorned to give training in the more common affairs of their life.

The Farm Bureau program of education is a progressive, flexible one. It is tied up with one of the best programs of research to be found in any field and the results of research are introduced into the curriculum as soon as they can be regarded as reasonably safe. There is no such degree of responsiveness to research in the public school of rural Iowa.

While a broad program is attempted and much ground is covered, there is not the gorging with information that is encountered in most schools which have attempted to keep pace with modern developments by broadening their curricula. Since the program is based on the idea that there is a lifetime ahead for education, rather than a few short years into which it must be crammed, it goes more slowly, attempting to teach only what can be learned. In a given year, a farmer may learn a little more about keeping and interpreting his farm records; the next year he concentrates on problems involved in the management of his dairy enterprise. Because the life of the farm favors it, he has ample time to think over and assimilate the new ideas presented to him. When will our schools come to appreciate fully the time required for true learning in any line?

While the methods of teaching used in extension work have not always been the best, there has been a breaking away from procedures still common in our schools. Lecturing is in bad repute. Since participation is entirely voluntary, each extension teacher must be a master of interest control. Practices advocated must be made rational to be accepted; there is commonly much thought and discussion among groups receiving this instruction. There is usually a good balance between theory and practice, though sometimes this group has overemphasized practice as badly as the school customarily overemphasizes theory.

This far-reaching educational program is carried on with relatively few workers but these are well paid and capable. In this, it is setting an example to our rural schools with their horde of underprepared, underpaid teachers. The Farm Bureau has found it profitable to expand only as rapidly as finances were forthcoming to provide competent workers. Have we overexpanded in public education of the formal type?

The use of volunteer adult workers by the thousand offers another suggestion to the school. How many persons are there in every community who are able to teach and who willingly will assist, for the sheer love of teaching? And how much are we sacrificing because we fail to bring our young people in touch with those older persons outside the school, from whom they might learn so much that cannot be learned from our typically immature country teachers? The Farm Bureau has shown us how to use even the retired farmer as an aid in giving education, while our schools have quite consistently regarded him as the chief foe of rural educational progress.

Liberal appropriations have been made for the supervision of the educational program of the Farm Bureau, while rural schools have been spending almost nothing for supervision. The ninety-nine county agents of Iowa have over them four district supervisors and a state leader, the best men that have developed in the ranks. In addition, the local efforts of the agents, competent as they are, are constantly supervised by specialists in the lines being promoted. No educational project is attempted by the agent without the direction of the specialist concerned. But what rural teacher has a specialist on whom to call to assist her with her problems in teaching arithmetic or citizenship or health, problems quite as baffling as any the county agent faces?

The Farm Bureau movement offers also an excellent example as to the financing of rural education. Costs are shared by Federal, State, and local units. It is certain that, without State and Federal aid, there could have been no such rapid development as the past fifteen years have seen. There might easily have been utter failure. Yet we expect our Iowa rural schools to get along handsomely with less than one per cent of their funds coming from outside the local districts.

The fact that a new, widespread, and successful mode of rural education has developed does not mean that it has developed as a competitor of the public elementary and secondary schools. In fact, the one vigorous demand for better rural schools is coming, in Iowa, from the Farm Bureau. This seems to be true generally

Nevertheless, the school should begin to take note of the methods and results of its new colleague in rural education. Much that it has developed has direct applicability to the schools. Free from binding customs and traditions, the Farm Bureau has been able to try the new theories the educators have developed, and many have been found adequate. Our schools can now follow the pioneer

Certainly, the spread of this movement has demonstrated that the people in rural regions feel a need for a kind of education the schools have not been providing. To a considerable degree, the movement is a protest movement which would never have developed if the schools had been alert and responsive to their clientèle. Perhaps there will be an awakening to the fact that the type of public school to which we have been accustomed has no monopoly on education.

EXTRAOURRICULAR ACTIVITIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

O MYKING MEHUS

IN this paper¹ we shall give a brief summary of the methods of procedure and the findings of a study of extracurricular activities made by the writer when he was a graduate student and instructor at the University of Minnesota.² The study covers the year 1924-1925.

In the fall of 1924, we made a preliminary study in order to determine the best method to use in canvassing the whole student body of over seven thousand undergraduate students at the University of Minnesota. We asked 500 students to keep a daily log in which they were to indicate how they spent every minute of their time for a week and we asked 500 other students to fill out a schedule covering their activities for a week. Only 80 logs and 120 schedules were filled out by the students and returned to us. Since these students represented several colleges and different classes, it was apparent that there were too few cases to be of any value in drawing conclusions. It was also realized that it would be impossible to get the whole student body to fill out the logs since it involved too much detailed work to keep an accurate account of how a student spent his time during each day for a long period of time. It was decided that a questionnaire offered the best means of securing the information. Accordingly the schedule was thoroughly revised and developed into a questionnaire.

Ten thousand copies of this questionnaire were printed and distributed to the entire undergraduate student body. This was done during the latter part of the winter quarter and the first part of the spring quarter. In all the colleges the cooperation of the

¹ This paper was read before the Section on Educational Sociology at the annual convention of the American Sociological Society which was held in Washington, D. C., December 27-30, 1927.

² This study was made by the writer under the direction of the following faculty members of the University of Minnesota: F. Stuart Chapin, William Anderson, F. Engelhardt, W. F. Holman, and Donald G. Paterson. This is a brief preliminary report based on data which will be used by the writer in a doctor's dissertation. The complete report will be published by the University of Minnesota this spring.

deans and the heads of the departments was secured. In some of the colleges, the students filled out the questionnaires when they registered for the spring quarter, while in others they filled them out during part of the regular class period. The total enrollment in the colleges to which questionnaires were sent was 7,130. A total of 4,637 students, or 65.1 per cent, filled out and returned questionnaires.

A second questionnaire was prepared and sent to each of the campus organizations. A total of 151 organizations filled out and returned questionnaires. Since a large number of the organizations did not return the questionnaires, the writer made a personal canvass of the presidents, secretaries, or faculty advisers of the other organizations. Data on 149 additional organizations were secured in this manner, making a total of exactly 300 campus activities on which we secured data.

A study was also made of the birth rate and death rate of student organizations on the campus since 1887. It was found that there had been a total of 533 different organizations since 1887. Of this number 233, or 43.7 per cent had ceased to exist. The organizations divided themselves naturally into three divisions—the first division includes those that are purely local in character, as musical organizations, literary societies, publications, and miscellaneous clubs; the second division includes local organizations that have considerable faculty support, as oratory, debate, dramatics, departmental clubs, and athletics; the third division include those that are backed by national bodies or that have become institutionalized, as sororities, fraternities, honor societies, religious organizations, and student government. It was found that the death rate of the purely local organizations was 70.6 per cent; of the second group, 43.5 per cent; and the last group, 23.8 per cent.

In order to secure the attitude of the alumni in regard to the social and educational value of extracurricular activities, a questionnaire was prepared and sent out to 1000 of the alumni of the University of Minnesota who were graduated from 1910 to 1915 inclusive. A group of 500 of these alumni who had been especially active in extracurricular activities as students was selected. This group was chosen from the *Gopher*, the annual junior class

publication, and included the presidents of the different campus organizations, editors and managers of the publications, captains of the athletic teams, and members of certain organizations who chose their members on the basis of their prominence in campus activities. Another group of 500 was selected at random from the remaining alumni of the above years—every seventh name being selected.

In determining the extent of participation, the students were divided according to colleges, classes, and sex for comparative purposes. It was found that the upperclassmen engage in more activities than underclassmen, and that women engage in more activities than men. The senior year is the period of greatest concentration in activities. The median number of activities for the entire student body is four for men and five for women, including off campus activities. For on campus^a activities alone, the median is one activity for both men and women. For upperclassmen, the median is two for men and three for women for campus activities.

It is interesting to note that 51.7 per cent of the men freshmen students do not take part in any "on campus" activities, while 33.9 per cent of the men sophomores, 26.1 per cent of the juniors, and 23.4 per cent of the seniors are not engaged in any extracurricular activities on the campus. In four or more activities there is a gradual increase in the percentage of students participating as we go from the freshmen to the seniors. There are 1.4 per cent of the freshmen in four campus activities, 4.2 per cent of the sophomores, 5.5 per cent juniors, and 8.2 per cent seniors. In seven or more activities there are no freshmen, 1.3 per cent of the sophomores, 2.2 per cent of the juniors, and 2.1 per cent of the seniors.

This same general tendency is found among the women students. There was 43.3 per cent of the women freshmen who took part in no campus activities, 21.2 per cent of the women sophomores, 25.3 per cent of the juniors, and 23.4 per cent of the seniors.

^a "On campus" activities refer to athletics, oratory or debate, fraternity or sorority, literary societies, dramatics, musical, religious, publications, student government, and campus social clubs. "Off campus" activities include religious, social clubs, earning money, housework, theater and movies, parties and dances, concerts, and other recreation participated in off the campus.

In four activities there is also an increasing number of women students taking part in campus activities as we go from the freshmen to the seniors—2.7 per cent of the freshmen women took part in four activities; 6.7 per cent of the sophomores, 7.7 per cent of the juniors, and 10.5 per cent of the seniors were in campus activities. In seven or more activities we find the juniors having the largest percentage of participants; namely, 2.9 per cent. There are 0.7 per cent seniors, 1.5 per cent sophomores, and 0.2 per cent freshmen engaged in seven or more activities.

In the junior college classes we find a larger percentage of men than of women students engaged in no activities on the campus. While there are 51.7 per cent of the freshmen men who participate in no campus activities, we find only 43.3 per cent of the freshmen women who are not engaged in some campus activities. In the sophomore class we find 33.9 per cent of the men in no activities and 21.2 per cent of the women sophomores outside of campus activities. In the junior and senior classes, there is very little difference—26.1 per cent junior men and 25.3 per cent junior women in no activities; and 23.4 per cent senior men and 23.4 per cent of senior women in no campus extracurricular activities.

In regard to participation in specific activities, we find that about 40 per cent belong to fraternities or sororities, 35 per cent attend church services; 27 per cent attend concerts; 20 per cent take part in some form of athletics; 20 per cent take part in some religious activity on the campus; 13 per cent belong to social clubs other than fraternities or sororities; 7 per cent take an active part in student self-government organizations, 6 per cent spend some time on publications, 6 per cent belong to literary societies; 5 per cent belong to campus musical organizations, 4 per cent are active in dramatics; 2 per cent are in oratory or debate. About 30 per cent of the men and 20 per cent of the women earn part of their way through school, while 40 per cent of the men and 18 per cent of the women are entirely self-supporting. There is an increase in the percentage engaged in religious activities from the junior to the senior college. Women are more active than men in literary societies and student government. Men are more active than women in dramatics and music.

A comparison was made of the students prominent in activities with the honor students in scholarship. The prominent students were selected by asking each organization to list its ten most active members. The honor students were those selected by Kappa Phi Kappa, Sigma Xi, and other organizations in the spring of 1925. This gave us a group of 378 prominent students and 173 honor students, who filled out questionnaires. This was over 50 per cent of the total number of prominent and honor students on the campus. The summary of the results show that the large majority of the students in the prominent and in the honor groups are in the junior and senior classes; that these students participate in a larger number of activities than the student body as a whole does (the median number of activities on the campus for the student body is only one, the median for the prominent group is three, while for the honor group it is four for the men and five for the women); that honor students take part in more activities than the prominent group does, seems to indicate that at Minnesota, at least, the honor students are not bookworms who keep aloof from campus activities. In nearly every activity the prominent and honor students show a higher percentage of participation than the student body as a whole.

An intensive study was made of a sample group of 321 students selected as follows: 107 (57 men and 50 women) in five or more campus activities; 107 in two or three campus activities; and 107 in no campus activities. This study of the sample group shows that a larger percentage of the active men and women belong to fraternities and sororities than nonactive students. There are no significant correlations between the number of hours a student engages in campus activities and his scholarship. However, there is a correlation of about plus .40 between intelligence test percentiles and scholarship. In regard to scholarship and participation in extracurricular activities, it is of interest to note that the median honor point of the most active group is higher than the median honor point of the other two groups. The most active group has a larger percentage of its number with an honor point ratio of 2.00 or over (B or over) than either of the other two groups have.

Since there were only three freshmen in the most active group mentioned above, another study was made of 200 freshmen from the College of Science, Literature, and the Arts. Two groups of 100 freshmen each were selected. In the first group there were 50 men and 50 women who were in no campus activities, and in the second group there were 50 men and 50 women who were in two or three activities. The results were the same for the freshmen as for the upperclassmen; namely, that the more active group ranked higher in scholarship than the less active group.

In order to determine whether there was any significant difference in the number of activities participated in by graduates of the Twin City high schools (Minneapolis and St. Paul), where the University of Minnesota is located, and the graduates of the high schools throughout the state, a special study was made of the students in the Colleges of Science, Literature, and the Arts, Education, and Engineering. Analysis shows that there are no significant differences between the two groups with respect to the number of different activities in which they are engaged. However, a much larger number of Twin City than non-Twin City students are members of fraternities. This is especially true in the junior college years.

A special analysis was made of 904 officers of student organizations. These were grouped in three groups: first, those in one or two activities; second, those in three to nine activities; and third, those in ten activities or more. In every case it was found that the students engaged in a larger number of different activities also served on more committees and at the same time held more offices. This seems to show clearly that those engaged in many different activities are also more intensely active in each activity, as indicated by the number of committee positions and offices held.

A special study was made of the scholarship of students in different sorts of activities, such as athletics, fraternities, forensics, etc. This study showed that students with the highest scholarship were engaged in student activities of an intellectual sort (literary societies, religious activities, forensics, student government, and publications); those engaged in fine arts (music and dramatics) had the lowest scholarship record; while those engaged in social

activities (fraternities and sororities) and in athletics occupied an intermediate position in scholarship. The students in the intellectual activities ranked highest in the intelligence tests. The women ranked higher than the men in both scholarship and intelligence tests in every form of activity.

In closing we can only very briefly summarize the results of the alumni questionnaires. Four hundred and eight alumni out of the 1000 returned questionnaires. Two hundred and fifty answered the question which asked them to compare the extracurricular activities in educational value with classroom work which required the same amount of time. There was 38.5 per cent who were of the opinion that extracurricular activities are more valuable than classroom work requiring the same amount of time; 25.6 per cent considered them of equal value; while 36.4 per cent considered them of less value. In other words, 63.6 per cent of the alumni who answered the question, considered the extracurricular activities of equal or more value than regular classroom work requiring the same amount of time.

It must be remembered that all these 250 alumni were college graduates with ten to fifteen years of experience in actual life. In addition to their four years of college training, many of them had three or four years of graduate work. It is therefore significant when such a large percentage testify to the value of extracurricular activities. In analyzing these 250 alumni we find that there are 62 business men, 60 educators, 35 lawyers, 27 doctors or dentists, 23 housewives, 21 chemists, engineers, or interested in forestry, 13 religious workers, 5 writers, and 4 farmers. Only 28 per cent of the business men said that extracurricular activities were of less value than classwork (hour for hour) and 24 per cent said they were of equal value, while 48 per cent declared that they were more valuable. Only 30 per cent of the housewives said that extracurricular activities were less valuable than the same amount of time spent on classroom work, while 26 per cent declared they were of equal value and 44 per cent said they were more valuable than the classroom work to which an equal amount of time was given.

Thirty per cent of the religious workers said that extracurricular activities were of less value, while 8 per cent thought them to be

of equal value, and 62 per cent said they were of more value than the same amount of time spent on classroom work. Thirty-six per cent of the educators favored classroom work above extracurricular activities, while 32 per cent said they were of equal value and a like percentage said that extracurricular activities were of more value. Thirty-seven per cent of the lawyers held that extracurricular activities were of less value, while 29 per cent said they were of equal value and 34 per cent thought them more valuable. Forty-two per cent of those engaged in chemistry, engineering, or forestry said that extracurricular activities were less valuable, 29 per cent thought they were of equal value, and 29 per cent thought they were more valuable. Forty-eight per cent of the doctors thought that extracurricular activities were of less value than the same amount of time spent on classroom work while 22 per cent thought they were of equal value, and 30 per cent thought they were of more value.

We do not want to leave the impression that we feel that the opinion of the 250 alumni proves the educational value of extracurricular activities, but we simply wish to point out that some significance should be attached to the attitude taken toward extracurricular activities by mature men and women who have participated in extracurricular activities in their college days and who look back on them with a calm and mature judgment after ten to fifteen years out of college life. According to the replies received from the alumni, the chief value of extracurricular activities seemed to lie in the fact that they offered direct face-to-face contacts with people instead of the formal contacts of the classroom and that they helped to develop enduring friendships and brought about a sense of loyalty to their fellowmen.

The returns from the alumni questionnaire showed that there was a very close relationship between the amount of participation at the University in extracurricular activities and the amount of participation in the corresponding activities after graduation. It seems that both habits of thinking and acting as well as efficiency in technique are built up in participation in extracurricular activities and that these carry over into community activities.

KNOW THY PUPIL

HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD

IT has become a platitude that education is a mutual affair. The notion was long ago abandoned that a classroom is a neatly arranged group of little funnels into which ineluctable knowledge is poured from a reservoir on the platform.

If this is true of an educational nexus where both teacher and pupils embody the same cultural heritage and the same general environment, how much more true is it in those situations where the students represent a social setting entirely different from, sometimes almost diametrically opposite to, that of the teacher. Finally, the statement is still more pertinent in cases where teacher and pupils are not widely separated with respect to age and experience, but are of an approximately similar maturity.

This means that the need of mutuality and reciprocity in teaching reaches its climax in the sort of work usually referred to in this country as "Americanization," or adult immigrant education. The point is not so much that the teacher needs to learn from the student—though there is often ample opportunity for that—as that the teacher must react to the student, must feel his personality and his social significance, and must spontaneously adapt his methods to the material represented by the foreign pupil.

The difference is essentially that between teaching a subject, and teaching about a subject. For example, there is a certain type of sociology textbook, by no means unfamiliar even now, that devotes so much of its space to trying to teach what sociology is that it has very little left to teach sociology. So the notion is widespread that you can teach Americanism by teaching about America. Much of the failure of the early Americanization activities is traceable to the illusion that it is possible to assimilate a foreigner by teaching him American civics, American history, and the American way of cooking and taking care of babies. To learn Americanism the foreigner must see and feel America. And in order to bring this to pass, the teacher must be able, in a measure, to look through the alien's eyes and get the aspect of

things American as viewed through that medium, to put himself inside the alien's emotional complexes and sense the significance of phenomena as perceived through those channels.

Take an example: The teacher, desiring to implant in a group of Italian pupils something of the American love for wild life in the hope of checking their enthusiasm for filling a game bag with robins, thrushes, and warblers, draws an idyllic picture of a young man and a young woman out for a walk in the woods, reveling in the bright colors and tuneful songs of their feathered friends. Suddenly he observes a peculiar expression passing over the faces of his hearers. He takes this to be a natural reaction against what they regard as extreme sentimentalism, and redoubles his efforts to make his picture vivid and realistic. He is pathetically unaware that the sentiment back of that telltale expression is horror and disgust that the teacher should take for his illustration such a completely immoral piece of conduct as an unchaperoned walk in the woods on the part of a young woman with a young man as companion. Any distaste for the slaughter of useful and beautiful songbirds that the teacher might have succeeded in building up is completely engulfed in this greater scandal.¹

Again, imagine the leader of an adult club of Hungarians trying to enlist the support of the members in a community effort to close up a particularly notorious dance hall that is flourishing in the neighborhood. The speaker has worked up his case with care, and presents a careful analysis of the situation, including a rigidly logical summary of the evils resultant upon such a situation. He is conscious of making a very slight impression upon his hearers, but is quite unaware that his failure is due to his lack of understanding of the psychological make-up of his group. He does not know that in dealing with this particular people "the fundamental point of view that should be considered is this: the Hungarians are predominantly an emotional people. Irrespective of the education or lack of education that characterizes their mental equipment, the fact remains that their incidental or conscious actions are first of all directed by emotions of imagin-

¹ Bruno Roselli, "The Italians," *Immigrant Backgrounds* (John Wiley & Sons) pp 114-115

ative significance."² A few minutes of vivid, emotional appeal would have produced ten times more response than half an hour of labored reasoning.

Examples of this sort might be multiplied indefinitely. The teacher, the club leader, the social worker, the personnel director, can have no assurance of what mental image is conjured up by his words in the minds of his hearers unless he knows something about the way those minds act. His efforts to present America in an attractive, appealing, winning light may produce effects of a diametrically opposite character. This insight into his hearers' mental processes involves two things. First, a comprehension of the characteristic mental dispositions and inclinations, if such there be, that are traceable to the *racial* affiliations of the group in question. This is a somewhat debatable matter. It has never been conclusively demonstrated just how much of an individual's mental equipment is due to his physical heredity, nor just how much of that which is physically hereditary may be assigned to true racial characteristics. Doubtless, there are many features that fall within this category, and to the extent that they can be isolated and understood they are of primary importance in setting up constructive contacts with a foreign group. With reference to the second point, there is much less doubt. It is plainly evident that a very large part of every one's mental equipment is traceable to the social and cultural influences that have surrounded him from his infancy up, in other words, to his *national* background. Our mental reactions, as Walter Lippmann has so clearly pointed out, are largely governed by the pictures, or "stereotypes," that crowd our mental storehouse. These pictures are to a very great extent the product of circumstances that are exclusively environmental. As a consequence, people think primarily in accordance with the sum total of their previous social experiences. If you would know how they think, or understand why they think thus, you must be cognizant of the dominant features of that cultural history. And if you would produce tangible results through the medium of their thinking, you must know how the ideas you present will be transmuted by the mirrors and prisms of this internal equipment.

² Joseph Remenyi, "The Hungarians," *ibid*, p. 71

These principles obviously hold not only with reference to adults who have spent their childhood and youth in foreign lands, but also of boys and girls who have been born in the United States but whose home environment and atmosphere have been fixed for them by parents who themselves are old-world products. Indeed, in some ways the problem of the native-born child of immigrant parents is more acute and complicated than that of the adult foreigner himself, for they are subject to two conflicting authoritative influences, the Americanizing influence of the school and the Europeanizing influence of the home. No wonder they are spiritually torn asunder, and tend, as is amply demonstrated, to become the most disorganized and lawless element in our population. To offset this as much as possible the teacher needs to know how to shade her message into the tone of the home setting, losing nothing of its essential meaning, but presenting it in such a way as to create the least possible antagonism.

So there can be no doubt that in dealing with pupils of foreign origin, whether of the first or second generation, an indispensable prerequisite of success is a workable familiarity with the social history and background of the peoples from which they come

LIP SERVICE TO EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

STEPHEN G RICH

EDUCATIONAL sociology has attained a prestige sufficient to cause widespread lip service to it. This lip service is a prelude to leaving out all possible actual applications of the science.

Consider, for example, any of several dozen new courses of study, syllabi, or "monographs" that have appeared within the past year. Almost without exception there is a prelude, consisting of a statement of aims. Sometimes these aims are copied verbatim from the famous National Education Association statement of "Seven Cardinal Principles"; sometimes they attempt to be more detailed; sometimes they are the result of a questionnaire among all or some of the schools that the course of study is designed to serve. As a rule these statements of aims are entirely unobjectionable from the sociologist's viewpoint; rarely are they couched in the obsolete language of "transfer of training"; now and then they show decided insight into the legitimate purposes of any particular unit of school activity.

And then comes the anticlimax. The aims are not applied in the making of the course at all. Material that is a favorite with the person heading the group that writes the course is kept in, regardless of its irrelevance to any and every aim stated. Material that is new is left out, regardless of its relevance to one or more of the aims stated.

Thus, for example, the N E A's cardinal principle, "command of fundamental processes" is used as an excuse to drag back into courses in arithmetic artificial drill in excessive amounts on the purely mechanical operations, and to drag into the sixth- and seventh-grade operations with decimals that are fundamental only for the research physicist and the engineer. Lip service to the sociological side of preparing the pupil for progress has led to a reinstatement of the metric system in eighth-grade arithmetic, despite the fact that there is less evidence of any possible introduction of that system in this country in our own lifetime now than at any time in the past fifteen years. It will be evident to the sociologist that the sociological criteria were mentioned, for-

gotten, and then remembered as an excuse for doing an unwarrantable piece of work.

Such is the most common phase of lip service to educational sociology.

Another common lip service is to parrot certain paragraphs in textbooks on education as to the social fitness of a child for a particular grade or curriculum, and then to classify children so as to suit the whims of the parents or the fads of the school administrators. The sociological idea is used as an excuse for holding back a bright child, or advancing a huge, tall, heavy, dull one; it is used as an excuse for herding the incompetent high-school pupils into the commercial course, where they are taught:

Typewriting (which few of them use)

Shorthand (which most of them promptly forget)

Bookkeeping (which few ever get a job in which to use)

Commercial arithmetic (most of them only need to know how to add up a sales slip)

Still another lip service rendered to educational sociology is to use garbled excerpts or misunderstood quotations from various articles as a convenient excuse to avoid working with mental tests or educational measurements. Educational sociologists are properly skeptical of the implications that psychologists have drawn from mental-test results; and they are equally properly skeptical as to the validity or relevance of many results of achievement tests. These skepticisms are used as rationalizations for all sorts of reactionary practices, ranging all the way from strict adherence to old-style essay-type examinations to complete approval of rigid regimentation and lock-step progress through the grades.

Yes: We have lip service to educational sociology. Our science has acquired enough prestige to secure that recognition.

We have the sociological fact that the young adolescents form a social group distinct from and almost antagonistic to the grade-school children; we have the use of that as an excuse for organizing pseudo "junior high schools" that are neither junior nor high, but simply the seventh, eighth, and perhaps ninth school years housed together, receiving exactly the same old inadequate type of schooling that gave rise to the genuine junior high schools. We

have the sociologically determined and approved principle that health is a prime purpose of education; we have therefore courses of study and textbooks (even by educational sociologists) that are merely compendia of information about health, without a real effort to establish the health attitudes and practices.

Lip service once more.

Or is this merely the necessary first stage in the extension of the influence of educational sociology into actual school practice? If it is the latter, let us hail rather than bewail the situation. There are many who take this hopeful view, and the writer would like to join them. But, unfortunately, he cannot. He is convinced that the present situation of lip service is one that will delay greatly the application of educational sociology to school practice. The habit is now being formed among school people of thinking that the criteria of educational sociology are to be stated and then to be either neglected or used as rationalizations. With such an attitude prevalent, we shall have to wait for still another generation of school people before the actual application can be made.

The criteria of educational sociology are now sufficiently definite to be usable by curriculum makers and textbook writers as definite controls as to what should or should not be included. To the credit of textbook authors, let it be said that several of them have had the courage to apply sociological criteria consistently and almost ruthlessly in the choice and arrangement of content. But curriculum makers have lagged far behind.

It would, for example, be possible today for a group, or one individual if he combined in himself both the knowledge of sociology and that of physics necessary for the task, to make a course of study in physics which would entirely eliminate the huge mass of material, necessary only to "logical completeness" and in no way educative for nine out of every ten pupils, that clogs all high-school courses in physics. Such a group or person would take all items of physics that are taught, have recently been taught, or reasonably could be taught as high-school physics, and would apply to each the criteria in hand. Let us suppose he used the seven N. E. A. Cardinal Principles. Coming to "Lenz's Law," he would ask:

"Does this contribute to the command of a fundamental process?" "If so, to which one?" "Does it contribute to health?" "Does it contribute to vocation?" "If so, to which vocation and for which pupils?" "Does it contribute to worthy home membership?" "Does it contribute to desirable use of leisure time?" "If so, how?" . . . and so on through the list. If the item definitely contributed towards any one of these, either directly, or as a key principle enabling the pupils to understand something that directly contributes, Lenz's Law would be included. Otherwise, away with it . . . it is illegitimate content for high-school physics.

This would not be lip service: this would be genuine use of educational sociology.

INQUIRY

I

The tendency to desire and formulate a code of "professional ethics" for teachers has been developing in recent years. As a rule it has been the administrators who have developed such codes; and the codes have dealt with the duties of the classroom teachers towards their superior officers. *Are such codes justifiable, and should they not apply also to the superior officers in their relation to the teachers?*

Effective professional or trade codes of ethics exist only where the particular calling has developed through either some sort of guild organization, where it has developed through a period of labor unionism, or where it is necessarily carried on within a close corporation embracing all practitioners in a locality. The medical profession illustrates the first type; the journeymen bricklayers the second; the stockbroker the third. Outside of groups with these antecedents, formulated codes of ethics for a calling serve merely to harass those with a social sense of fair dealing, without in any way binding a large number of less scrupulous members of the calling.

Education has not developed through any of these necessary social forms for effective ethics, and therefore it is probable that no code will be enforced by general consent. There exist no means by which unprofessional conduct can be made so disastrous for the culprit as to deter him from it. It is, therefore, largely a work of supererogation at present to develop any such code.

An added difficulty and one that only the sociological point of view can expose, is that all professional codes in education are "handed down from above." They are uniformly the product of administrators, and represent what the administrators find most desirable for members of their corps. Incidentally, such codes reflect the restrictions which the employing bodies put, through their administrators, upon the practitioners. A type case is the almost universal presence in such codes of an interdiction against "partisan activity." Doubtless, if the practitioners made the code, it would state that "Whatever a teacher does outside of

school hours, so long as it does not interfere with her professional work or harm the school organization of which she is a member, must be allowed." This is the standard which exists among medical men, lawyers, engineers, etc.

If we are to have an adequate and enforced code of professional ethics for education, it must:

(1) Be the product of a guild or labor-union organization of the profession. Any such organization is out of the question in America, though it exists in Great Britain.

(2) Be the work of practitioners, not of administrators

(3) Be reciprocal binding upon administrators as well as upon practitioners. Failing this, it will be but a slave code, to hold down the ambitious and forward-looking among the practitioners.

Those former practitioners of education who have left the field for the commercial world, are unanimous in agreeing that the feeling of responsibility to treat subordinates justly is far more general in the business world than among educators. A definite spread of such a feeling, so that in all cases the educational administrator will presume, unless evidence is to the contrary, *the teacher is probably right* in any matter, will accomplish more towards securing professional ethical practice among teachers than any amount of making of codes. The nonethical teacher is such because she distrusts those in command.

STEPHEN G. RICH

II

At the Boston meeting of the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology, the statement was made that education in health is essentially a problem for the physician and nurse, not for the teacher. *Is this attitude a safe criterion in education?*

The statement under consideration is not only an unsafe guide in education, but it is contrary to fact. It infers that the physician and the nurse are to be classed as educators; and this the individuals themselves would not admit. While to some extent by virtue of their association with people, and particularly with children, some education is an inevitable outcome, they are not interested in education as such, nor has their training been in that field.

Health as a definite social asset has never been emphasized in the training of medical students. Even today the bulk of medical training is in terms of diagnosis and cure rather than prevention. Physicians are well aware that for them to emphasize the truths of preventive medicine the human race would by this means make slow progress in the promotion of health. They are equally certain that the time to develop habits and attitudes is in childhood.

The object of an individual medical examination is to determine the state of health, and that of examining a group of pupils is to note individual physical ailments, and the possible presence of communicable disease within the group. Cases requiring medical service are usually referred to the family physician. The activities of the school nurse are often limited to first aid, advice as to the physical care of the child, and conditions of uncleanness. While these activities are most essential to child welfare they can never be considered health education. Medical inspection has never been adequate and can never be adequate to do the whole work of education in health. Medical inspection being provided only at given times during a school year is entirely inadequate as a means of education. The teacher is capable of observing possible physical defects and unfavorable physical conditions to a far greater extent than has been her practice. Teachers should be encouraged and expected to examine for hearing, pediculosis, cleanliness, bad teeth, vision, adenoids and tonsils, skin infection, malnutrition, nervousness, and indications of communicable disease. All cases will of course be referred to the physician for diagnosis. Without specific knowledge as to individual needs, the teacher is not in a position to proceed intelligently in the process of health education. The teacher, being with the children daily, is expected to note individual needs and render immediate service by referring particular pupils to the attention of the physician or nurse who otherwise might overlook them entirely.

Health is primarily a matter of education and essentially a school function. first, because the progress of the child depends directly upon his physical condition, and, secondly, because it depends on the observance of specific practices related to nutrition, exercise, sleep, recreation, cleanliness, and the like. These

practices in turn depend on specific habits, adequate knowledge, and appropriate attitudes of healthy living. The development of habits, knowledge, and attitudes that will improve and control the behavior of the child is the purpose of the school and the function of education.

One who is familiar with the schools and the educational process is well aware that health problems undertaken by the physician and nurse without the necessary follow-up work can never result in the development of adequate habits and practices. Experience has shown that if health education is to become a reality, it will result from the activities of the school and particularly those of the classroom. A survey of child habits and practices made by the teacher is the basis for health instruction and health activities.

Health education must concern itself with (1) the instruction of parents and other adults in knowledge of healthy living; (2) the instruction of children in practices of healthy living; (3) organization of children for health activities; and (4) physical education in so far as it is related to health. Health education, then, is primarily the function and problem of the teacher, with such assistance as the physician and nurse may be permitted to render.

III

Are church schools desirable?

By church schools we here mean schools covering the usual elementary or high-school curricula, but owned, operated, and staffed by a church organization. Such schools usually add to the usual curricula instruction in church doctrine, and often also in morals. Part-time (afternoon) schools such as Talmud Torahs, confirmation classes, etc., are excluded.

(1) Instructional conditions. Provided the church schools maintain as effective instructional conditions and do as effective instruction as the public schools, no objection can be raised. The taking of half an hour or an hour a day for religious instruction may or may not mean a loss of instructional effectiveness in the usual curriculum. The general tendency to sacrifice lessons in the usual curricular units for extra religious instruction, or for religious exercises on church holidays and the like, undoubtedly

adds up to a total that requires a greater effectiveness or speed in instruction than public schools furnish

As a general rule, church schools incline to be less ready to take on improvements in curricula, methods, equipment, etc., than public schools. Church-school people are often a bit boastful of the economy with which their buildings are erected, this in many cases means that advantageous instructional equipment is omitted

(2) Hygiene. Church schools, as a rule, are more apt to insist upon old-fashioned "strict discipline" than are public schools. This means as a rule, a premium on immobility; hence muscular weariness among the pupils. Church school buildings as a rule are as well ventilated, as well sanitated, etc., as those of similar date built for public schools. Health education does not appear to be quite as well developed as in public schools; and certainly health inspection, school-nurse service, and the like, are less frequent in church schools than in public schools.

(3) Isolation of group. Throughout all church schools there appears to be an entirely unconscious but inevitable tendency for the pupils to be inculcated with an attitude of despising the public-school children. The associations and friendships formed in school are the same as those formed in church: hence there is apt to be a degree of isolation of the pupils from participation in the life of the community as a whole. This is accentuated by the fact that almost all church schools require payment of tuition and do not furnish books and supplies free. A degree of "economic snobbery" is thus produced

(4) Attitude towards a changing social order. The churches are essentially guardians of the "eternal verities." Accordingly, there is a general attitude of resistance to change through all church activities. Pupils brought up in such an attitude are thereby given a mental set which is likely to prejudice them against social changes, however desirable. It must be admitted that many public-school systems are equally illiberal.

(5) Competence of staff. Except in Michigan, where teachers in any school, public, church, or private, must have the state certificates, church schools tend to have instructional staffs with somewhat less training.

To sum up: Sociologically, the church schools must be considered somewhat less effective means of education than the public schools, and open to disapproval in isolating their pupils to some extent from the community as a whole. It is probable that most of the charges made against them by violent opponents are not true.

Historically, the church school must be regarded as a survival from the era in American history previous to the development of public schools. It survives mainly among groups who have an intense loyalty to their church; and the proportion of its pupils who are of American parentage is negligible in most cases. It is probably an institution that will slowly die out unless attacks upon any particular church should strengthen the solidarity of that body.

STEPHEN G. RICH

RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible, descriptions—of all current research projects now in process in educational sociology and those of interest to educational sociology in kindred fields. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES AT WITTENBERG COLLEGE

An investigation is being made at Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio, under the direction of Professor O. Myking Mehus, department of education, in regard to the extent to which students are participating in extracurricular activities. Last fall a questionnaire was filled out by the students. On this questionnaire they indicated what activities they were in, what offices they held, and gave an estimate of how much time they spent on each activity. At the end of the first semester the registrar will give the scholarship quotient of each student for the semester. The intelligence score rating and the physical examination record will also be tabulated.

Tabulations are being made to show how many students in each class (divided according to sex) participate in no activity, one activity, two activities, etc.; how many students participate in each kind of activity, as athletics, fraternities, musical, religious, forensics, literary societies, etc. A special study will be made of all students who hold offices or are committee members, all students who earn money while attending college, all students in a particular kind of activity, as athletics or fraternities, to determine the kind of students who are found in these groups from the standpoint of mental ability and scholarship.

RESEARCH PROJECTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO

Immigrant Adjustment

A study of the cultural adjustment of the Polish immigrant group in Buffalo has been in progress at the University of Buffalo for the past eighteen months. The study has been made by Professor Niles Carpenter, in collaboration with Mr. Daniel E. Katz,

a graduate student at Syracuse University, with the assistance of a number of Polish-American teachers, students, and social workers. It has been financed by the Committee on Ethnic Factors in Community Life of Brown University, of which Mrs. B. B. Wessel is research director. The objective of the study has been the devising of a technique for measuring the attitudes and activities involved in the process of acculturation of a typical immigrant group. A preliminary study was made in 1926 (see *Social Forces*, September, 1927). A second study is being carried on at present. Throughout the study, an effort has been made to obtain objective, quantitative measurements, so as to avoid subjective coloring by the interviewer, and—except where the subjective enters into the data sought—by the interviewed. For example, the section of the questionnaire dealing with language adjustment contains a graded series of passages in English and Polish, which the person interviewed is requested to translate. Again, the section on knowledge of traditions contains a list of brief biographies of notable Americans and Poles, and accounts of Polish and American national holidays, each of which the person interviewed is asked to identify. The questionnaire covers about fifteen pages and takes an hour to complete. It is hard to estimate the success of this method at this stage. However, such findings as have been tabulated seem to arrange themselves into typical distribution curves.

Studies of Family Disassociation in Random Sample Families

For about three years, the department of sociology has been collecting case studies dealing with various types of family problems. These studies have been secured from students taking advanced courses in sociology and deal with families which these students know intimately through various primary group contacts. The problems presented run all the way from petty family squabbles to complete family disorganization. It is felt that cases gathered from these sources are of peculiar value in that they are not drawn from court or social agency records, and, therefore, represent what might be called a random sampling of a typically urban community. That is to say, most family cases that are available for sociological study have been made available just

because they have been brought to a family welfare society, a clinic, a court, or some sort of agency dealing with a specialized type of maladjustment. Such cases are, therefore, not typical in that they are always associated with such type of maladjustment as is necessary to get them into the case records of some social agency. The case studies in the series being collected at the University of Buffalo compare unfavorably with the social agency records in that they are relatively incomplete and are not prepared by trained social workers. It is felt, however, that they make up for these defects in their greater representativeness. These studies are being collated and prepared for possible publication by Professor Niles Carpenter and Miss Gwendolyn Doughton, graduate assistant in sociology.

Project Studies in Urban Sociology

Courses in urban sociology have been offered for the last two years at the University of Buffalo and in a summer session at the University of Colorado. The assignments to students in these courses have included project studies of typical American urban communities with which the students have had some first-hand contact. Studies of the social and economic history of the students' own "home towns" have proved particularly profitable. Some of them appear to represent genuine source material in American social history. Some of these reports are being embodied in the forthcoming work on urban sociology by Professor Niles Carpenter, which is to be brought out during the current year (Longmans Green and Company)

READERS' DISCUSSION

EDITORIAL NOTE *This department is designed to be an open forum wherein full expression will be encouraged upon all questions within the field of THE JOURNAL.*

PROFESSIONAL ETHICS IN SCHOOLS OF EDUCATION¹

It is customary in certain schools of various professions to offer courses in professional ethics. The usual course consists of lectures by an experienced member of the profession upon the code of ethics which has been adopted and upon other problems of professional relations. I am bold enough to say that these courses are not generally regarded as of great significance. They are sometimes very short and often crowded into an already overloaded curriculum.

Yet I am convinced that a professional school has the responsibility of giving systematic attention to some of the major aspects of professional relations. I therefore submit, at least as a basis for discussion, an outline of a method for a thorough consideration of the problems of professional ethics in schools of education.

The objectives of such consideration, whether in a formal course or in any sort of a continuing discussion group, should obviously not be to secure adherence to any particular code or method of attaining control over professional relations. That seems to be the aim of many of the lectures which I have mentioned above. I would state the objectives altogether differently. They should be: (1) To consider the types of critical situations which men and women in the educational profession are encountering today; (2) To endeavor to discover the effective methods of defining those situations for the guidance of members of the profession; (3) to try to evaluate the techniques of social control which the educational profession might use in order to improve professional relations. In short, it should be a course or discussion group in the problems of social control, beginning with a fairly adequate description of the social situations which those in the profession find of most concern. Assuming that the group considering these matters contains a considerable number of persons who have taught, it is obvious that the enterprise should be one in which the students have a large part in assembling materials out of their experience.

¹ Discussion by Benson Y. Landis

A systematic consideration of the matter may be divided roughly into three main parts:

(1) The inventory of social situations which are of concern. Considerable time may be given to this. Those in the group should write descriptions of situations which they have encountered, involving such matters as conflicts between members of the profession, the relations between educators and public agencies, etc. Some materials are available in print. Certainly the faculty and students in any school of education can gather considerable material here. This would be an assembly of cases, and after a few years a deposit of cases of considerable range would be made. These cases should be classified and fully discussed.

(2) With a body of case material available, one could take up certain typical situations and consider how they should be defined. Individuals in the group may express their opinions as to what should be done, for example, in a conflict situation. No doubt there may result fairly clear statements of what the proper procedure should be in many of the cases. Where there is disagreement as to what the procedure should be, it will be worth while at least to discuss the claims of the contending groups and fully record the deliberations.

We may also try to learn from the experiences of the organizations within the educational and even other professions.

(a) We may assemble what evidence we can of the effectiveness of decisions of commissions of professional ethics in regard to particular cases. These decisions have become precedents in a few professions.

(b) We may consider evidences of the effectiveness of the numerous codes of ethics which have been formulated by educational and other organizations. Why have codes been adopted? What happens after they are adopted? In what sort of language have they been framed? Should codes be adopted? Should codes be statements of principles or should they be specific rules applying to particular situations?

(c) Should there be a combination of case studies and a code of ethics, as obtains within a few organizations within and without education?

(3) What techniques of social control are necessary for the observance and enforcement of approved definitions of situations? Here can be taken up such questions as the function of organization in getting control over group behavior; what kinds of organizations are needed among educators (here the teachers' union movement should receive full attention); what degree of control should organizations among educators strive for—should they put their emphasis only upon education to secure observance of approved procedures or should they develop judiciary and disciplinary agencies to enforce standards; what lessons can be learned from the experiences of other professions; are there possibilities in new ventures involving interprofessional efforts; if so, what might be attempted? This would be a search for satisfactory statements of the objectives of professionalism. It would lead into its limitations, diseases, advantages. This search would not be unlike that for the objectives of education, and just as difficult.

In taking up these questions (and of course I do not pretend to have sketched everything that is of importance), we shall find plenty of resources for some and meager materials for others. In general, we may say that we shall draw whenever we can upon the history of education, upon the methodology and materials of sociology and social psychology, upon investigations of professional and other social ethics, upon the opinions of educators of long experience and of the students in the group, upon the experiences of organizations within education and other professions, upon the development of professionalism among educators in other countries. I believe that the approach which I outline is mainly one to the study of behavior of a group and that it is the opportunity of the educational sociologist to organize systematic considerations of professional ethics. I have consulted with some educators, however, and all but one have agreed with me on this point. The one who disagreed is prominently identified with nursing education and contends that nurses must work out their problems alone, without calling upon the sociologists. I, nevertheless, contend that no profession should "go it alone" and that by participation in such a process as I have outlined, drawing upon the materials indicated, students in schools of education should acquire resources and equipment which would help them in their task of building the profession of education.

BOOK REVIEWS

Plane Geometry, by WILLIAM W. STRADER and LAWRENCE D. RHOADES. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company, 1927, xvi + 399 pages.

Merit in a textbook in geometry, in the opinion of the reviewer, is determined by the nature of the introduction to demonstrative geometry, by the skill with which the pupil is instructed in methods of discovering and establishing facts, by the abundance of well-graded exercises, by the treatment of the great foundational or basal theorems of geometry, and by the provision for testing pupils' achievement to do original thinking.

The authors have given careful attention to the acquisition of the vocabulary, meanings, and skills which constitute preparation for demonstrative geometry. The large number of original exercises is perhaps the most outstanding feature of the book. The authors' treatment of tests appears to be somewhat loose, particularly with respect to diagnostic tests.

A great many illustrations of geometric forms in architecture and industry have been included, some of which seem to have no bearing whatever on demonstrative geometry (see pages 18, 33, 157, 186, 343). The format of the book is particularly good.

J. ANDREW DRUSHEL

High School Administration, by HERBERT H. FOSTER. New York and London. The Century Company, 1928, 665 pages.

Professor Foster has given us a comprehensive and satisfactory presentation of conventionally successful secondary-school administrative practices. The book opens with a discussion of ideals and aims and an explication of ten fundamental principles of secondary-school administration. It then deals with the high-school principalship and the teaching staff, the pupils and their needs, the curriculum, and the school life. Finally, it goes very thoroughly into the problems of management, high-school finances, the keeping of records and reports, and the external relationships of the high school. Much attention is given to the problems of the small high school.

The volume is adequately equipped with suggested problems for class discussion, diagrams and charts, and specimens of school records and reports. The appendices include a valuable, fifty-three-page bibliography, an account of the Dalton Plan, and other helpful material.

This book will not lead any young administrator into trouble; it will give him safe and concrete guidance. On the other hand, it will scarcely encourage him to pioneer, to adventure, to experiment. It may encourage him to invite his teachers to consider their problems and to offer their advice to him regarding educational and administrative matters. It suggests to him that parents should be encouraged to assist the school in getting more adequate accommodations. But it gives little consideration to the school as a community institution. It will scarcely inspire any vigorous policy of curriculum adjustment or of community cooperations in dealing with the educational problems of adolescents. In a word, it treats of secondary schools of today; it gives us little help in attaining better schools for tomorrow.

PHILIP W. L. COX

Suicide, by RUTH SHONLE CAVAN. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928, xxvii + 359 pages.

In the light of the conflicting opinion and theory that arose out of what the newspapers a year ago were terming the "student suicide wave," those who have to deal with the adolescent personality as teacher, adviser, or parent will find this volume of absorbing interest. Dr. Cavan, one-time research fellow at the University of Chicago, undertook the research published in this volume "because of an interest in human nature in the midst of perplexities." The treatment is at once sympathetic and soberly scientific.

Part I deals with suicide and social disorganization. Dr. Cavan notes that, with few exceptions, the suicide rate is mounting among all civilized peoples, and that this increase shows little correlation with climate, race, or religion. While in the United States the urban rate is somewhat higher than the rural rate, the rates of cities bear little relationship to their size, and in the East many rural districts have rates exceeding those of adjacent cities. A study of primitive peoples, with their very rigid social organization, reveals a negligible amount of suicide. A detailed study of Chicago demonstrates that within the city the suicide rate varies tremendously from community to community. In general the suicide rate is high in those communities of the inner city where life is mobile and social disorganization is prevalent—high suicide rates correlating with slum and lodging areas, family disorganization, poverty, pawn shops, murder, drug peddling, deaths from alcoholism, and vice. Suicide, the extreme of personal disorganization, correlates with the mobility and anonymity, promiscuity and conflicts of social codes and cultures which mark the areas within the city of extreme social disorganization.

Part II deals with suicide and personal disorganization. Suicide is more than a social phenomenon, it is also a personal experience. When adjustments fail, there may occur a complete breakdown of morale, inability to satisfy dominant wishes, and consequent personal disorganization. In certain types of personalities, notably those characterized by lack of objectivity, fixity of idea, mental conflict, and psychotic symptoms, personal disorganization may result in suicide. Dr. Cavan skillfully traces this process in the diaries of a number of suicides. The chapter on incipient suicides, those who in temporary crises wish for death, will be especially interesting to the adviser of the adolescent. While the symptoms of the suicidally inclined personality appear in childhood and adolescence, the statistics conclusively demonstrate that children and adolescents are definitely nonsuicidal. Student suicide waves, like crime waves, exist in the imagination of the press. A final chapter discusses the control of suicide. An excellent bibliography is appended.

This volume is one of a series of studies of contemporary urban civilization financed by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and directed by the committee on social research of the University of Chicago. Other notable volumes in the series are Burgess, *The Urban Community*, Thrasher, *The Gang*, Mowrer, *Family Disorganization*, and Gosnell, *A Study of Non-Voting*.

HARVEY W. ZORBAUGH

Clinical and Abnormal Psychology, by J. E. WALLACE WALLIN.
New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927, xxii + 649
pages.

In his introduction, Dr Cubberley has so admirably stated the purpose of the volume that he will bear quoting.

"That there are thousands of children in our public schools today for whom the regular classroom procedure is but poorly adapted, and who are gaining but little from attendance at the school, every intelligent educator knows The compulsory education law has placed them in the school and holds them there, but their attendance is not productive of satisfactory results. What they need is, first, a careful scientific examination and diagnosis, that will locate defects interfering with proper school progress, the prescription of remedial treatment, and then specialized instruction in classes in which they can make what is, for them, satisfactory educational progress . . .

"It has been especially difficult for the educator to handle these problem children, in part because he has lacked specialized classes, but largely because his behavior has not been such as to enable him to recognize their defects, or to indicate what is best to do for them once their defects are revealed. . . There is no hope, either, that with time we shall be able to include such training in his professional preparation. The knowledge called for is far too extensive and far too technical. Just as we have in turn added the special subject-matter teacher, the school nurse, the visiting teacher, the school health officer, and the school dentist to our educational staff, and all for the purpose of enabling the classroom teacher to make her instruction more effective, so shall we in time add specialists in the diagnosing of mental and developmental defects, and in the prescribing of remedial treatment and instruction for the problem child forced into our schools by the compulsory education law.

"The new specialist will be called a clinical psychologist, and it is the work of this new educational and psychological expert that the present volume describes"

The school library will do well to put this work at the disposal of its psychologist and visiting teacher. It is the best single handbook on the procedure of the behavior clinic yet published. On the shelf beside it should go, however, certain volumes to supplement it. The twenty-seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education contains invaluable material on the significance of intelligence and intelligence tests. Healy & Bronner, *A Manual of Mental Tests* contains a description of materials, testing procedure, and norms for all the commonly employed clinical tests. *The Psychological Bulletin*, July, 1927, contains a complete bibliography of intelligence, educational, personality, and character tests. Slawson, *The Delinquent Boy* is the most reliable study of the relationship of intelligence to problem behavior. Healy, *The Individual Delinquent* is the classical work on the psychiatric aspects of the procedure of the behavior clinic. Burt, *The Young Delinquent* contains interesting comparative material from a London clinic. Healy, *Case Studies of the Judge Baker Foundation*, gives excellent examples of actual diagnosis and treatment, as does Sayles, *Three Problem Children*. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl* deals with the relationship of the child's social situation—family and community contacts, cultural conflicts, and the like—to problem behavior. Sayles, *The Problem Child in School* contains a quite typical set of case studies illustrating maladjustments in the school and the work of the visiting teacher. Reavis, *Pupil Adjustment*

gives examples of the adjustment of problem personalities to the secondary-school situation. These books will prove interesting to administrator and teacher as well as of practical use to the school psychologist. A number of them, notably Healy's *Individual Delinquent*, contain exhaustive bibliographies of the clinical literature.

HARVEY W. ZORBAUGH

The Golden Book, by DOUGLAS C. McMURTRIE, and other recent volumes from the press of Pascal Covici, Chicago.

In the days when the reviewer was a student at the University of Chicago there was on West Randolph Street a book firm by the name of Covici-McGee. It was one of those places where you could browse away the hours unhurried by overcivil clerks, among rare and old books, first editions, and the dusty and dismembered remnants of old libraries. In the back rooms young journalists used to forgather for pipe and talk. Harry Hanson and Ben Hecht often held forth there.

Evidently the old partnership has been dissolved. At all odds, the book review editor of this journal has from time to time received volumes from the Chicago press of Pascal Covici. Mr. Covici has passed from the vending of the books of others to the creation of books of his own. He is no ordinary publisher, however. He goes in for bookmaking as an art rather than as a business, specializing on fine bindings, and sensuous types and papers. And the manuscripts he publishes are highly selected—recently discovered ones by authors of past civilizations, essays on the history and art of printing and bookmaking, odd historical documents, first novels by his struggling friends of the Zola school, and erotica.

There have just come to the reviewer's desk two beautiful examples of the artistry of the press of Pascal Covici—*The Golden Book*, by Douglas C. McMurtrie; and the *Secret History of Procopius*, by Richard Atwater.

In *The Golden Book* Douglas McMurtrie tells "the story of fine books and bookmaking, past and present." Mr. McMurtrie, himself an eminent typographic artist, is well qualified to tell this story. Among the fascinating chapters of this volume are those dealing with ancient forms of writing, paper and its forebears, books in manuscript, printing in the Far East, woodcuts and block books, the invention of printing, the development of typography, the Venetian masters, the first book in English, the Golden Age of typography, Plantin of Antwerp, master of Roman type design, the French eighteenth century, in the track of Columbus, the press comes to Massachusetts, William Morris a typographical messiah, the processes of bookmaking, on type design, the title page, book illustration, the art of bookbinding, private presses, modern fine printing, and toward the golden book. The perusal of the story, crammed with historical fact and personal narrative, and beautifully illustrated throughout with examples of typography, illustration, decoration, and the like, is little less than exciting. The reviewer cannot imagine a person so dull as to be able to lay it down without a new enthusiasm for books and a new appreciation for bookmaking. It will give student and teacher alike a new sense of the romance of the tools they use; it will give the young apprentice to printing and bookbinding a new sense of the dignity of his art.

The Secret History of Procopius is an English translation by Richard Atwater, sometime fellow in Greek at the University of Chicago, and volatile columnist of

the *Chicago Evening Post*. It is an intimate revelation of the court of Justinian, of the colorful age when the Roman Empire in the hands of the Empress Theodora danced madly to its impending fall. It is more than a historical document, however—it is a modern example of fine bookmaking as described by Douglas McMurtrie in *The Golden Book*. Indeed, it is designed, both as to typography and binding, by Mr. McMurtrie himself. The type was specially designed for the book, and is hand set, impressed upon Imperial Shidzuoka Vellum. It is an adventure to turn its pages.

HARVEY W. ZORBAUGH

School Library Yearbook (Number One). Compiled by the Education Committee of the American Library Association
Chicago: American Library Association, 1927, 156 pages

The first school library yearbook includes the chief work of the Education Committee of the American Library Association over a period of years. Miss Harriet A. Wood, of the Library Division of the Minnesota Department of Education at St. Paul, Minnesota, is chairman of the committee.

The introductory pages of the new yearbook acquaint us with the A. L. A. school library objectives. It has three major divisions. Under Part 1 the country is divided into regions, each with a director for the collection of important items of news from State supervisors of school libraries and State education committees. Part 2 presents one of the outstanding objectives of the committee and its subcommittees, minimum courses of instruction in the use of books and libraries for all types of schools and colleges. Part 3 is a directory of school librarians who are members of the A. L. A.

It is planned hereafter to have the yearbook issued promptly so that the news of school library progress may be fresh. In the first yearbook the news ranges from many encouraging evidences of progress in certain regions to indications of a most limited development of the entire movement in others. Miss Nell Unger, reporting for the Eastern States, can cite much that is encouraging.

In New York State the ruling requiring the employment of school librarians in all schools with an academic enrollment of more than 100 has been put into operation. There are 414 school librarians devoting full or part time to library work who hold State certificates, and have had at least the minimum six weeks' training. New York City has taken a tremendous step in advance in requiring college graduation and library training for all future school librarians.

The minimum courses of instruction in the use of books and libraries for all types of schools and colleges, prepared by subcommittees, occupy nearly two thirds of the first school library yearbook. Having served as a member of the staff of three large university libraries where freshmen are not required to receive instruction in the use of the library, and having observed numberless instances during the past six years of ignorance in the use of libraries not only among undergraduates but amongst graduate students and faculty members as well, the present reviewer naturally welcomes minimum courses of instruction which begin as early as the first and second grades.

A selected bibliography of the entire history of school libraries should have been included in the first school library yearbook. Otherwise the present reviewer finds the book an encouraging addition to the literature of his profession.

JACKSON E. TOWNE

NEWS AND NOTES

"Attitudes Can be Measured" is the title of an article in the January (1928) issue of the *American Journal of Sociology*. At last the psychologist has recognized that there are other aspects of measurement, besides intelligence and achievement, which challenges his time and endeavor. Professor L. L. Thurstone of the University of Chicago, one of the leaders in the measurement movement, working with the staff of the Behavior Research Fund of the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research of Chicago has undertaken the problem of setting up a scale for the measuring of the distribution of attitudes of a group of persons on a specified issue in the form of a frequency distribution. The scale is so constructed that two opinions are separated by a unit scale. Professor Thurstone holds rather tentatively that the expression of an opinion has in it or back of it the evolution of a situation which is an attitude. To the educational sociologist this new approach to measurement is applauded, for he looks upon attitudes, ideals, appreciations, as the most significant aspect of all learning.

. . .

One of the outstanding contributions of the Boston meeting of the Department of Superintendence was the address of Governor McMullen of the State of Nebraska. For almost an hour the superintendents and their friends listened to this Western executive, who "knows his lesson well," on the urgent economic needs of the farmer and the farmer's child. It was a portrayal of what the Federal Government had done through legislation as the tariff for the manufacturer, land grants and subsidies to the railroads, and the National Bank Act and later the Federal Reserve Act for the banker, followed by a description of the farmer's desperation and desire for similar treatment by the Government of the United States. The Governor got a very sympathetic response from the Department of Superintendence and many were heard to say that his address was worth the trip to Boston.

. . .

The Daniel Guggenheim Fund has created a Committee on Elementary and Secondary Aeronautical Education. This Committee is composed of seventy-five persons organized into two groups, a small, active, and executive group located in New York City and a much larger consultative and advisory group composed chiefly of superintendents of schools representing the various States, cities, and sections of the United States.

The purpose of the Committee is to cooperate with the public schools and with other organizations interested in promoting an intelligent and active interest among the boys and girls of the public schools of America in the subject of aeronautics. The Committee has no intention of encouraging the addition of another subject to an already overcrowded curriculum in the public schools. It is, in fact, opposed to any such movement, believing as it does that the important objective which led to the creation of the Committee by the Daniel Guggenheim Fund can be better and more effectively accomplished in a different way. In this respect, the Committee is in full accord with the wishes of President Harry Guggenheim, by whose action the Committee was appointed.

Mr R. G. Sanford, county superintendent of Warren County for the past eight years, has been appointed to the county superintendency of Somerset County to succeed L. D. Deyo who has retired. Mr. Sanford is a graduate of Yale and holds a master's degree from Teachers College.

Mr. Harry W. Moore of High Bridge has been appointed county superintendent of Hunterdon County to succeed the late Mr. Jason Hoffman. Mr. Moore is a graduate of Lafayette with advanced work in Teachers College.

Mr. Robert C. B. Parker of Belvidere will succeed Mr. Moore as supervising principal of High Bridge. Mr. Parker is working in the School of Education in New York University.

The bureau of broadcasting of New York University is experimenting with a radio course in college philosophy. There are twelve short lectures in the course. Station WOR is coöperating in the experiment. In the first week 248 persons registered for the course, for which there are no fees. The students in the class range from Nova Scotia on the North to Florida on the South and Illinois on the West. The course is given by Dr. Herman Harrell Horne of the department of the history of education and the history of philosophy of the School of Education.

The Fourth Annual Junior-High-School Conference under the auspices of the School of Education of New York University was held in the School of Commerce Building on Friday evening and Saturday morning, March 16 and 17. The two general sessions were attended by from three to four hundred representatives of State and city departments of education of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut.

The Friday evening general session at which Miss Grace Dunn, president of the New Jersey Junior High School Teachers Association, presided was addressed by Miss Mary A. S. Mugan, assistant superintendent of schools in Fall River, Massachusetts, and by Jesse H. Newlon, director of the Lincoln School of Teachers College. At the Saturday morning session, Harrison H. Van Cott, supervisor of junior high schools in New York State, presided, the addresses were by Ross O. Runnels, principal of the Ricalton Junior High School of Maplewood, New Jersey, and R. G. Reynolds, principal of the Horace Mann School.

The topics of the speakers at the general sessions, and the subjects of discussion of the round tables centered about the question of teacher and pupil guidance. At the Friday evening session, teacher cooperation was the subject of both speakers, and at the Saturday morning session two aspects of pupil guidance were presented. At the seventeen round-table discussions, various specific aspects of teacher improvement and pupil guidance were considered.

Each general session was opened by a demonstration of junior-high-school orchestral music. On Friday evening the band from the Bayonne, New Jersey, Junior High School played a varied program, and on Saturday morning the music was supplied by the band from Junior High School No. 64, Manhattan.

The attendance at the conference was larger than in any previous year, and there were many evidences of the growing interest in the teacher as an educational guide and counselor. The extent to which the pupil rather than the subject has become the center of attention among teachers and supervisors was very evident in the types of topics discussed.

CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

Professor Henry Pratt Fairchild of the department of sociology of the Graduate School of New York University is a native of Illinois. He received his bachelor's degree at Doane College (Crete, Nebraska) and his doctorate at Yale. He has held teaching positions in the social sciences in International College, Smyrna, Turkey, Doane College, Bowdoin College, and Yale University, before coming to New York University in 1919. He has had a wide experience in community and social welfare activities. He has been an investigator of the National Research Council, and the Department of Labor of the Federal Government, for the latter he made a trip to Europe as a special immigration agent in 1923. One of his major interests in sociology has been population problems. In this field he has written *Greek Immigration to the United States*, and a second volume on *Immigration*. He is the author of an *Outline of Applied Sociology*.

Professor H. M. Hamlin is in the department of vocational education of Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa.

Miss Ellen A. Maher of Worcester, Massachusetts, received her master's degree from Clark University and has done considerable advanced graduate study in a number of other institutions in her specialty—mental hygiene and clinical psychology. Miss Maher has had wide experience as teacher and psychological examiner in New York State. She has contributed numerous articles in her field of activity.

Professor O. Myking Mehus is a member of the faculty of Wittenberg College of Springfield, Ohio.

The reader of THE JOURNAL is referred to the previous issues for the sketches of the other contributors.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912

Of The Journal of Educational Sociology, published Monthly except July and August at Albany, N. Y. for April 1928

State of New York } ss
County of Albany

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared A. J. Fowers, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the The Journal of Educational Sociology and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1 That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are

Name of	Post Office Address
Publisher, American Viewpoint Society, Inc.	13 Astor Place, New York City
Editor, E. George Payne	Washington Sq. East New York City
Managing Editor	
Business Manager, A. J. Fowers	883 Broadway, Albany, N. Y.

2 That the owners are (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock)

The American Viewpoint Society, Inc.	13 Astor Place, New York City
Jeremiah W. Jenks	13 Astor Place, New York City
Mrs. Helen Hartley Jenkins	New York City
The Brandow Printing Co.	883 Broadway, Albany, N. Y.
Mury Ellman	13 Astor Place, New York City
R. E. Smith	New York City

3 That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are (If there are none, so state)

No

4 That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given, also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner, and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5 That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is 1200

(This information is required from daily publications only)

A. J. FOWERS, business manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30 day of March, 1928

W. S. RYAN,
(My commission expires March 31 1929)

The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

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No. 10

EDITORIAL NOTES

RECENTLY the editor discussed Professor Bode's book entitled *Modern Educational Theories* and his editorial called forth responses which were highly stimulating and interesting to our readers. We venture again to write about two recent publications, Finney's *Sociological Philosophy of Education* and Smith's *Principles of Educational Sociology*. These books are to be considered on an entirely different basis from that which led to the criticism of Bode's production. These are intended to be educational sociologies written by educational sociologists, while Bode's book was a philosophy of education written by a philosopher. We need to keep these facts in mind in reading this comment.

Professor Finney clearly, forcefully, and understandingly writes on the sociological philosophy of education. The book is a distinct contribution to the philosophy of education. It is, however, a philosophy of education and not in any sense an educational sociology. The author seems to be of the opinion that the philosophical approach to education is the one that offers most for educators and sociologists interested in education. The editor does not share that opinion. He believes that sociology will have little to offer to educators except through scientific research and scientific technique. Finney's book offers nothing to the scientific study of education and does not pretend to. It should therefore

be placed among the books on philosophy of education and used by sociologists merely as a starting point for the development of a real sociology which is concerned with educational research. Every sociologist should read this book but should not expect to find in it help in the development of scientific sociology.

Smith's book is of another kind. It is more nearly an educational sociology but is primarily an elaboration of his introduction written ten or twelve years ago. It fails to take account of the research in the field and to persons familiar with his earlier work this book has little additional to offer. The book has a definite place in acquainting the student with the general applications of sociology to education but does not contribute to the development of the science of educational sociology.

The authors of these books are offered the columns of *THE JOURNAL* for a defense of their approach in these books.

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With this issue of *THE JOURNAL* the first year of its history comes to a close. The editors are profoundly pleased and grateful for the responses from educators and sociologists to *THE JOURNAL* during its infancy. Its readers have been prolific in contribution and in the discussion of articles that have appeared. This interest is shown by the fact that if we should now publish the material in the hands of the editor it would require the space for the entire coming year. Several conclusions are evident from this first year of experience. First, there is distinct demand for a journal dealing with the scientific approach to the study of education from the sociological viewpoint. Second, whatever success *THE JOURNAL* has attained has resulted from the enthusiastic support of its readers and contributors. We hope that this support has been merited and will be continued through the further period of infancy which by the very nature of things must be experimental.

We shall give emphasis in the future as during this year to scientific studies in the field and hope to give greater emphasis as time goes on. We wish to make this journal an indispensable medium and source of material for teachers, principals, superintendents, and sociologists. We shall welcome criticisms and suggestions from the readers of the past year.

There has come to the hands of the editor a preliminary draft of a sociologist's syllabus for the New York State normal schools prepared by a committee of which Mr. Stephen C. Clement of the Buffalo State Teachers College is chairman. The editor of *THE JOURNAL* is immensely pleased to give notice to this syllabus, because it is the first that has come to his hands that attempts to approach the study of sociology in normal schools from a scientific point of view. The use of this syllabus and the approach to the study of education and its point of view will not only revolutionize the teaching of educational sociology in normals but will also profoundly influence the whole of educational procedure. It is the most hopeful sign we have seen in years in the expression of a new attitude as part of the State-supported schools for the training of teachers for the work of education. The syllabus is so far in tentative form and any one may have a copy by asking, provided he will offer constructive criticism of it. It is the sincere hope of the editors of *THE JOURNAL* that this syllabus will have wide distribution and extensive criticism so that it may go forth in its final form and help to produce a new era in the development of educational sociology as a subject to be used in the training of teachers.

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There are many evidences that the educators of the United States are becoming more and more professionally minded. The national and State organizations alone warrant this assumption but we have other evidence in the character and amount of professional literature. Among the valuable contributions to the literature is the *Loyola Educational Digest* which provides the educator with an indispensable need. The *Digest* selects the important articles in current educational periodicals and makes a brief but comprehensible digest of them. This gives the reader a notion of what is being published and indicates whether a full reading is desired. Thus valuable time is saved and still the reader may become familiar with the contributions in the field of education.

In addition to the *Digest*, there is the *Readers' Guide* to current educational literature. Both of these features are highly significant and necessary alike for the library and the educator.

AMERICAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS—THE QUALITY OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS¹

JOHN W. WITHERS

THE quality of the educational process in the secondary schools of America cannot be rightly evaluated without taking into account the recognized objectives by which this process is guided. We cannot, with profit, compare the products of our secondary schools with those of Europe without duly considering the fact that the objectives of secondary education in Europe and America are essentially different and that this difference affects profoundly not only the choice and effective application of the means of education but also the level of general intelligence and the life purposes of the students enrolled in these schools

The scope and purpose of secondary education has been much more restricted and the place and functions of the secondary school much more clearly and specifically defined in the leading countries of Europe than in the United States. Rightly or wrongly we have a much broader, more inclusive, and at the same time more indeterminate, less clearly defined, and more adaptable notion of the scope and function of secondary education in its relation to our community and national life than is true of any of the countries of Europe with which our schools are most frequently compared. This fact alone makes any comparative study of the quality of educational process here and in Europe very difficult and the results of such study almost inevitably controversial and unsatisfactory

You ask me, for example, to discuss the quality of the process of American secondary education and immediately I am confronted with a number of questions. How shall this subject be defined? What is secondary education as understood by those who planned this program? Where in our school system does secondary education begin? Where does it end? How many and what years of the average school child's life does it cover? For whom is it primarily intended? To what extent is it actually selective? For what does it really prepare, and with what units of our organized system of education is it directly concerned?

¹ Address delivered at Schoolmen's Week, Philadelphia, Pa., March 21, 1928

We all know that both in theory and in practice, taking the United States as a whole, many and various answers have been given, and are now being given, to these questions. Nationally speaking, we have not yet fully made up our minds as to what secondary education is, how it should be organized, whom it should serve, and just what it should be expected to do. This, however, is not so unfortunate as on the surface it seems to be. For in view of the changing character of our civilization and because of the part which public education is increasingly expected to play in our national life, it is fortunate that our conception of the appropriate place and function of secondary education has not thus far become crystallized into any fixed and definite form, and that it remains still capable of ready and progressive adaptation to our ever changing needs and conditions.

That in the best thought of today we are approaching a more nearly unanimous opinion in answer to the questions I have asked cannot be doubted. The drift of opinion is definitely and distinctly in the direction of confining elementary education to the first six years of formal instruction, and of extending the period of secondary education to eight years beginning with the seventh grade and closing with the sophomore year in college. As to just how the work of these eight years should be organized, whether on a 4-4, or a 3-3-2, or a 6-2 basis, there is as yet no common agreement and because of the varying conditions affecting public education it is not likely that such an agreement will very soon, if ever, be reached and universally followed throughout the United States.

The latest and perhaps the best attempt to summarize the results of this trend of thought and to define authoritatively the meaning and scope of secondary education is found in the report of the Committee on the Objectives of Secondary Education which will be published in the forthcoming yearbook for 1925 of the National Department of Superintendence. As defined in that report, secondary education is the organized effort of society through its schools to aid the normal processes of growth and development and to produce desirable changes in the attitudes, ideals, and behavior of youth during the period of early and middle adolescence. The changes already set up or that are being set up by society in order to afford secondary education of this character

are the junior high school, the senior high school, the junior college, and several types of trade, industrial, vocational, commercial, and continuation schools.

Analysis of this definition and of the nation-wide movement in secondary education which it attempts to summarize reveals the effects of two positive forces more or less antagonistic to each other which have been fundamentally responsible for the direction which the development of secondary education has taken in this country and for the quality of service which our secondary schools are now rendering.

One of these forces is the influence of certain ideals and practices of academic and cultural education borrowed from Europe and transplanted in America chiefly in our colleges and universities; and the other is the combined effect of certain conditions of life and certain attitudes of mind which must be recognized as outstanding and apparently permanent characteristics of American civilization.

The first of these forces was most influential in the early development of secondary education in this country. All along it has been strongly conservative and inclined to insist upon a relatively fixed and constant conception of what our secondary schools should endeavor to do. The character and influence of this point of view is too well known to call for extended discussion before this body of schoolmen. I shall merely point out four facts concerning it that are important in the present discussion. First, our colleges and universities have always emphasized in dealing with secondary education the importance of academic knowledge, the ideals of scholarship and of culture, and the preparation of students for successful work in college; secondly, these institutions are less influential today in shaping the total policy and determining the general character of secondary education than they have been at any time in the past; thirdly, colleges and universities everywhere throughout the United States are beginning to subject their own policies and procedures to vigorous critical examination to determine more clearly their own proper place in the future development of American education; and, lastly, this process of self-examination is almost certain to result

in higher rather than lower standards of scholarship required of those secondary students who expect to enter college.

It does not seem likely that the college of the future will be occupied to any great extent with general education. This will increasingly be regarded as the function of the reorganized eight-year period of secondary education. The college will hereafter in all probability be even more closely identified with the university and will continue to perform the increasingly important function of serving as the gateway for students who are going on to graduate study and to careers of research and professional service. The college of the future, though a thoroughly reorganized and reconditioned institution, is not likely to give up the ideal of scholarship to which it has thus far tenaciously held, nor should it be expected to do so. For thorough scholarship will be even more important in the coming time than it is at present. Therefore two things should be distinctly and increasingly recognized both by our colleges and secondary schools in their relations to each other. The reorganized secondary school should not regard itself even primarily as an institution devoted to the preparation of young people for college or university nor should it be expected that all of its graduates should be entitled to college admission. It has a much larger and more inclusive service to perform. On the other hand the college has no right to criticize adversely the work of the secondary schools merely because a considerable percentage of those whom they graduate are not well equipped for satisfactory work in college. The secondary school is a selective and distributive as well as an educational institution. Its guidance function is quite as important as its educative function. Its policy is, and should continue to be, determined more by its relation to life in general than by its relation to college. It should prepare for college, and prepare well, those of its students who ought to go to college; but it should also prepare equally well for the important occupations which they are about to enter that larger body of students whose formal education will end with the secondary school. Therefore the quality of the process in American secondary education must be judged by the application of two types of standards both of which are necessary and neither of which should be exclusively used. In the case of those students

who are going to college, the process should be judged by reference to those academic standards which test the fitness of the students for satisfactory work in college. In the case of students who are not going to college, it should be judged by the use of such standards as will measure the extent and value of their preparation for the occupations which they are about to enter. Hence in comparing the quality of the process of secondary education in America and that of Europe, the fact must not be overlooked that the secondary schools of Europe are highly selective and largely college or university preparatory in function. For this reason the first or academic standard may be applied to all the students in such institutions. This is especially true of the secondary schools of France and Germany. There are not as many students, foreigners included, in the secondary and higher institutions in the whole of France with its forty millions of population as are enrolled in institutions of similar grade in the City of New York.

The tremendous student mortality and the highly selective character of secondary education in France is shown by the facts set forth in an administrative bulletin issued by the Minister of Public Instruction in February, 1927. The results of the final state examination of secondary-school candidates for the *baccalauréat* who presented themselves in June, 1925, were as follows:

	Examined	Passed	Per cent
Greek and Latin course	3451	1534	44.4
Latin and Modern Language course	6388	2455	38.4
Latin and Science course	5353	2483	42.6
Science and Modern Language course	6387	2133	38.0
Total	21579	8905	41.2

The following October, 1926, 11,348 candidates presented themselves and only 4199 or 37 per cent passed.

In the face of such enormous elimination as this, it is pertinent in passing judgment on the quality of the educational process to inquire into its actual effect upon those who fail as well as upon those who pass.

The effect of this highly selective method upon those who fail is strikingly shown in Germany where the inability of the student to stand the strain and the actual or anticipated effects of failure

so frequently result in suicide. Last year measures were taken by the Prussian Minister of Education to prevent the heavy toll of student suicides by ordering the abolition, at the urgent request of the people, of the written final examinations at the junior-high-school level. It is estimated that during 1927 more than 150 students of junior-high-school grade committed suicide in Germany.

The value of the total influence of any educational process that produces results of this kind may very well be seriously questioned. The serious and permanent influence of the crushing defeat experienced by those who have put forth strenuous effort and failed to pass must be taken into the account, as well as the superior value of the education received by the much smaller number of those who succeeded. Even from a cold-blooded business point of view, the profit to the community in the form of superior service resulting from the financial investment which the community makes in the education of those who pass must be discounted by the hundreds of thousands of dollars totally lost on the education of so large a number of suicides occurring each year. On the other hand the educational value of a form of secondary education which generally results in the joy of living, a consciousness of growth, of achievement and success among the great majority of its students is certainly quite worth considering.

As I have said, the quality of the process in American secondary education must be measured by two types of standards. One to determine the success of the secondary school in preparing students for college, the other to measure its success in preparing students for life occupations and activities outside of college. Strictly speaking, this statement is true only of the results of secondary education as these are evidenced in the later life of the student. It does not take account of the important values that are immediately realized in the educational process as it actually goes on in the organized life of our best secondary schools. These results also have highly important effects in the subsequent life of the student but they are not such as can be adequately determined by the standards that measure the scholarship required for admission to college.

It may readily be admitted that as college preparatory institutions our secondary schools are not as satisfactory as they might

be. This, however, is largely because of the ineffective exercise of the guidance function. Secondary education as we now have it generally ends with the last year of the senior high school, but the guidance function should not end with the senior high school excepting for those students who are going into the trades and occupations for which the high school furnishes sufficient preparation. For the guidance of those who are going on into professional and semiprofessional occupations the freshman and sophomore years of college are necessary. The present organization and point of view of the traditional four-year college is not well suited to furnish these students the guidance that they need. For this reason and for the sake of guaranteeing to all students better guidance and more rapid and continuous progress through the whole period of general education, the desirability of incorporating the present freshman and sophomore years of college as an integral part of secondary education is coming to be increasingly recognized.

As matters now stand, our colleges are too often inclined to treat without exception the high-school graduates who seek to enter the freshman year as if they were all destined for the professions or for the graduate school. College faculties therefore usually feel it to be their duty to eliminate so far as possible either at the time of admission or during the freshman year all those who appear to be inadequately prepared or mentally incompetent to complete a full college course. Meanwhile, our senior high schools, in harmony with their best service to American education, are graduating and should continue to graduate students whom they do not consider capable of completing satisfactorily a four-year college course and many of whom they would not recommend to go to college at all. They do not, however, feel that they have not rendered in the case of these students a real service that is worth all that it costs when judged in terms of its influence on their subsequent life.

In attempting to compare the quality of the educational process in the secondary schools of the United States with that of any country of Europe in any scientifically valid way in the case of students who go on into higher education, it is obviously necessary to select for such comparison not the average secondary-school

graduates who are continuing their education in American colleges, but only those students whose native general intelligence equals that of the secondary-school graduates of the country chosen for such comparison and who have been subjected to the process of education for an equal period of time. It would be difficult but not impossible to carry to completion a study of this kind, the outcome of which would undoubtedly be both stimulating and suggestive.

But in the absence of such a study there is much evidence in support of the claim that for students of the same grade of native ability as those who were sent on to college from our high schools when these were almost wholly college preparatory institutions, the high schools of today are doing a much better job in preparing for college than at any time in the past.

In an address to the faculty of Yale University on February 22d, President Angell made the following statement: "In taking stock of current undergraduate conditions, the average man accepted today for the freshman class is much better prepared than at any previous period. He does better work after he gets into Yale, a far smaller proportion of these men is eliminated for academic failure than was formerly the case, and the average of scholarly attainments as far as these can be determined by marks, honors assigned, or any similar criteria, was never higher than it has been in the last few years and is today." It is probable that the methods of student admission employed at Yale result in the choice of a student body which in general intelligence and native capacity compares favorably with students selected for secondary education by the methods employed in France or Germany.

President Angell is therefore convinced that, for students of this type, the preparation they have received before coming to Yale is much superior today to what it has been at any time in the past. Granted, some one may say. But the students who are admitted to Yale are trained in private preparatory schools and President Angell's statement therefore sheds no light whatever upon whether or not there is corresponding improvement in the training given to students of this type in the public secondary schools. Fortunately, we have information from a careful study

recently made at Yale which gives a definite and positive answer to this question so far as Yale is concerned. I refer to the study of Llewellyn T. Spencer published in *School and Society* in the issue of October, 1927.

In making this study the records of the four classes of 1923, 1924, 1925, and 1926 in Yale were grouped into four divisions: (1) public-school men; (2) private-school men; (3) men prepared at both public and private schools; (4) transfers from other colleges. Altogether the records of 2663 men were studied. Of these 642 or approximately 25 per cent came from the public schools. Dr. Spencer summarizes his result in the following statement: "Comparison of the four groups shows that the public-school group is superior to the private-school group in intelligence test scores, academic grades, frequency of graduation, and freedom from resignations. The mixed group for the most part occupies an intermediate position. The private-school men, however, surpass the public-school men in entrance examination grades. Transfers are the least successful of the four groups in all respects studied." Elsewhere in the report Dr. Spencer states that the private-school men show somewhat greater indulgence in athletic and social activities outside of the curriculum, but that this was offset by the fact that a far larger proportion of public-school men were partially or wholly self-supporting.

It would be interesting to determine by a series of similar investigations how far this experience at Yale is also characteristic of other colleges and universities, in the case of those students whose average I. Q. is equal to that of the students at Yale. Such studies would be very profitable and should certainly be made.

So much for the first of the two fundamental forces that from the beginning have determined the objectives and the quality of secondary education in the United States. Let us now devote a few moments to the other and at present much more powerful force; namely, the combined influence of those central tendencies of thought and behavior that are distinguishing characteristics of American civilization, and that are increasingly shaping the policy, determining the organization, and promoting the enormously rapid growth of both secondary and higher education. Among the most significant of these tendencies in their influence upon education

are the following: (1) a profound faith in science and scientific method, and the desire to extend the bounds of tested knowledge in every field of human interest and activity, (2) the disposition to apply the results of scientific research immediately and effectively in every possible direction in which conceivably they may be of service to the people (we are not content merely with the discovery of truth, but insist that it must somehow be put to work or else be considered as of very little real or permanent value); (3) a marked emphasis upon specialization of function in activity and service, the development of experts, technicians, and specialists for every kind of occupation requiring technical or professional skill and ability (obviously this tendency is an inevitable consequence of the first two); (4) extension of the principle of democracy and the right to self-expression and self-direction to include every member of American society, male or female, young or old. It is impossible to emphasize too strongly the significance of this tendency and its profound and increasing influence upon education and especially upon the public secondary school as a social institution. The principles and responsibilities of democracy at first confined in their fullest expression to the adult white male population over twenty-one years of age have been gradually extended in the course of our national history to include, first, adult negro men over twenty-one, then, adult women over twenty-one, until today these privileges and responsibilities are being extended to children of adolescent and even preadolescent age to an extent hitherto unknown in the history of the world. We are today considering our children individually and collectively, in school and out of school, as personal free agents with the right to self-determination and self-expression in a manner and to a degree never dreamed of in the days of our fathers.

It is certainly not hard to see that in this universal application of the principle of democracy we have one of the most interesting and, at the same time, one of the most difficult and critically important problems of education. It is in fact the supreme test of democracy, as we conceive it here in America. With its proper and ultimate solution, no part of our whole scheme of education is more deeply involved than our secondary schools. To judge the results of these schools, or attempt to measure the value of the

process of American secondary education without full consideration of this fact would be to indulge in folly that is almost criminal. It is certainly quite as important to ascertain how well secondary education is meeting its responsibility in this direction as to discover its degree of success or failure in the preparation of young people for college. Indeed in the inevitable reorganization of collegiate education that is impending—in fact, already under way—the time is coming apparently when these two responsibilities of secondary education will be much more nearly educational than they are today.

The coöperative, unbiased, scientific study of this problem in all of its phases by both secondary school and college men is one of the most important and promising opportunities of education that are before us today.

It may seem that this address is intended as a special pleading for the secondary schools of the United States as they are today. This, however, is in no sense my intention. My desire has been to present the case of secondary education in America in such a way that all the essential factors would be properly considered. Beyond question much can be done in the improvement of the educational process in American secondary education and much can be learned for that purpose from the secondary schools of the leading countries of Europe.

TEACHING AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

EMORY S BOGARDUS

EFFICIENCY in teaching varies inversely with the social distance between teacher and pupil, providing other things are equal. Formerly, it was thought that teaching varied according to the teacher's knowledge of the subject being taught. More recently, teaching efficiency has been coupled with the "technique" or "methods of teaching" of the teacher. Another emphasis is on "knowing the child." But the point to be discussed here is that of interrelationships between teacher and pupil. Good teaching probably includes all these phases, and more. The degree of social distance between teacher and pupil is at least one of the fundamentals that current educational sociology is beginning to study.

The greater the social distance between teacher and pupil, the less likely is the pupil to enter into the teacher's thinking, the less likely is the teacher to "connect" with the pupil's thinking, and the more likely is education to become unnatural and formal. Great social distance means the teacher's failure to appreciate the pupil's universe of experience.

The greater the distance the less likely that the pupil will want to learn from his teacher—the less his coöperative spirit. The "distant" teacher will not easily or naturally inspire or stimulate mental activity in the pupil. He blames the pupil for lack of interest, rather than himself for his own distance. The pupil likewise will blame the teacher for being "superior" or "high brow" rather than himself for maintaining distance. Because of greater experience the teacher is more responsible for the maintaining of distance than is the pupil.

Most teachers pride themselves on treating all their pupils alike—of making no distance discriminations. Most are striving so to do, but many are not succeeding to the degree that they delude themselves into believing. Strive as best a teacher may, the distance between the teacher and pupils varies with each pupil. The teacher who resents most the implication that he is not treating the pupils equally is likely to be guilty of that offense.

The teacher praises the pupil who does excellent work and gives him high grades. She "scolds" those who are delinquent and "hands out" F's or "flunks." The high grades cut down preëxistent social distance, while the F's and "flunks" create social distance.

Any favor shown a pupil by a teacher is likely to result in the pupil's being called "teacher's pet" by the other children. In consequence, the teacher must often feign greater distance between herself and her so-called "pet" than actually exists. In fact, she must often maintain a formal social distance between herself and many of her pupils, whereas the actual distance between her and them may be slight. Social conditions thus compel the teacher to play a double rôle with reference to most of her pupils. She must formally maintain a greater social distance relationship towards the pupils who do splendidly or whom she "likes" than she would otherwise do. She must also make believe that the social distances are not great between herself and the pupils who show little interest in her subject, or whom she dislikes, in order not to be accused of being prejudiced against these pupils. In short, she must play the part of a hypocrite in varying degrees with reference to both extremes of social-distance pupils.

"I'm not teacher's pet," says a boy. "If you could hear how she talks to me, you'd know." But the intimacy which permits a frank "calling down" indicates that social distance may be relatively slight.

Students often feign mental and social proximity with reference to the subject taught by a given teacher, and thus acquire a higher grade in some courses than they deserve. Others disdain to do this, or may even frankly show their dislike for the subject or for certain ways of the teacher, and thus arouse unnecessary social distance reactions in the teacher. An unusually clever college graduate throws considerable light on what may go on, which even wise professors do not observe, or are not able to checkmate.

I study my teachers, more than my lessons. I work on my lessons by spells and "take in" all that the professor says in class. The professor "goes over" all the main points anyway, especially in the social sciences. You really don't have to study much—if you keep your ears open in class, and talk up once in a while, using the knowledge you have gained in previous class periods.

I make a specialty of the hard-boiled kind, of the one who has a gruff exterior, who prides himself on being "a stiff marker," who boasts that "no one ever gets by him without earning all he gets." One teacher likes term papers, so I specialize on that for him, make it "scholarly," use footnotes, have it typed nicely, put on a cover, and get it in a day ahead of time if possible. Then I coast along for a time. Another teacher is a stickler for form, detail, and little insignificant things. I concentrate on these for him, and he thinks that I am a wonder—more coasting ahead for me. Still another is strong on collateral. I turn in to him twice the required amount and regularly too. You should see the collateral notes that I turn in. But it doesn't take long. I choose my books "wisely," get the opening and closing pages of each chapter, dip in here and there for variety's sake—and it's all done. Superficial? But it gets A's.

Then, there is the kind who loves to be popular, and to have the students praising him. The one who is voted the most popular is easy meat. He will fall for most anything. A few sentences of praise about a given lecture or part of the course, expressed very seriously, a fair degree of attention, regularity of attendance and a front seat—and the professor thinks that I am a student after his own heart.

I always seem very interested in class, even when the discussion or lecture is dead. When the class members are getting restless and the instructor is embarrassed, I try to ask a question. Interest is aroused, attention comes back, and the teacher is grateful. I can see it on his face. Not infrequently I stay after class to ask a question that "isn't quite clear." I generally come a little ahead of time, and sit near the front if possible. The teacher often talks informally with me while waiting for the bells to ring.

Sometime during each course, I usually ask what are the possibilities of "majoring" in the field, and whether I should change my major. I am nearly always invited to come to the office "to talk the matter over." In the conversation I put in something about my father, or uncle, or where we used to live, and this leads the instructor to take a personal interest in me. But I never stay long—not too long. "I'm pretty busy, you know."

When one of them asks in an exam what the course has meant to the students, I start by saying that at the beginning I either didn't know a thing about the subject (which is usually nonsense), or else that I felt that I wouldn't like the field, but that as the course went on, my eyes were opened. I had become more and more interested. Certain class periods have changed my outlook on life. And now that the course is drawing to a close, I feel the need of keeping up my reading in the field, and if I can, of taking more courses along this same line.

If teachers could get into the minds of their students as well as they master the subjects they teach, a new era of teaching would dawn. The teacher-pupil relationship is a vertical distance situation. This may range from worship of the teacher to combines against the teacher. When the friendship relation develops

and horizontal distance dwindles, the leadership rôle of the teacher may either develop or degenerate into situations where pupils "run over" and take advantage of their teachers. In order to protect herself against the rise of the latter contingency, she needs to maintain a vertical distance relationship. As horizontal distances diminish (as friendship grows), the teacher will secure increased response from the pupil, but she needs to maintain a counter-balancing vertical distance, for the sake of the maintenance of the respect of her pupils.

THE STUDY OF THE TOTAL SITUATION

FREDERIC M. THRASHER

A PRECEDING article on the above topic¹ emphasized the significance of the study of the total situation in relation to the child and the school as an important part of any program of research proposed for educational sociology. The "community case study" as a research project was described. A formulation for the study of the local community was suggested in certain general divisions as follows²:

- I The ecological approach—distribution
- II The natural history of the community—development
- III Groups and institutions—organization
- IV Interacting personalities—leadership.
- V Interaction and mobility—processes
- VI Problems of the community—applications.

In the preceding article the first three divisions were discussed; the present paper will deal with this last three.

IV. INTERACTING PERSONALITIES—LEADERSHIP

The history of a community may be written largely in terms of personalities—its leaders. In a community such as Rochester, New York, where public spirit and morale are highly developed, the leadership forms a rich pattern of varied personalities excelling in ability and responsibility and all more or less acquainted and interacting cooperatively with each other. The deteriorated community represents the other extreme—spirit and morale at its minimum, almost no leadership at all, everybody moving out who can, and a general situation of everybody for himself and the devil take the hindmost.

A plan has been formulated for the study of leadership in Greenwich Village. It is being undertaken by a graduate student assisted by a committee of students under the supervision of the department of educational sociology. It will be carried on with the cooperation of many agencies and especially at the suggestion of the Charity Organization Society of the district, which is

¹ *Journal of Educational Sociology*, April, 1928

² Not presented as exhaustive

interested in studying leadership resources for its district case committees.

The tentative plan for this study will include the following points (details omitted).

- I Definition of a leader
- II Classification of leaders
- III History of Greenwich Village leaders of the past
- IV Organizations in the area
(With lists of officers, boards of directors, and committee chairmen)
 - 1 Voluntary organizations (interest groups)
 - 2 Immigrant organizations
 - 3 Political organizations
 - 4 Welfare organizations, etc.
- V Each leader discovered, to be listed on separate card with pertinent data
- VI Leaders to be mapped as to place of residence, work
- VII. Overlapping of leadership
- VIII Mobility of leaders compared with mobility of population
- IX. Social backgrounds of leaders compared with social backgrounds of groups led
- X. Interaction among leaders of various groups
- XI Study of literature on Greenwich Village (all printed sources)

In pursuance of this plan a large list of groups and organizations has been compiled from various sources, a list of persons to be interviewed has been prepared, and a schedule for interviews has been worked out. This study dovetails with the study of groups and institutions, each approach supplements the other.

But leaders are not the only personalities of interest in the community. For the purposes of this project, it is desirable to study the personalities and procure life histories of all sorts of people in the area, normal and abnormal, to determine how the various social backgrounds have conditioned them and to study the processes of interaction among them in the total situation. The eventual establishment of a proposed behavior clinic in the New York University School of Education will aid certain phases of this part of the study. A clinic (under the auspices of the Lower West Side Council of Social Agencies) for dealing with the behavior problems of both children and adults was subsidized in 1926 for a two-year demonstration period and is now seeking further funds for the continuance of its valuable work. With the cooperation of agencies dealing with personality problems, it will be possible to investigate the rôle of the conditioning factors in the

various social backgrounds with reference to their influence upon personalities, normal and pathological.

V. INTERACTION AND MOBILITY—PROCESSES

The actual processes of life in the community seldom get into the textbooks. One difficulty is that of representing in language human activities in a given area at any given moment even in cross section. Too much is happening, there are no breaks in the stream of activity; and the interrelations are too extensive and too complicated to make possible realistic presentation in any static word picture. It is like trying to see everything going on in a ten-ring circus with a great multiplication of rings. The larger the temporal segment of this complex stream which is constantly overflowing into other areas and receiving intakes from other sources, the more difficult the representation. To describe it, to visualize it over a period of weeks, months, or years would be desirable, yet this is a task which must await the perfection of our techniques of studying and describing collective behavior.

Yet the representation of what happens in a given community during a day and a night or over a period ought to be undertaken to give the student a sense of the essential unity of social processes and the artificiality of the intellectual method so incisively criticized by Henri Bergson in *Creative Evolution*. One fact which would come out of such a picture would be the essential futility of any attempt to corral human activities within the confines of any local community, any borough, and metropolitan district, or indeed any country in the world today. Modern communication and transportation have effaced the boundary lines of human interaction. This may be illustrated in the study of the processes of mobility, which for the purposes of this article must be considered a sufficient example of the processes of the community to be studied.

The study of the mobility of people and groups is one of the most important phases of the investigation of social backgrounds. The phenomena of mobility include the daily ebb and flow of population from one part of a community to another—from up town to down town, from center to periphery. They also involve seasonal movements in and out—such as the city-ward inundation

of hoboes in winter and their outward summer swing to the "jungles" and harvest fields; and the summer dispersion of vacation-bound city folks together with their regular return in the fall. There are many other movements of importance, also, such as the city-ward drift from the country, the coming in of Negroes from the south and the West Indies, the entrance of immigrants from abroad, and the outward movement westward and southward, such as the trek to Florida during the land boom.

Very interesting from the standpoint of the study of community backgrounds is that type of migration which changes the basic characteristics of a community. It is well illustrated within our cities by the shifting of Negro populations from one urban area to another³ and the invasion and succession of various immigrant groups and their offspring, which alter the complexion of neighborhoods and whole districts in the course of a few years. The factors determining these processes are varied and complex and deserve the closest scientific scrutiny because of their far-reaching implications for the future organization of the communities which they affect. A school, a settlement, or a church, for example, may be left high and dry by the ebbing flow of their original patrons and may have to be entirely abandoned, or to alter their whole programs and entire philosophies of life to minister to the new types of people who have replaced their old constituencies.

Studies of the type here suggested assume paramount importance for all agencies planning expansion or building programs in rapidly changing communities and urban areas. Shall a million dollar boys' work building be erected at a particular spot after a design proposing to carry on work with a certain class of boys? In ten years the community may have changed so completely as to make the building obsolete and an extravagant burden upon its backers or the community. Protestant boys, Catholic boys, Jewish boys, Negro boys, wealthy boys, middle-class boys, "underprivileged" boys, and boys of various nationalities may have so shifted about or moved out of the area as to have completely changed the situation with regard to boys' work. The encroachments of business and industry, changes in the transportation situation, new housing developments, racial or immigrant inva-

³ T. J. Wooster, Jr., *Negro Problems in Cities*, 1928

sions and changing land values and rentals, are some of the variable factors in such a situation which make an expansion and building location program such a difficult problem for any social agency⁴

There is probably no more interesting field in the world for the study of mobility within a large urban area than the metropolitan district of the City of New York, which is bound together by economic and social ties which make it possible to consider it a type of unity within the larger national economy. Formerly the metropolitan district embraced an area of 1,368 square miles within a ten-mile radius of the New York City Hall with a population of about 8,000,000, about 2,500,000 of whom lived outside the limits of Greater New York. In 1927, the Merchants' Association of New York City completed a study of the greater metropolitan area which made possible its redefinition on the basis of social and economic activities centering in New York City, such as relative density of population, commuters' zones, telephone and delivery service, and similar types of facts. As a result of this investigation, a new metropolitan district was defined and accepted by the United States Census Bureau as a basis for the 1927 census of manufacturing and the 1930 population census. The new district embraces 3,767.55 square miles with an estimated population of 9,474,500 within a forty-mile radius of the New York City Hall. Exclusive of the five boroughs of Greater New York proper (Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, Richmond, and the Bronx), it includes the following territories and populations outside of New York City:

	Square Miles	Population
New York State ..	1047 60	784,000
New Jersey	2777 00	2,872,000
Connecticut	143 95	111,900

It is said that the greatest movement of population representing a permanent shift from one local area to another in the United States is the present migration from the Island of Manhattan across the East River to the western end of Long Island, comprising the Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens and further east

⁴The Boys' Club Federation has found it desirable to make very careful field investigations to guide it in the location of new clubs. The Y. M. C. A. has had made elaborate surveys of Manhattan, Brooklyn, and Queens to aid it in the formulation of its expansion policies and the solution of its building problems.

the Counties of Nassau and Suffolk. This means that practically every local area in Manhattan and in the various sections of Long Island is the scene of changes which are far-reaching in their effects on local institutions and local problems. Old institutions are decaying and new ones are developing, new buildings are springing up, and old ones are being converted to new uses. No part of these changes is more interesting than the invasions and successions of various races, religions, nationalities, and social and economic strata (e.g., sections of Brooklyn).

Perhaps no part of the areas of invasion is more interesting than the huge and largely undeveloped Borough of Queens. It has a population of about 764,000 (estimated for 1927) and an area of 10.8 square miles (70,321 acres), a territory which is almost twice the size of Brooklyn (with an estimated population for 1927 of 2,240,000) and five times the size of Manhattan (with an estimated population for 1927 of 1,877,000). Local areas in Queens are changing so rapidly that one large map company issued a statement that it could not afford to make a map of the Borough because by the time the map would be finished it would be so out of date that it would not be useful. Most existing maps of Queens are regarded by map men as little more than draughtman's practice with a probability that new centers and streets will be blank spaces on the map and that other streets will be drawn perhaps through a marsh. Map makers have had the experience of going out there in an automobile to find where the business centers are, getting lost and having to ask a "cop" the way back, and then having very little conception of where they had been when they returned.

One result of these changes in Queens is tremendous real-estate activity with dozens of mushroom real-estate firms springing up. There is a real-estate curb market at Borough Hall in Brooklyn where hundreds of pieces of property change hands daily. Building permits for Queens are being issued by the hundreds. While Manhattan lost about 300,000 population in the past ten years, Queens gained a half million. According to the United States Census estimates in 1911, Manhattan began to lose population in small portions which increased in size until 1927, in which year the total loss was more than 60,000. Between 1924 and 1927

there was an approximate total loss of 200,000. The chief trend of population seems to be towards the various suburban and outlying districts following the lines of transportation as they are improved, and impelled to some extent by rising rents at the centers and by increasing prosperity and standards of living of certain classes who desire to move to better and less congested quarters. This is illustrated also in a large section of the central areas of Brooklyn, such as Bedford and Stuyvesant—districts of declining population which are rapidly being altered as a result of changing property values and transportation facilities, or encroachments of business and industry and of racial, nationality, religious, and economic class invasions.

In Brooklyn the social effects of this mobility are many, varied, and important. Among them may be enumerated the problems confronting local institutions which depend for their clientèle upon certain kinds of people who gradually move out. White Protestant churches are engulfed in this way by inundations of Catholic immigrant stock, Catholic parishes are depleted in their constituencies by the influx of Jews, and churches of various kinds are taken over by Negro congregations. Higher economic classes may displace lower strata, and institutions which once administered to the poor may find themselves in a high-class apartment area. Schools once in congested areas swarming with children may have to be abandoned or combined with other schools because of the invasion of office and government buildings.

The ebb and flow of population is bound to affect the solidarity and the morale of local neighborhoods and communities. Public spirit may gradually dissolve in this flux of transitory contacts. Community organization is likely to become disrupted and disorganized. Old institutions come to lose an opportunity to perform their functions and new institutions have not had time to develop. The lack of stability in social relationships which results is likely to endanger community standards and create new social pathologies. With the breakup of communities and groups, social controls are relaxed and life tends to be individualized with each person or family for its own particularistic and selfish interests and a general failure to appreciate the necessity for community coöperation, participation in common enterprises, and planning

from the point of view of the whole, an end even more desirable under such conditions than when life was less fluctuating.

Other processes within or overflowing the community which should be included within the plan of such a research program are: competition, conflict, traffic, assimilation, accommodation, coöperation, festivity, crowd behavior, propaganda, changes in fashion and public opinion, and discussion. Many of these processes, of course, are smaller in scope than the community or any large part of it and may be investigated in connection with the study of groups and institutions

VI. COMMUNITY PROBLEMS—APPLICATIONS

Whatever light will be thrown upon community problems by such a study will be incidental to the objective investigation of things as they are. It is better to understand the world just now than to reform it, as Robert E. Park once remarked to a group of students. Science cannot be moralistic. It can have no ethical ends in immediate contemplation without endangering its impartial and unbiased approach. While not repudiating suggestions that certain data may be useful in throwing light on practical problems, it must keep its eye single to one purpose, namely, accurate and complete observation by means of demonstrably sound methods and techniques, and careful and impartial organization and presentation of facts observed in accordance with recognized standards of reliability. By pursuing this procedure we may have the best assurance that our findings will be most useful to the applied sociologist—the social worker, the educator, and so on—who is more concerned with changing in practical ways the immediate and ultimate situation according to certain assumed social values.

This approach to the study of community organization is different from that represented in most books dealing with the subject. The aim of sociology is to get realistic, naturalistic accounts of structures and processes in the community. The community organizer, on the other hand, is interested primarily in studying the technique of reorganizing the community on the basis of some definitely formulated plan which is consistent with a consciously or unconsciously organized set of preconceived values, the nature

of which depends upon the social and intellectual background of the community organizer or the agency he represents. The social worker's usual conception of community organization may be stated as follows: "It commonly refers to efforts made for social welfare through group action as contrasted with family or individual casework; although it embraces many types of organizations, it refers primarily to voluntary rather than to governmental agencies."⁵

There is no doubt, however, that the natural science method will ultimately aid in the solution of all community problems because any form of control ultimately rests upon our ability to predict, which alone can be achieved by the formulation of generalizations which may be arrived at through the use of tested methods. The use of scientific methods, however, does not preclude the very valuable cooperation of practical social agencies and their participation in research; it simply means that practical ends formulated according to any preconceived standards of values which may be adopted must not be permitted to distort observational processes or to bias research procedures. Nor does it follow that the original formulation of a problem necessarily arises in the first instance from science. The probable order of events is that the problem is first formulated as the result of some practical exigency in a life situation; science may then be employed impartially to gather facts and formulate principles; but finally whatever facts or principles are available may be reappropriated for use in the field of practical application.

Some of the problems of the community which are significant in stimulating such a research project as we have outlined and whose solution may be facilitated by the results obtained are those of juvenile delinquency and crime, poverty, vice, gambling, bootlegging, narcotic addiction, family disorganization, health, recreational inadequacies, institutional disintegration, school maladjustments, and community disorganization and deterioration. all of which are vitally related to the problems of the school child and the school.

⁵ Jenkins, Frederic Warren, *Bibliography of Community Organization*, Russell Sage Foundation Library, Bulletin 86, December, 1927, p. 2.

The Crime Commission Study of Truancy

The close connection of juvenile delinquency and school problems is suggested by the attention which the Sub-Committee on Causes of the New York State Crime Commission (whose chairman is Senator Caleb Baumes, author of the well-known Baumes laws) has given to the study of truancy. The Commission has felt it important to investigate the cases of 250 confirmed truants in an effort to trace the origins of criminal careers, believing that most criminal careers begin in adolescence. The department of educational sociology of New York University has participated in this study as part of its general program of investigation into the study of the total situation and the development of the community case study in certain areas in Manhattan.⁶

The plan of the study of 250 truants has been to take cases discharged from the truant school in 1923 and to attempt to follow up the subsequent careers of the children to determine if possible what sort of influences played upon them to determine their later conduct. After the records on each case were summarized (from various sources), the cases fell into four groups: truants 126 cases, delinquents 54, misdemeanants 38, and felons 34. The development of these records makes possible investigation of a number of interesting topics which are of great practical significance both from the standpoint of delinquency and of school problems.

Topics for Investigation from Case Records⁷

1. Is truancy a habit, subject to the laws of learning, and showing a curve of increase? Or is it a sudden emotional avoidance response to an unpleasant situation? Illustrate for four groups.
2. What relation does recency of immigration have to degree of truancy?
3. What relation exists between time of onset of truancy and economic status of family?
4. What difference is there in delinquency history for children born first, second, or last?
5. What relationship has size of family to degree of delinquency?
6. What relationship has size of family to number of members of family who have police records?

⁶ Students and some instructors have summarized case records, have engaged in interviewing, and have worked out term projects from the records of these 250 cases. The types of topic available for such term papers are indicated in the accompanying list of questions.

⁷ Prepared by Mr. Harry Shulman, Research Director, Sub-Committee on Causes, New York State Crime Commission.

7. What part does nativity and recency of immigration play in degree of delinquency?
8. What part did the school teacher play in these cases in:
 - a. observing abnormal behavior
 - b. undertaking to correct it along scientific lines
9. Is there any relation between the kind of jobs held and the economic status of the family?
10. What proportion of skilled, semiskilled and unskilled jobs did the four groups secure?
11. What evidences are there of vocational maladjustment in these cases? Does it increase with severer offenses?
12. What relationship exists between the type of job held and recency of immigration?
13. What relationship is there between nationality and type of job? Are there racial job traditions?
14. What relationship is there between the type of job held by the father and held by the offender? Are there family job traditions?
15. What evidences are there that large profits from illegal occupations, or adult wages earned by minors, spoiled any of the offenders for regular work at average incomes? What distortion of social values took place here?
16. What effect did the break up of homes leave in the four different groups? Was the extent of broken homes greater in one than in the others?
17. Does the father or does the mother tend to be the person more often away from the family, through death, separation, or desertion?
18. Does loss of home control, due to the work of the mother, seem to affect the children? Compare the crime records of children whose mothers worked and those who did not work
19. What relationship exists between economic status and degree of break up of homes?
20. What relation is there between nationality and degree of break up of homes?
21. Do children commit the same type of offenses as adults?
22. Is crime a habitual tendency, showing a period of growth, or is it a sudden response to some unusual stimulus?
23. What evidences of normal behavior are there in the cases of boys who were felons? Does the data favor or disfavor the theory of a "criminal type"?
24. Do offenders receive adequate punishment for their crimes? Which type of punishment, fine, jail sentence, or probation seems to have been most effective in deterring further crime?
25. Is there unequal punishment for the same crime? Does this seem to have depended on the past record of the offender? What is likely to be the psychological effect on criminals of unequal punishment for similar offenses? Does it tend to clarify ethical values?

26. To what extent do the crimes committed represent strong native tendencies, to what extent economic forces, to what extent undirected play energy?
27. Draw a graph illustrating the frequency of different types of offense committed. What insight does it give into the motives animating criminals. Are the activities of these young men different not only in degree but in kind, from those of persons who stay "within the law"?
28. Range the offenses committed on a scale, in the order of what you consider their damage to society as a whole. Range them on the basis of punishment meted. What is the *r* between the two?
29. What value have school conduct marks in indicating future criminal or noncriminal behavior?
30. What proportion of these families received philanthropic aid? To what extent did the aid seem regular and planful? Did the felons get as much aid as the other groups?
31. What relation is there between amount of aid given and economic status? Are there any evidences of "pauperization"? or "sponging"?
32. What evidences are there of unwise parental discipline?

In answering these questions a knowledge of the community backgrounds will be important. The community case study of the Lower West Side will include a particular investigation of those of the 250 cases which fall within the boundaries of this district.

Another application of what is learned in the Lower West Side Study will be made in attempting to formulate a program for vocational guidance for a girls' junior high school in the district. The study of this school as an institution will be part of the general project of community study but will be undertaken with particular reference to the vocational problems of the girls with whom the school deals. It will be carried on by a committee of students under supervision in coöperation with the Vocational Adjustment Bureau for Girls. Some of the points covered will be (details omitted):

- I. Study of family backgrounds of girls
- II. Vocational opportunities for girls of this type
- III. Vocational adjustments of girls who have been graduated from this school
- IV. Relation of business school courses to later vocational adjustments
- V. Neighborhood, community, and nationality factors in vocational adjustment
- VI. Techniques of vocational guidance in this situation

A map will be made showing the present distribution of pupils in the school according to nationality origins. The community case study will be used to provide the general setting for the vocational study and specific applications will be made where pertinent.

All the particular social problems which arise in the community will be seen to be phases of life as a whole. This is true of education. The business of the school is to teach the child to live well in the modern world. In performing this function, the school confronts directly the problems of conditioning and reconditioning the child, directing his activities, and altering his behaviors in ways which will best prepare him to function harmoniously in the community and in the larger cultural complex.

Even assuming perfection in technique and administration, it is obvious that this is no easy task. Habits, skills, knowledge, contents, and standards of value in America, while fairly well defined in certain noncontroversial fields by some groups, are in a state of confusion in other fields and may be made issues for conflict in other groups. Unlike the more consistent, if not simpler, social systems of some preliterate peoples, the various elements in American social organization are highly heterogeneous and often in a state of uncertainty and mutual contradiction.

Partly because of our varied origins abroad and our diverse developments at home America is a conglomeration of divergent groups and standards. We may become more consistent with age, but at present a greater variety of heritages and trends can hardly be imagined. We are a mixture of Puritan and Cavalier; crudity and refinement; wealth and poverty; white, black, tan, and yellow, North and South; city and country; wet and dry, native and immigrant; East and West; Irish and English; virtue and vice; Scandinavia and Balkans; capital and labor; fundamentalist and modernist; Russian and French Canadian; farmer and manufacturer; Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile, monastic and freethinker; Bohemian and Philistine, Barbarian and Greek; "Big Bill" and King George—all interpatched in the most intricate of crazy-quilts.

The success of the school in performing its task will depend upon the flexibility of its programs to meet varied social needs and this will be determined in part by the ability of its personnel

to understand these diverse social backgrounds. Fortunately the patrons of the school are seldom called upon to vote on the details of its curriculum and the methods it uses in performing its task. The educator is free to some extent at least (excepting in Chicago) to perfect his procedure in the light of the contradictions and correlations of all the diverse elements in the social backgrounds of his pupils and his school.

To do this adequately requires the development of a research program with which educational sociology may properly concern itself. Such a program must investigate all the child's own groups and all others which may reinforce or thwart the school in the performance of its functions. The school's own problems as a functioning institution cannot be dealt with in isolation, but must be considered in the complex of other institutions, such as churches, religious societies, social-work organizations, civic and political institutions, and a variety of voluntary interest groups which go to make up the situation complex within which the school must function.

The problems of the school, therefore, and of the child in school are seen to be a complex of intricate interrelationships in a total conditioning situation. It follows that the study of the whole child in the whole school must be made with reference to the total situation within which each occurs. This is essential for a complete understanding of school problems and for the development of educational outcomes which are consonant with the social adjustment of the child.

Conclusion

The foregoing statement may be considered as only a tentative presentation of some of the suggested possibilities of the community case study, rather than as an exhaustive treatment of the subject. Many important points have been necessarily omitted.⁸ The emphasis of the study will be that of a descriptive, realistic investigation, but its applications to the solution of many important social problems must not be overlooked.

⁸ The special significance of the study of the home, the neighborhood, and the community as social backgrounds conditioning the development of the personality of the school child will be presented in a later article under the caption of "The Social Definition of the Situation."

PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

HARVEY W ZORBAUGH

II

ORIGINAL NATURE

HOW WE LEARN—NEGATIVE ADAPTATION

A BOTTLE-FED infant soon comes to show violent bodily squirmings at the sight of the bottle. These squirmings become organized into well-defined habits of reaching and manipulation. The infant is weaned at nine months. At two years of age he is offered a bottle of warmed milk. He shows little or no interest in it. The nursing response has more or less completely disappeared. Watson found that crinkling a newspaper near the ear of a drowsy infant would, shortly after birth, elicit "fear." At the age of five most infants pay scant attention to such a stimulus. Not only do unlearned responses become conditioned upon stimuli that originally did not provoke them. Stimuli (original or substituted) may cease to provoke their characteristic responses. We say the individual has become negatively adapted to them.

Negative adaptation includes a number of phenomena—a raising of the threshold of stimulation (which may progress to the point of complete indifference to the stimulus); a weakening of the energy of the response, a disintegration of the response. All these phenomena, which tend to accompany one another, would seem to be due to a loosening of the conditioned stimulus-response bonds which hold the parts of the response together and the response as a whole to the exciting situation.

Negative adaptation occurs under a variety of conditions. Pavlov and his students found that the dog's conditioned responses disappear with disuse. After a period of "no-practice" they cease to work. However, traces of the response may persist for considerable periods of time. In one dog marked traces of the conditioned salivary response were found after two years of "no-practice." After one reinforcement (association of the original and substituted stimuli) it was completely restored. The condi-

tioned responses of the human animal, like those of the dog, will survive long periods of "no-practice," but are gradually lost through disuse. Watson recounts the following observation upon the infant's loss of positive adaptation to the nursing bottle after a period of disuse:

Baby B, 2 years, 3 months of age.

At 12:30 noon, the baby's meal time, his regular nurse picked him up and said, "Dinner, Billy," laid him flat on his back in the crib, as was her usual custom when he formerly was fed from the bottle. She handed him the warmed bottle just as she had one and one-fourth years before.

The baby took the bottle in both hands, then began to manipulate the nipple with his finger, then began to cry because "dinner" with him at noon at this age consisted of meat and vegetables. When told to "Take his milk," he put the nipple to his mouth and got a taste of milk and began to *chew the nipple*. *Nursing could not be called out*. He called to his mother and cried and handed her the bottle and raised himself to a sitting posture. He pushed the bottle toward the mother, then toward the father, with both hands. He was then let down to the floor and good humor was restored.

He was told "Jimmie drinks from bottle" (his infant brother). Then he took the bottle, stuck it into his mouth and walked off, *chewing the nipple* as he went. *Nursing had disappeared through disuse*. It had been "*forgotten*." (This act when practised can continue indefinitely. I have records of children who nursed at the breast until they were over three years of age.)

Billy nursed at the mother's breast only during the first month and was then put wholly on the bottle. At the end of nine months he was weaned from the bottle and made to drink from a silver mug. Until he was one year of age he drank his morning orange juice from a nursing bottle. He never saw a nursing bottle from that day until the day of the test. . . His behavior throughout was exactly that of reacting to a strange new object, forced to react to it when his whole body was ready to react to his regular food.¹

Though a few remnants remained of the responses that had been called out by the nursing bottle at nine months of age, the majority of them had been lost and the infant had become more or less indifferent to the bottle. Evidently, then, *negative adaptation takes place through disuse*. (That is, where substituted stimuli are involved. No experiments have been carried out which indicate that original stimuli may become ineffective through disuse.) In everyday speech we call this process forgetting. The remarka-

¹ Watson, *Behaviorism*, pp. 201-202.

ble thing is not how rapidly negative adaptation takes place through disuse, but how slowly we forget.²

Watson's attempt to eliminate conditioned fears through the method of disuse is of interest in this connection:

It has commonly been supposed that the mere removal of the stimulus for a sufficient length of time will cause the child or adult to "forget his fear." All of us have heard the expressions "Just keep him away from it and he'll outgrow it. He will forget all about it." Laboratory tests were made to determine the efficacy of this method. I quote from Mrs. Jones's laboratory notes

Case 8 Bobby G. Age 30 months.

December 6 Bobby showed a slight fear response when a rat was presented in a box. He looked at it from a distance of several feet, drew back, and cried. A three day period of training followed, bringing Bobby to the point where he tolerated a rat in the pen in which he was playing, and even touched it without overt fear indications. No further stimulation with the rat occurred until

January 30. After nearly two months of no experience with the specific stimulus, Bobby was again brought into the laboratory. While he was playing in the pen, E appeared, with a rat held in her hand. Bobby jumped up, ran outside the pen, and cried. The rat having been returned to its box, Bobby ran to E., held her hand, and showed marked disturbance.³

Similar tests with other children yielded identical results. Disuse is a slow and none too effective means of negative adaptation. Traces of the response persist for long periods. The evidence of the clinic would indicate that considerable traces of emotional response may persist after years of comparative disuse. Moreover, save in the isolation of the hospital, or in a similar situation, complete "no-practice" is hard to achieve. In the daily round of life the stimulus is constantly turning up.

² How persistent a conditioned response may be, even though set up by the most transient association of stimuli, is strikingly illustrated by an incident related by Burnham (*The Normal Mind*, pp. 154-155). A child a year and a half old, while on a visit with her parents, was given a ring to play with. When it came time to go home the ring could not be found. Search for it was in vain. Some months later the child with its parents revisited the same household. Almost immediately the child went to a corner of the room, lifted the carpet and took up the ring. Unconscious memory? Budding genius? Probably merely a conditioned response to the recurring stimuli of the situation—people, room, carpet, and the like.

³ Watson, *Behaviorism*, p. 126. See also *Psychologies* of 1925 (edited by Murchison), "Recent Experiments on How We Lose and Change One Emotional Experiment", and Anderson, J. A., "The Dream as a Reconditioning Process", *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, No. 22, 1927, pp. 21-25.

Watson also attempted, while experimenting with the breaking down of children's fears, to bring about *negative adaptation through frequent application of the stimulus*. The procedure consisted in having the object which provoked the fear response, in this case an animal, brought in to the child many times a day. In some cases a certain amount of tolerance resulted—there being no crying or attempted withdrawal. But even in these cases traces of the visceral reactions involved in fear remained. In no case could the child be induced to touch the animal. In other cases there was a pronounced summation effect—a marked increase in the vigor of the fear reaction. While frequent repetition of the stimulus does not seem to be an overly successful method of bringing about negative adaptation to fear stimuli, it does result in breaking down some conditioned responses of a more nearly segmented character—such as salivation at the ringing of a bell.

In discussing positive adaptation we noticed that every response has a threshold of stimulation—that is, the stimulus must reach a given intensity before the response will be called out. A stimulus of an intensity below the threshold of response is known as a subliminal stimulus. We saw that the frequent repetition of subliminal stimuli might provoke a response through summation. If the intervals between the occurrences of the subliminal stimulus are lengthened, however (the length of the interval depending upon the nature of the stimulus situation), instead of a summation effect there results a raising of the threshold of stimulation. Now *if the intensity of the stimulus is gradually increased as the threshold rises, more or less complete negative adaptation results*. A horse is broken to the saddle by accustoming him progressively to blanket, blanket and surcingle, saddle, saddle and a bag of feed, and finally saddle and rider—successful breaking depending upon keeping the stimuli within the horse's growing toleration. The child that cries at being put to bed in the dark may be broken of this habit by gradually dimming the light on successive nights. The willful child becomes totally unmindful of his mother's call because he has been allowed to disregard it on many occasions. As Smith and Guthrie suggest, a man is probably saved from feeling distaste for his aging wife because wives grow old gradually.

Most of the negative adaptations built up in the daily course of our lives result from this process.⁴

Watson demonstrated that children's conditioned fears may be completely eliminated through the repetition of subliminal stimuli, gradually increasing the intensity of the stimulus as the threshold rises:

Peter was an active, eager child of approximately three years of age. This child was well adjusted to ordinary life situations except for his fear organization. He was afraid of white rats, rabbits, fur coats, feathers, cotton wool, frogs, fish, and mechanical toys. From the description of his fears, you might well think that Peter was merely Albert B. of the last lecture grown up. Only you must remember that Peter's fears were "home grown," not experimentally produced as were Albert's. Peter's fears, though, were much more pronounced, as the following description will show.

Peter was put in a crib in a playroom and immediately became absorbed in his toys. A white rat was introduced into the crib from behind. (The experimenter was behind a screen.) At sight of the rat, Peter screamed and fell flat on his back in a paroxysm of fear. The stimulus was removed, and Peter was taken out of the crib and put into a chair. Barbara, a girl of two, was brought to the crib and the white rat introduced as before. She exhibited no fear but picked the rat up in her hand. Peter sat quietly watching Barbara and the rat. A string of beads belonging to Peter had been left in the crib. Whenever the rat touched a part of the string, he would say "my beads" in a complaining voice, although he made no objections when Barbara touched them. Invited to get down from the chair, he shook his head, fear not yet subsided. Twenty-five minutes elapsed before he was ready to play about freely.

We secured permission to give him his mid-afternoon lunch, consisting of crackers and a glass of milk. We seated him at a small table in a high chair. The lunch was served in a room about forty feet long. Just as he began to eat his lunch, the rabbit was displayed in a wire cage of wide mesh. We displayed it on the first day *just far enough away not to disturb his eating*. This point was then marked. The next day the rabbit was brought closer and closer until disturbance was first barely noticed. This place was marked. The third and succeeding days the same routine was maintained. Finally the rabbit could be placed upon the table—then in Peter's lap. Next tolerance changed to positive reaction. Finally he would eat with one hand and play with the rabbit with the other, a proof that his viscera were retrained along with his hands!

After having broken down his fear reactions to the rabbit—the animal calling out fear responses of the most exaggerated kinds—we were next interested in seeing what his reactions would be to other

⁴ Smith and Guthrie, *General Psychology*, pp. 80-84.

furry animals and furry objects. Fear responses to cotton, the fur coat, and feathers were entirely gone. He looked at them and handled them and then turned to other things. He would even pick up the fur rug and bring it to the experimenter.

The reaction to white rats was greatly improved—it had at least reached the tolerance stage but did not call out any very excited positive manipulation. He would pick up the small tin boxes containing rats and frogs and carry them around the room.⁵

This method of bringing about negative adaptation would seem to offer great possibilities in the breaking down of undesirable emotional activities in home and clinic. The technique of its application to other responses than fear, however, waits upon further experimentation.

Negative adaptation to stimuli which call out struggling and "rage" may come through the failure of the response to get rid of the stimulus. The response becomes fatigued as the stimulus persists, is given less and less energetically, and finally ceases. After the response has been repeatedly fatigued in this fashion, a considerable degree of negative adaptation results. The cow-puncher breaks a pony to the saddle by confining it in a pen, saddling it by force, mounting, and then turning it loose and riding it until it is exhausted. After repeated "bucking" has failed to dislodge the rider, the pony's threshold of resistance is permanently raised. He is "broken." So a child who has temper tantrums when he is put to bed can be "broken" by leaving him alone to "cry it out." Complete adaptation is difficult to achieve by this method. The pony broken by the cow-puncher method is likely always to make some show of resistance at being saddled. The child so broken is likely for a long time to make some show of resistance at being put to bed. How far negative adaptation to stimuli calling out other types of response can be similarly achieved has not been demonstrated. All responses can be fatigued. But in the case of fear, for example, exhausting the response (being frightened to the point of exhaustion) apparently may lower rather than raise the threshold.

⁵ Watson, *Behaviorism*, pp. 128-130. A full report on Peter is given by Mary Carver Jones in the *Pedagogical Seminary* for December, 1924. In the course of the experiment a positive fear adaptation gives way to negative adaptation, which in turn gives way to a positive manipulation adaptation.

*The attachment of the two incompatible responses to the same stimulus also results in negative adaptation. This is known as associative inhibition.*⁶

Triplett divided an aquarium into two parts by a pane of glass. Into one part he put perch. Into the other part he put the minnows which are their natural food. The perch would at first dart toward the minnows, striking their heads against the glass. After a time the perch became indifferent to the minnows. The partition was then removed and the minnows mingled safely with their natural enemies.⁷ The perch had become negatively adapted to the minnows. If a charged plate is put at the entrance to a rat's food box, so that in attempting to enter he receives a mild shock, he gradually becomes indifferent to the opening of the box. Negative adaptation does not take place at once. For a time there is a succession of movements of approach and withdrawal. Gradually these movements become more tentative, less energetic. Finally the stimulus elicits no response whatever.

Negative adaptation is similarly effected in children. The infant sees the flame of the candle and extends his hand, feels the flame of the candle and withdraws his hand. He soon becomes negatively adapted to the sight of the flame. If every time he reaches out toward the flame an adult intervenes by rapping his fingers with a pencil he likewise becomes negatively adapted to the sight of the flame.

This is the means of securing negative adaptation that is most frequently attempted in school and home. But it is rarely used scientifically. Indeed it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to use it scientifically in the course of everyday events. As a result it is often ineffective and occasionally disastrous. In the first place, the faint noxious stimuli employed in the laboratory or nursery are likely to be replaced by violent stimuli such as whipping and beating. Violent stimulation, instead of giving rise merely to movements of avoidance and withdrawal, result in widespread visceral reactions. Instead of negative adaptation to the stimulus there arises an emotional attitude toward it. While

⁶ L. W. Kline, "An Experimental Study of Associative Inhibition," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 1921, pp. 270-299.

⁷ Triplett, "The Educability of Perch," *American Journal of Psychology*, XII p. 354.

this may inhibit the undesirable response, it also builds up violent dislikes, aversions, dreads, and fears, which are likely unfortunately to complicate the child's later behavior. Moreover, punishment rarely immediately follows the undesirable response. Yet the evidence of the laboratory would indicate that the conditioning of responses requires a relatively simultaneous association of stimuli. Punishing a child, especially a small child, after school, or when father gets home at night for an act that occurred in the morning is not likely to inhibit that act the next time the situation that provoked it arises. Where punishment is both violent and delayed it is more likely to result in the attachment of hates or fears to the person who does the punishing than in negative adaptation to the situation which provokes the undesirable behavior. The parent or teacher who does the punishing frequently is emotionally worked up and uses the process of whipping as an emotional outlet. Such a sadistic performance makes a scientific dosage impossible. When the undesirable behavior persists, the punishment may be so frequent that the child actually becomes to some extent negatively adapted to the punishment itself. Again, many undesirable acts occur infrequently. Unless the association of stimuli involves undesirable "shock," it takes frequent repetition to set up a conditional response. Consequently the punishment does not result in an avoidance response becoming attached to the situation.

How then, are avoidance responses to be built in? It is thoroughly scientific to rap a child's fingers every time it puts them in its mouth, or touches its sex organs, or pulls down dishes and books, or gets into the matches—provided the child is *caught in the act*, is rapped *immediately* and not too hard, and is rapped in a thoroughly objective and unemotional way. Obviously children are more frequently caught in the act when they are quite small. The parent who carefully trains the child during the first few years of its life saves much trouble later. Even older children may be similarly punished—substituting a few cuts across the legs with a switch for rapping with a pencil—provided they are caught in the act. Punishment should never be accompanied by berating. A "No" to an infant or a "Don't do that again" to an older child is sufficient. Beating and berating is not child training—it is

merely an unequal fight or row. Watson has suggested the use of an electrical device whereby the small child will receive a faint shock when he touches the forbidden vase or books. If he can perfect and market such a device for home use, he will be assured of a princely income from distraught parents!

As the child grows older, physical punishment involves a struggle and should be abandoned as it only results in violent emotion and hate for parent or teacher. The problem of devising effective punishments that do not involve physical contact is likely to test one's ingenuity to the limit. The following paragraphs show how one mother solved the problem.

We have four children, three boys and one girl. My wife was a school teacher before I married her, a quiet, resourceful woman, where I am quick and inclined to sudden anger. We have always got on splendidly. Our first disagreement came with our first child, and it was a question of punishment for his disobedience.

The boy had been told to put his toys away. On this particular evening, he stubbornly refused to do so. After all my entreaties and threats had failed, and my anger was thoroughly aroused, I started toward the boy with the intention of spanking him into submission. My wife, divining my intention, intervened. "No," she said, "I don't want that method to be used on our children."

Well, I had been brought up under the "spare the rod and spoil the child" régime. My wife listened patiently to this harangue. Then she asked if she might try her system first.

She told Bobby to put the toys away, and was met with the same refusal. So she gathered up the toys herself and stored them away on a high shelf in the closet. The surprised Bobby looked on with a victorious gleam in his eye. Soon afterward he went to bed. Bright and early the next morning, he wanted his toys, but couldn't reach them himself. He asked to have them taken down for him.

My wife explained to him, calmly and reasonably, that little boys who weren't willing to put their toys away when they were through with them couldn't take them out to play with. For three days Bobby looked up at those toys on the shelf, and remembered why he couldn't have them down. He never refused to put them away after that.

"Always fit the punishment to the crime, and never argue or fight with a tired, angry child. Wait until calm has been restored, and both you and the child can see the light of reason." This was the constant advice of my wife.

It was a firm rule in our household that the children should come in from their play at five o'clock. They had duties to perform before the evening meal—errands at the store, the table to set, wood and coal to be brought up from the basement. Johnny invariably loitered, coming in from a half hour to an hour late.

"Johnny, you're late again," said my wife one day "Now listen to me, my boy. We have work in this life as well as play Whenever one person shirks his work, someone else has to do more than his share, to make up for the shirker. That isn't playing fair Bobby has had to run your errands while you played When you come home tomorrow, you will have to do Bobby's share of the work to even up the score " That cured him

The boys always took turns washing the dishes after dinner When it came to Jack's turn, we all trembled, for he broke so many We allowed a generous margin for accident, and then my wife spoke to him about it

"Son," she said to him, "you don't break your toys the way you do Mother's dishes. You're simply careless, and you must learn to be careful with other people's property. After this, you will have to replace out of your own allowance all dishes you break " Jack's carefulness increased in exact proportion to the number of dishes he had to replace. It wasn't long before he had learned to take time and exercise care in handling not only dishes but other things as well.

Our children never quarrel, and here's the reason: As soon as my wife saw one of them fighting with, picking on, or teasing another, she parted them, and did not let them play together for several hours A child's anger is very short Usually, in half an hour, the quarrelers would want to play together again Then my wife would explain to them some point she wanted to bring home, such as fair play, respect for the other's property, leniency to the little sister But she insisted that they play separately the allotted time During this remaining hour of solitude, the lesson had a good chance to sink in. When play was resumed, there was a new feeling of comradeship established

I know it is harder to make Johnny wash the towel on which he has dried his dirty hands than it would be to slap his hands and say, "You naughty boy." But where the latter punishment may have to be repeated a dozen times, I doubt if the former will be called on a second time.⁸

Obviously to be effective such punishment requires a considerable amount of verbal organization in the child. Even given considerable verbal organization, the inhibitions of the child under six remain relatively specific. They are attached to particular situations and are not likely to be carried over to similar situations. Only very gradually do the common elements in the situations which elicit a "bad boy" or "mother spank" from the parent become stimuli sufficient to call out avoidance in an unfamiliar situation. When they do, the limit of moral educability of the average child has been very nearly reached. Only unusu-

⁸ *American Magazine*, January, 1928, p 144.

ally intelligent children and superior adults ever learn to guide their conduct with reference to such abstract ideals as those of ownership, fairness, justice, or law. Reasoning with the average child about his behavior often is of dubious value. The use of a succinct verbal definition, such as "Good boys never do that," uniformly repeated in similar situations, is more likely to be effective with the average child. Where the child demands a reason, it should be given. But it should be a reason, should be clearly and briefly stated, and should not be debated. A practical sense of fitness in the average run of social situations can be developed in this way by the time the child is ten to twelve.

Associative inhibition is difficult if not impossible to achieve by the method of verbal reorganization alone. Talking a child out of pulling books off the shelves, without accompanying noxious stimuli or penalties, is not likely to build up a stable avoidance response in the presence of books. Conversely, the attempt to talk a child out of his fears is not likely to build up habits of approach and manipulation that will inhibit the habits of startle and withdrawal. This method presupposes, of course, a fairly wide language organization to begin with. Watson reports the following case:

Jean E, a girl in her fifth year, was found to be sufficiently well organized to use in an extended test. At the initial presentation of the rabbit, marked fear responses were shown. The rabbit was not shown again for some time. But ten minutes, daily conversation was given her on the subject of rabbits. The experimenter introduced such devices as the picture book of Peter Rabbit, toy rabbits, and rabbits modeled from plasticine. Brief stories about rabbits were told. During the telling of these stories, she would say "Where is your rabbit?" or "Show me a rabbit", and once she said "I touched your rabbit and stroked it, and never cried" (which was not true). At the end of one week of verbal organization, the rabbit was shown again. Her reaction was practically the same as at the first encounter. She jumped up from her play and retreated. When coaxed she touched the rabbit while the experimenter held it, but when the animal was put down on the floor she sobbed "Put it away—take it." Verbal organization when not connected with manual adjustments to the animal had little effect in removing fear responses.⁹

The experience of the clinic with both children and adults has likewise demonstrated the difficulty, often the futility, of

⁹ Watson, *Behaviorism*, p. 127

trying to inhibit responses or habits by verbal reorganizations alone.

A further method of building up associative inhibitions often attempted in school and home is what we might call the attempt to laugh the child out of his undesirable response. That is, it is attempted in a social situation, by means of disparagement and ridicule to inhibit the response.

Most of us are familiar both in the school and on the playground with what happens among groups of children. If one shows fear at any object to which the group does not show fear, the one showing fear is made a scapegoat and is called a "fraidy cat." We attempted to use this social factor in the case of some of the children. One case is given here in detail.

Case 41.—Arthur G. Age 4 years. Arthur was shown the frogs in an aquarium, no other children being present. He cried, said "they bite," and ran out of the playpen. Later, however, he was brought into the room with four other boys; he swaggered up to the aquarium, pressing ahead of the others who were with him. When one of his companions picked up a frog and turned to him with it, he screamed and fled, at this he was chased and made fun of, but with naturally no lessening of the fear on this particular occasion.

This is probably one of the most unsafe methods in common use for eliminating fears. It tends to breed negative reactions not only to the animal feared but to society as a whole.¹⁰

The attempt to laugh a child out of an undesirable trait may have grave consequences—a feeling of inferiority, timidity in group situations, a shut-in personality, or an antisocial attitude. The opposite use of social factors, however, may have quite favorable results. Particularly in inhibiting avoidance responses, introducing the child into a situation in which other children have well-defined responses of approach and manipulation—where manipulation is coupled with praise, and where avoidance is not permitted to attract unfavorable attention or to lead to invidious comparison and ridicule—may overcome the avoidance response.

In the home, school, or community situation, it is difficult to achieve the nice balance of responses that results in complete negative adaptation through associative inhibition. Rather, the result is likely to fall short of negative adaptation, remaining on the level of conflict or alternation of movements or impulses of approach and avoidance, such as we observe in the infant which

¹⁰ Watson, *Behaviorism*, pp 127-128

is learning to avoid the candle flame; or the result is likely to pass beyond negative adaptation, an undesirable positive adaptation being replaced by a desirable positive adaptation. Where inhibitions remain on the level of conflict they are likely to prove highly unstable. Where negative adaptation is followed by a desirable positive adaptation the inhibition is doubly stable. The replacement of an undesirable response by a desirable response serves in most cases as well as genuine negative adaptation or indifference to the stimulus. In the case of Albert, replacing his fear of the rat by habits of manipulation showed quite as well as would have actual negative adaptation. It probably doubly safeguarded against a recurrence of the fear.

(To be continued in an early issue)

SOCIAL MOBILITY AMONG COLLEGE GRADUATES

W. A. ANDERSON

DURING the period of its existence down to and including the year 1922, 1350 men have graduated and received degrees from North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, the land-grant college of this state. This study indicates the degree of geographical, economic, and occupational mobility that has taken place among a representative sample, 331 men of 24.5 per cent of this group, since their graduation. The study indicates some of the important processes going on in our American society among college graduates and suggests their sociological significance.

I. GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY

The facts concerning geographic movement are set forth in Tables I and II. The total group was divided into two sections, those graduating from agricultural courses and those graduating from engineering courses, the chemistry graduates being included in the engineering group. Table I shows the changes on the basis of percentages born in the city, small town, and open country and those finding employment in the same places. The city was defined for these purposes as a place of 2,500 population and more, the small town as having a population of 500 to 2,500, and the open country as being villages of 500 population and less plus the open country.

Table I indicates that the agricultural graduates are concentrating in the cities, and that this shifting is even much more intense among the engineering students, in fact there is a wholesale movement from the rural region and the small town to the city.

When one considers the whole group as a unit, it is found that the small town is practically holding its own. The opposite, however, is true for the rural region, for only one third of the number born in the country find employment there. These facts show that the agricultural and engineering college graduate is shifting to the city and away from the country.

The degree of shifting that takes place from each of the places of birth is set forth in Table II. The table indicates that 18 8

TABLE I. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF CHANGE FROM PLACE OF BIRTH TO PLACE OF PRESENT EMPLOYMENT OF GRADUATES OF NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE

Course	Place	Place of Birth		Place of Employment	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Agriculture Courses	City	10	15 1	36	33.9
	Town	9	8 5	26	24.6
	Open country..	81	76 4	44	41 5
Engineering Courses*	City..	80	35 7	178	35.6
	Town	52	23.2	22	10 6
	Open Country..	92	41 1	8	3 8
Total Group	City	96	29 1	214	68.1
	Town	61	19.5	48	15 3
	Open Country	173	52 4	52	16 6
Grand Total		330	100 0	314	100 0

*Chemistry graduates included here

TABLE II GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY OF 320 NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE GRADUATES

		Place of Employment			Total Number	No. Shift	Per-centage Shifted
		City	Town	Country			
Place of Birth	City	73	11	6	90	17	18 8
	Town	38	17	3	58	41	70 07
	Country	95	34	43	172	129	75 0
	Total Group				320	187	58 4

per cent shifted from the city while 81.2 per cent remained there. Of those born in the small town, 41 or 70.7 per cent changed residence. Of 172 men born in the country, there was a shifting of 75 per cent out of the rural section while 25 per cent returned. The amount of shifting from the country is therefore four times

as great as from the city. The degree of shifting for the small town and the open country is almost the same, there being a slightly lower degree of change from the small town.

This geographic mobility is of considerable sociological significance. It would appear that the city is a great magnet, holding within its own confines the persons born there, while drawing into its life a large number of those born in the rural and small-town region. This movement to the city may raise the question as to whether rural life is being divested of its potential leadership, for apparently the trained college man, so far as these figures are representative, does not return to invest his life and leadership there. Perhaps it is simply that the needs and the opportunities in rural life are not as numerous as those of the city. Our agricultural population, however, is growing absolutely. If a process of selection is taking place whereby the proportion of educated persons in the total rural population is growing smaller, it may mean the development of an inferior people in the agricultural industry.

II. ECONOMIC MOBILITY

Here consideration is given to the economic changes which have taken place from grandfathers to fathers and from the fathers to these agricultural and engineering graduate sons. The graduates stated the incomes of their fathers and grandfathers when the fathers and grandfathers were the same age as the graduate, the groups therefore being compared as to earnings at the same age.

In Table III is presented a comparison of the mean money incomes of these three generations. The point of significance is that the average money incomes of fathers and grandfathers are practically the same, favoring slightly the fathers, whereas the agricultural graduate's money income is 2.5 times that of his father and 3.5 times that of his grandfather. It is to be suggested therefore that so far as money income is concerned, the change is strongly upward from father to son, and but slightly upward from grandfather to father.

However, it is very questionable as to whether this difference in money income is indicative of as great changes in economic status from father to son as might first appear. Over the period of the two generations here represented, significant changes in the pur-

changing power of money have taken place and these changes may account for the large change in money income from fathers to sons rather than any change in economic status. A comparison of the chief index numbers by five-year intervals from 1890 to 1925 shows an increase in general price level of approximately 2.4 times from 1890 to 1925. In other words, the increase in incomes of State College graduates is almost identical with the increase in price levels, or in other words, the decreasing purchasing power of money. Our conclusion therefore seems to be that the increased money income of State College graduates over their fathers represents no significant change in economic status, but that both seem to be on practically the same economic level.

If the average incomes of college graduates are about the same, so far as purchasing power is concerned, as those of their fathers, and therefore no significant change in economic status exists between the two groups, it may be suggested that the present period is demanding a greater training than the previous era to receive equal income, since the great majority of fathers were not even high-school graduates.

TABLE III. COMPARISON OF MEAN INCOMES OF GRANDFATHERS, FATHERS, AND SONS AMONG 313 NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE GRADUATES

	N C State Graduate	Father	Grandfather
Number stating Income	313	258	98
Arithmetical average Income.	4416	1731	1285

The extraordinary changes in money incomes are interesting. Fifteen sons whose fathers' income was reported stated that they received an income of \$10,000 or more, including two men who stated incomes of \$50,000. The fathers of four of these received \$1000 or less, of five the income was \$2000 or less, of three the income was \$2000-3000, of two \$3000-1000. Only one of the fathers received \$7000-\$8000. Thus 14 or 5 per cent of the total group increased their incomes abnormally above that of their fathers. This 5 per cent compares well with Professor Sorokin's figure of 6 per cent for such changes, and stresses his theory that

TABLE IV. TRANSMISSION OF MONEY INCOME FROM GRANDFATHER TO FATHER TO FATHER'S SON

	Number	No. Where Money Income Same	Percentage Transmission Same Money Income	Percentage Change Upward	Percentage Change Down	Total
Paternal Grandfather and Father	101	50	49.6	41.5	8.9	100
Father and Son.	279	17	6.1	90.3	3.6	100

the greater the distance to be covered in these changes, the fewer the number who do so. It is also interesting to note that there were no cases of these abnormal increases in incomes for fathers over grandfathers.

III. INTEROCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

To what degree are occupations handed down from generation to generation, and what is the extent of occupational shifting among the graduates of North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering?

The degree of transmission of occupations through these three generations studied is presented in Table V. This data compares almost identically with the findings of Professor Sorokin among Minnesota students and business men and gives further basis for the idea that interoccupational mobility is increasing from generation to generation and that the transmission of occupations is constantly decreasing from generation to generation and that the family occupational status is a decreasing factor in determining the occupational activities of the sons.

This table also shows that the percentage of transmission of the same occupation through three generations was 16.9 for agricultural graduates and 1.4 for engineering graduates, or in other words, that agriculture as an occupation is transmitted from generation to generation to a much greater degree than are other occupations.

TABLE V. NUMBER AND PER CENT OF FATHERS, SONS, PATERNAL GRANDFATHERS FOLLOW SAME OCCUPATION AMONG 331 NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE GRADUATES

	No Schedule	Fathers, Grandfathers, in Same Occupation		Fathers and Sons in Same Occupation		Grandfathers, Fathers, and Sons in Same Occupation	
		No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent
Agriculture	51	35	66 0	9	17 0	8	15 0
Agronomy	13	10	76 0	4	30 8	3	23 1
Animal Husbandry	28	21	75 0	10	35 7	7	25 0
Vocational Education	14	11	78 6	0	0	0	0
Chemistry	25	4	16 0	3	12 0	0	0
Civil Engineering	63	10	30 2	1	1 6	0	0
Electrical Engineering	55	10	20 1	0	10 0	1	1 8
Mechanical Engineering	54	20	37 0	5	9 3	2	3 7
Textile.	28	10	35 7	3	10 7	0	0
Total	319	146	44 1	41	12 4	21	6 3

TABLE VI. OCCUPATIONAL SOURCES AND DISPERSION OF GRADUATES OF THE AGRICULTURAL COURSES

Father's Occupation

Son's Occupation	Farming	Manufacturer, Merchant, Business	Physician, Professions	Agricultural Specialists	Total
Farming	21	4			25
Manufacturing, Merchant, Business Man	8	4			12
Agricultural Specialists, Ex- tension, Research, etc.	38	6	1	1	46
Teachers, School Adminis- tration	20	2			22
Professional	1				1
Total	88	16	1	1	106

TABLE VIII OCCUPATIONAL CHANGES AMONG NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE GRADUATES

	Number in Group	Same Occupation Throughout		Those Who Changed		Total Changes Made	Average Number Made
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent		
Agriculture.	49	22	44 8	27	55 2	62	2.9
Agronomy	13	9	50 2	4	40 8	5	1 25
Animal Husbandry	28	12	42 9	16	57 6	34	2 12
Vocational Education	14	7	50 0	7	50 0	12	1 7
Chemistry.	24	6	25 0	18	75 0	39	2 05
Civil Engineering	58	34	58 6	24	41 4	53	2 2
Electrical Engineering	54	24	44 4	30	55 6	78	2 6
Mechanical Engineering	51	20	39 2	31	60 8	87	2 8
Textile.	27	8	29 6	19	70 4	47	1 7
Totals . .	319	142	44 6	176	55 4	417	2 4

Table IX. One fourth of the men, it may be concluded from the table, accept one position and stay with it. For them there is no moving about. Three fourths change positions. The general conclusion is that there is considerable shifting from one job to another, even by college graduates from specialized courses.

The general conclusion that seems to be warranted from these facts of inter- and intra-occupational mobility is that the occupational world is in a high state of flux; that men, in spite of special vocational training, are shifting from one occupational group to another. This geographic and occupational mobility of the college graduate is possibly indicative of the larger mobility and instability of our general population.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The general conclusions that these facts seem to warrant are: The graduates from the agricultural and engineering college find employment chiefly in the city. Those born in the city remain there. Those born in the country shift out of the country to the extent of 75 per cent. The small town shows almost the

same degree of shifting. Such mobility indicates the pull of the city and suggests that rural life possibly is being divested of its potential trained leadership.

Agricultural and engineering college graduates did not change their economic status when compared with their fathers.

Shifting from one occupation to another is consistently increasing from generation to generation. The facts show that agriculture as an occupation is transmitted from generation to generation to a much greater degree than are the other occupations.

Shifting from occupations to others wholly unrelated takes place in spite of preparation for a specialized line of work.

This inter- and intra-occupational mobility is possibly indicative of the instability of our general population.

THE CONTRIBUTORS' PAGE

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The reader is referred to previous issues of THE JOURNAL for sketches of the other contributors to this number.

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